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SPECULUM

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SPECULUM
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AN EIGHTH-CENTURY LIST OF BOOKS IN A BODLEIAN MS. FROM WÜRZBURG AND ITS PROBABLE RELATION TO THE LAUDIAN *ACTS*

BY ELIAS AVERY LOWE

OF the various collections of manuscripts in the Bodleian Library none is so important as the collection presented by Archbishop Laud.[1] Among the Laudian manuscripts by far the most valuable are those composing the group which comes from St Kilian's in Würzburg. And of these Würzburg manuscripts the oldest is the eighth-century copy of St Augustine's *De Trinitate*, now MS. *Laud. Misc. 126*.[2] On a page originally left blank, at the end of this manuscript (fol. 260r) an Anglo-Saxon hand of about the

[1] The bulk of Laud's MSS came to Oxford in four instalments. The figures as given by W. D. Macray in *Annals of the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1890), pp. 83 ff., are 462 volumes in 1635, 181 in 1636, 575 in 1639, and 81 in 1640. But according to more recent authority the first instalment (May 22, 1635) consisted of 467 MSS, 46 being from Würzburg, and 5 rolls and 2 charters; the second (June 16, 1636) of 183 MSS; the third (June 28, 1639) of 554 MSS, among them the famous Graeco-Latin codex of the *Acts* and the Peterborough *Chronicle*; the fourth (November 6, 1640) of 47 MSS. Cf. E. W. B. Nicholson's note in *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1922), II, 1, pp. 13 ff. The entries found inside the Laudian MSS (see facs. on pl. II, 1) are apt to be erroneously regarded as furnishing the date when the particular MS. was donated.

[2] For facsimiles see Chatelain, *Uncialis Scriptura*, pls. 52 and 96; E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, pls. 138–141 and p. 218; *New Palaeographical Society*, Series II, pls. 83–85. There is a summary and somewhat inaccurate description of the MS. in H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, II, 1 = *Catal. Codd. MSS Laudianorum: Codices Latini* (Oxford, 1858), cols. 128, 129.

year 800 entered a small list of books.[1] This list, the subject of the present note, is worthy of study for two reasons: first, it refers, in all probability, to the books of the episcopal library of Würzburg, and thus gives us an idea of what that library was like at the end of the eighth century, that is, about two generations after the Anglo-Saxon Boniface placed his compatriot Burchard in charge of the newly established bishopric of Würzburg; and second, because of the light which this ancient catalogue may throw on a former home of the famous Graeco-Latin manuscript of the Acts known to Biblical scholars as *E* or the Laudian Acts (Bodleian MS. *Laud. Gr. 35*).[2]

The manuscript *Laud. Misc. 126* is written partly in uncials and partly in half-uncials of a distinct type which flourished in the Frankish realm during the eighth century.[3] The ornamentation, which consists of birds and fishes, is as characteristic as the script; the frequent use of green ink in titles is also a feature peculiar to this type. Northeastern France has been suggested as the home of this style of decoration.[4] The French origin of the manuscript is further confirmed by the few words found on fol. 259v, after the last colophon at the very end of the original text, written in pre-Caroline minuscule of the unmistakably French style which preceded the so-called Corbie type.[5] Accordingly, the manuscript which contains the ancient catalogue under discussion came to Würzburg from France. Nor is it the only Würzburg manuscript of French provenance. In the famous

[1] For some inexplicable reason this list has never been published. A few items are mentioned by Coxe in the catalogue just cited. P. Lehmann alludes to it in his excellent study, *Franciscus Modius als Handschriftenforscher* (Munich, 1908), p. 65, n. 1. The editors of the *New Palaeographical Society* (*loc. cit.*) give a facsimile of a portion of the list and make a number of interesting observations.

[2] For a description, see Coxe, *op. cit.*, I (1853), 517; facsimiles are in J. O. Westwood, *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria*, pl. x. 1; C. Tischendorf, *Monumenta Sacra Inedita*, IX (1870); *Palaeographical Society*, I, pl. 80; F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (4th ed. by E. Miller, Cambridge, 1894), facs. 25; W. A. Copinger, *The Bible and its Transmission* (London, 1897), pl. xiii. Further literature in L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, I (Munich, 1909), 210.

[3] The entire quires marked iii, vi, xi, xii, and the last page of quire x are written in half-uncial; the rest of the MS. is in uncial. For other MSS written in this type of uncial see the writer's article, 'The Vatican MS. of the Gelasian Sacramentary and its Supplement at Paris,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXVII (1926), 373.

[4] Cf. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[5] I refer to the words: *speraui iam teneo illi sunt.*

Würzburg palimpsest (MS. *Mp. th. fol. 64a*) we find, over the Pentateuch and Prophets in fifth-century uncials, St Augustine's *Commentary on the Psalms* written in a French type of pre-Caroline minuscule to which has been given the name of 'Luxeuil.'[1] The important Munich MS. of the *Breviarium Alarici* (*Cod. Lat. Monac. 22501*), written in uncial characters of the seventh century, formerly belonged to the Cathedral Library of Würzburg, but its place of origin must be France, to judge from the script and the history of the text.[2]

From a note entered on the fly-leaf (fol. 1v) of this eighth-century manuscript of St Augustine, it appears that it reached St Kilian's within a century after it was written. The note is in ordinary minuscule of the ninth century and runs as follows:

> Si mors quod absit inopinata super familiarem amicum nostrum ingruerit, adiuro per deum omnipotentem illum in cuius liber iste de sancta trinitate beati augustini peruenerit manus, faciat eum sancto kiliano restitui.[3]

The presence of this note at the opening of the manuscript suggests that the librarian of St Kilian's set great store by the volume. The final words *faciat eum sancto kiliano restitui* bear witness to the practice of lending books. Thanks to the record in the catalogue itself of two instances of this practice, we are able to make a shrewd guess concerning the library which the catalogue represents.

In printing the catalogue, I preserve the original spelling, order and relative position of the columns. I have, however, for convenience' sake, printed the extended forms, since the accompanying facsimile (pl. I) makes a letter-for-letter transcript unnecessary. To

[1] A. Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica*, Lieferung V, pl. 4, has a good facsimile. The MS. which gives the name to the type is Paris, B. N. Lat. 9427 containing the Gallican Lectionary which Mabillon discovered at Luxeuil. For other MSS in this style of pre-Caroline minuscule see my 'Studia Palaeographica,' *Sitzungsberichte d. kgl. bayer. Akademie d. Wiss.*, philos.-philol. u. hist. kl. (Munich, 1910), Abh. 12, pp. 31 ff. The Luxeuil type is fully illustrated by Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, pls. 44–74.

[2] Facsimiles in Silvestre, *Paléographie Universelle*, pl. 112; Zangemeister-Wattenbach, *Exempla Codicum Lat. Litteris Majusculis Scriptorum*, pls. 27, 28; Traube, 'Enarratio Tabularum,' pls. iv, vi, in Mommsen's *Theodosiani Libri*, XVI (Berlin, 1905); Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, pl. 38; E. A. Lowe, *Codices Lugdunenses Antiquissimi* (Lyons, 1924), facs. suppl. 1.

[3] This entry is printed by Coxe, *loc. cit.*, col. 129, and by the editors of *New Pal. Soc.*, whose folio number 16 is a printer's error for 1b (1 verso) and whose *dominum* is an incorrect expansion of d̄m.

simplify reference, I have also numbered items and have put in square brackets, after certain items, the name of the author or of the work to which, in my opinion, it most probably refers. Apart from a few items, identification with extant MSS is quite out of the question. But I have thought it useful to call attention to extant Würzburg MSS not later than the year 900, which might reasonably be copies of items in the list.

1. Actus apostulorum
2. pastoralem [*Gregorius M.*]
3. dialogorum [*Gregorius M.*]
4. commentarium AD HOLZKIRIHHUN
5. historia anglorum [*Beda*]
6. epistola sancti hieronimi
7. liber doctrinę christiane [*Augustinus*]
8. sancti augustini de fide
9. sancti ambrosi de fide
10. liber orosi [*Historia adv. gentes*]
11. liber arnouii [*Arnobius Contra haereses* or *Super Psalmos*]
12. iuuenci super euangelia
13. liber super effeseos [*Hieronymus*]
14. episcopal⟨e⟩
15. decreta pontificum
16. liber augustini de quantitate animę
17. liber iunili [*Instructiones ?*]
18. official⟨e⟩ [*Isidorus, De officiis*, possibly Amalarius]
19. enceridion [*Augustinus*]
20. liber prosperi [*De vita contemplativa*]
21. moralia in iob libri xxiii [*Gregorius M.*]
22. summum bonum [*Isidorus*]

23–24. lectionari duo

25. glosa
26. liber althelmi [*De laudibus virginitatis ?*]
27. liber de trinitate [*Augustinus*]

28–29. liber esaiae duo

30. catalogus hieronimi presbyteri de auctoribus librorum
31. grammatica sancti augustini et sancti bonifati
32. epistulae sancti pauli

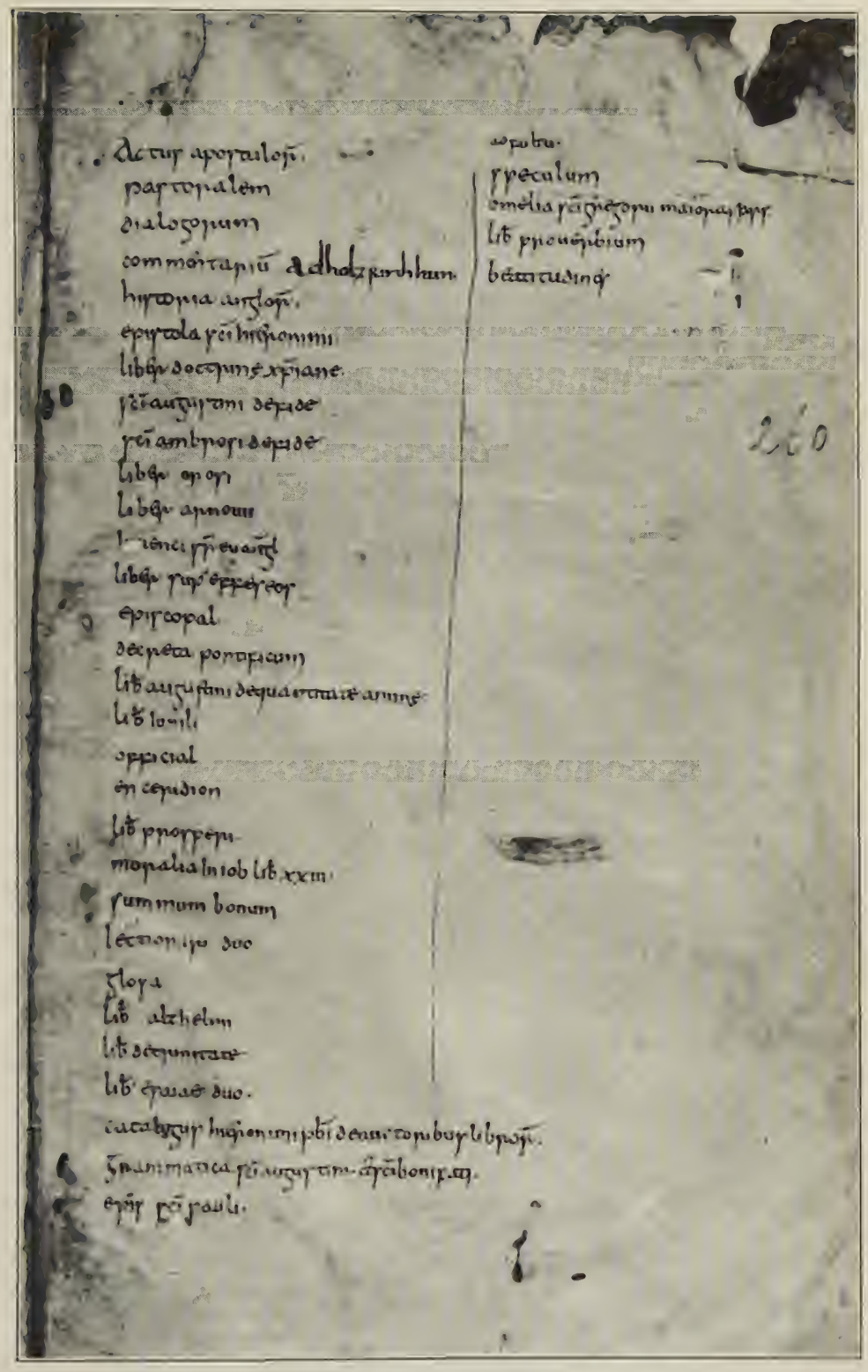


PLATE I. — OXFORD, BODLEIAN MS. LAUD. MISC. 126. Fol. 260 r.

ad fultu
33. speculum [*Augustinus*]
34. omelia sancti gregorii maiora pars
35. liber prouerbium
36. beatitudines [*Chromatius?*]

In any attempt to identify items in the list with extant Würzburg MSS the date of the catalogue is an important consideration. For if my date, about A.D. 800, is correct, then there are only six or seven identifiable items, namely 1, 2, 4, 15, 27, 32 and 34. All other Würzburg MSS which could be brought into relationship with the list seem to me to be considerably later than the year 800. Some of these, however, deserve mention here as being possible early copies of books registered in the list. This possibility is converted to probability by the circumstance that many of the MSS are either themselves in Anglo-Saxon characters or are obviously copied from Insular exemplars.

Item 1. Presumably Bodleian MS. *Laud. Gr. 35*, of which more will be said below.

Item 2. Bodleian MS. *Laud. Misc. 263* has the Würzburg shelf-mark. It is written in Anglo-Saxon script of the early ninth century. Würzburg *Mp. th. f. 42*, in ordinary minuscule of the ninth century, also contains Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*. The fly-leaf is in Anglo-Saxon and a corrector used the Anglo-Saxon method of supplying omissions (fol. 2r).

Item 3. Würzburg *Mp. th. f. 19*, in Anglo-Saxon letters (except fols. 1v–14v), *saec.* ix *init.* This copy of the *Dialogues* might be contemporary with our list, but I rather doubt it.

Item 4. The anonymous commentary was in its place when the list was made. The entry which records that it was borrowed was made by a different librarian. Judging from its position between the books of the Pope who sent the first mission to England and the book of the first English historian one may venture the guess that it was another book with English associations. Such a book is Würzburg *Mp. th. q. 2*, containing St Jerome's *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* in the fifth-century uncials, which, before it got to Würzburg, had belonged to Abbess Cuthsuuitha, as is attested by the inscription in beautiful Anglo-Saxon majuscule characters on the front fly-leaf. The only abbess by this name of whom history knows was in charge of a nunnery in or near Worcester about

the year 700, which fits in admirably with the date of the inscription.[1] In view of the English atmosphere suggested by the first few entries in the catalogue this identification has something in its favor.[2]

Item 7. The Bodleian MS. *Laud. Misc. 121, saec.* ix, from Würzburg, is in ordinary minuscule, but in part manifestly under Insular influence (see fols. 72 ff. On fol. 4 lr occurs for *autem*).

Item 11. In view of the preceding item, Arnobius *Contra haereses* seems highly probable here, but Arnobius *Super Psalmos* is not to be excluded considering that the next item is a commentary on part of the Bible.

Item 15. Würzburg still possesses three very old MSS of canons. Of these, *Mp. th. f. 3*, in Anglo-Saxon script, might be identified with our item; but *Mp. th. f. 72*, containing the Dionysio-Hadriana, is written in Anglo-Saxon characters of the Würzburg -Fulda region but of a later date than our catalogue. Later, too, is *Mp. th. f. 146*, written in ordinary minuscule but under Anglo-Saxon influence.[3] It should be added that Bodleian MS. *Laud. Misc. 436*, in Anglo-Saxon characters of the early ninth century, contains the *Concordia Canonum* by Cresconius. The MS. probably comes from Würzburg.

Item 18. This probably refers to Isidore's *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, in which case it could be identified with Würzburg *Mp. th. q. 18*, written in Insular characters of the end of the eighth century; or else to a very early copy of the work by Amalarius which in the tenth century MS. *Boulogne 82* in Insular script is actually entitled, as I learn from W. J. Anderson, *Liber Officialis*. This, however, would necessitate pushing forward the date of the catalogue by at least two decades.

Item 21. A MS. of Gregory's *Moralia* in Anglo-Saxon script of the ninth century still exists in Würzburg *Mp. th. f. 149a*, but it contains only Books 32–35; *Mp. th. f. 150*, in ordinary minuscule of the ninth century, shows Insular influence but contains only excerpts from the *Moralia*.

Item 26. The most obvious reference would be to *De Laudibus Virginitatis*. It exists in Würzburg *Mp. th. f. 21*, written in the time of Bishop Gozbald (842–855). The script is ordinary minuscule but the

[1] On Cuthswitha, see W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 150, who refers to documents printed by Birch (*Cartularium Saxonicum*, 85, 122) and Kemble (*Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, 36, 53)

[2] Facsimiles of this MS. in Chroust, *Monum. Pal.*, Ser. I, Lief. V, pls. 2, 3.

[3] A facsimile of *Mp. th. f. 72* is given by Chroust, *loc. cit.*, pl. 6.

abbreviations show that it was copied from an Anglo-Saxon original.[1] But it is quite possible that Aldhelm's *Metrica and Aenigmata* are here meant. The place of this item next to the item *Glossa* would support such an identification.

Item 27. Probably refers to the eighth-century copy of St Augustine *On the Trinity* which came to Würzburg from France and is now Bodleian MS. *Laud. Misc. 126*, on the last page of which was entered the catalogue under discussion.

Item 31. St Boniface's *Grammar* is a very rare manuscript. Apparently a single copy has survived, and is now preserved in the Vatican Library, MS. *Pal. lat. 1746*, from Lorsch.[2] This MS. begins with St Augustine's *Grammar* and ends with St Boniface's. The presumption is that the MS. in our list contained the same group of works as the Palatinus. The ancient Würzburg librarian thought it sufficient to mention the first and last authors.[3]

Item 32. The Pauline Epistles are found in Würzburg *Mp. th. f. 12* and *Mp. th. f. 69*, both in Insular script of about the year 800, and in Bodleian MS. *Laud Lat. 108* in Anglo-Saxon script of the ninth century.[4]

Item 34. Of Gregory's *Homilies* many MSS must have existed. Würzburg still possesses several. *Mp. th. f. 45* is written in Anglo-Saxon characters of about the year 800 and might thus be the volume referred to in our catalogue. *Mp. th. f. 43*, in Insular script (Irish ?) seems of the ninth century. *Mp. th. f. 47* and *Mp. th. f. 59*, both in Anglo-Saxon script, are apparently of the ninth century. Bodleian MS. *Laud. Misc. 275* from Würzburg is in a German type of ordinary minuscule (ninth century), but under Anglo-Saxon influence.

Item 36. This may refer to Chromatius' Sermon on the eight Beatitudes, printed in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, XX, 323 ff.

[1] A facsimile is in Chroust, *loc. cit.*, pl. 9.

[2] See *Neues Archiv* VIII (1883), 320. Mr C. H. Beeson of Chicago believes he has found two more copies in Paris MSS.

[3] The Palatinus was used by A. Mai in *Class. Auct. ab Vatic. Codd. edit.*, VII (Rome, 1835) 475 ff., and by Arevalo in his *Isidoriana*, II, 370 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, LXXXI, 879), who gives its full contents as follows: *Artes S. Augustini, Regula Augustini de nomine et aliis partibus orationis, Ars Donati quam Paulus Diaconus exponit, S. Ysidori episcopi de grammatica et partibus eius et figuris, Dynamius grammaticus ad discipulum suum, Grammatica Juliani episcopi Toletani, Grammatica et ars Tacuini, Alia ars siue grammatica Juliani Toletani, Ars Asperi de octo partibus orationis, Ars domni Bonifacii arciepiscopi et martyris.* For a similar, though not precisely identical, collection see items 416, 417 of the tenth-century Lorsch catalogue in Becker's *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, p. 110.

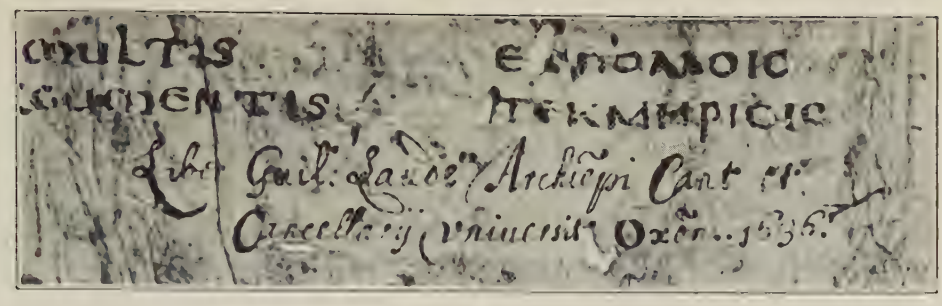
[4] For fascimiles see E. S. Buchanan, 'The Epistles of S. Paul from the Codex Laudianus,' *Sacred Latin Texts: No. II* (London, 1914).

An analysis of the above list shows that five items refer to Biblical books (1, 28, 29, 32, 35), four to books by Gregory (2, 3, 21, 34), one to Bede's works (5), three (possibly four) to Jerome (6, 13, 30 and possibly 4), seven to Augustine (7, 8, 16, 19, 27, 31, 33), one each to Ambrose (9), Orosius (10), Arnobius (11), Juvencus (12); three at least are liturgical (14, 23, 24), one is canon law (15), one Junilius (17), one Prosper (20), one (possibly two) Isidorus (22 and probably 18), one a glossary (25), one Aldhelm (26), one Boniface (31) and one a book on the Beatitudes (36).

It can hardly be denied that the order in the catalogue, if it is not altogether haphazard, is peculiar. The first entry, distinguished by a capital letter, is, curiously enough, a volume of the *Acts*. No other mediaeval catalogue beginning with the *Acts* is known to me.[1] The second entry is Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, the third his *Dialogi*. These are followed by an anonymous Commentary and by Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, called here by its short title. Strange that these books, unless similarity of format connects them, or unless some other special reason exists, should come before the works of the great doctors of the Church, SS Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose. One is struck with the fact that a number of items are given without the author, as if the books were too familiar to require it, amongst them the works of SS Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Isidore and Bede. Considering the position of three Biblical volumes toward the end of the list, it strikes one as odd that the catalogue opens with a manuscript of the *Acts*.

The whole of the above catalogue is written in Anglo-Saxon characters, excepting the words AD HOLZKIRIHHUN, which are added by a German hand after the fourth item, *commentarium*. There can be no doubt what the added phrase signifies. It records the loan of the book to Holzkirchen. Similarly, the phrase *ad fultu*, which is entered in small Anglo-Saxon characters above the entries in the second column, makes note of the fact that the four books in that column had been borrowed by the monastery of Fulda. Fulda and

[1] No instances occur in G. Becker's *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), and none is known to my friend Professor Lehmann, whose knowledge of mediaeval catalogues is very extensive. I here wish to acknowledge my gratitude to Professor Lehmann and to Dom Wilmart for suggestions which they were good enough to give me.



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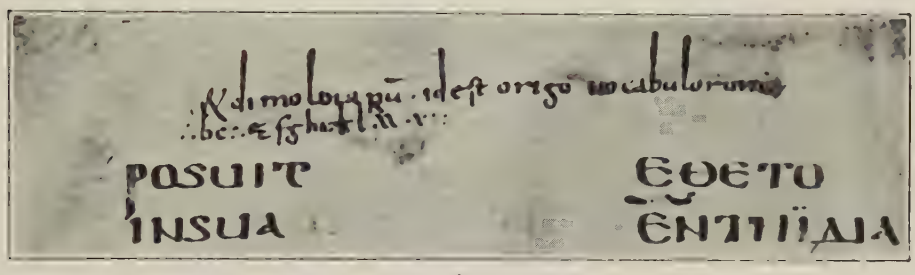

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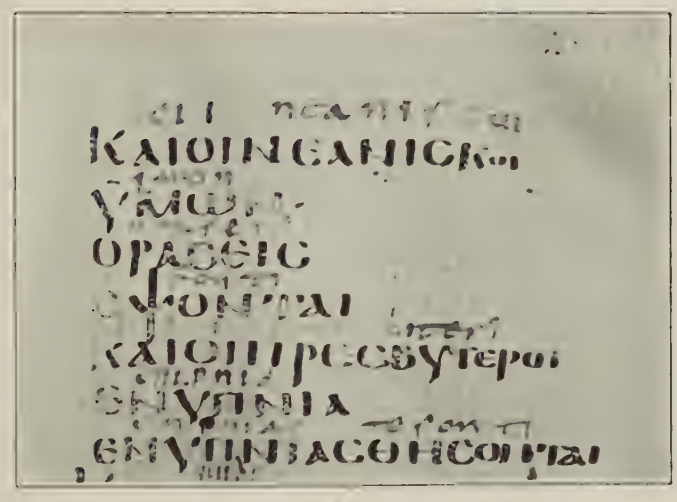

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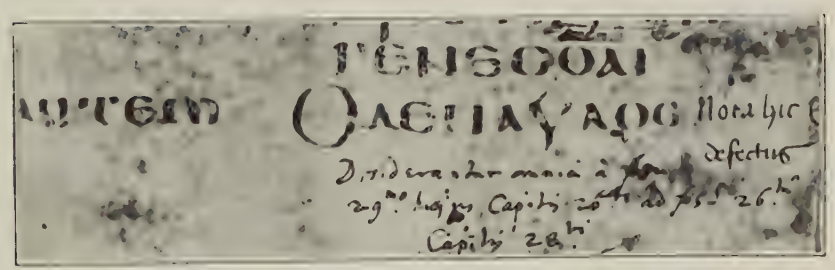

d

PLATE II. — OXFORD, BODLEIAN MS. LAUD. gr. 35

a) Fol. 1 r. The *ex-libris* entered in Laud's MSS by some librarian. — *b*) Fol. 2 v. *Probatio pennae.* — *c*) Fol. 11 r. Latin translations of the Greek. — *d*) Fol. 224 v. Note by a 14th-century reader.

Holzkirchen were close together, the latter was in fact a dependency of the former.[1] In his study on the humanist Modius, mentioned above,[2] Professor Lehmann expressed the view that our catalogue referred to the library of Fulda. But he was misled by imperfect copies furnished to him, which failed to note the precise position of the phrase *ad fultu*. Its position over the second column makes it clear that Fulda, like Holzkirchen, was borrowing books from another library. What library was it that put Fulda and Holzkirchen under this obligation?

One or two hints we may gather from the catalogue itself. We note, in the first place, that the list does not include St Benedict's Rule, nor any other monastic Rule; on the other hand, it contains such items as *lectionari* and *episcopale*, books which strongly suggest that we are dealing with the chapter library of a bishopric, and not with a monastic library. From the use of Anglo-Saxon script in the catalogue and additions, from the presence in the list of all the important Anglo-Saxon writers (Bede, Aldhelm, Boniface), and in fact from the whole arrangement, we may gather that the library in question was situated in a centre where Anglo-Saxon influence was strong. By the arrangement, I mean the prominent position given to Gregory, the Pope who instituted the Christian Church in England, and the Venerable Bede, both of whom take precedence over Augustine and Jerome. Finally, this ecclesiastical library, which was under Anglo-Saxon influence, must have enjoyed very friendly relations with the monasteries of Fulda and Holzkirchen.

Considering that the manuscript containing the catalogue actually belonged to Würzburg in the ninth century, one naturally thinks of Würzburg; and, in reality, no other place corresponds to the above conditions quite so well. Both the monastery at Fulda and the episcopal see at Würzburg owe their existence to the zeal and energy of the Anglo-Saxon missionary Boniface.[3] Fulda was his favorite abbey, and the bishopric of Würzburg he entrusted to his faithful follower, the Anglo-Saxon Burchard. Under these circumstances it

[1] As early as 775 the monastery of Holzkirchen was the property of Fulda. Cf. A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II (3d and 4th ed., 1912), 584 f. and 823.

[2] P. 4, n. 1.

[3] The reader is referred to Hauck's work just cited.

goes without saying that close and friendly relations existed between Fulda and Würzburg, the exchange of books being one manifestation of the intellectual commerce between the two seats of learning. Extant manuscripts from Fulda and Würzburg, written in Anglo-Saxon characters, show that the script that Boniface and Burchard brought with them to Germany continued to flourish there for nearly a whole century after their arrival. Considering then that our catalogue belongs to a library of the Fulda district, that it represents an episcopal library under Anglo-Saxon influence, and that Würzburg is the first place with which we can definitely connect the manuscript containing it, we are probably correct in concluding that the above list of manuscripts refers to the ancient library of St Kilian's at Würzburg.[1]

As for the age of the catalogue, a *terminus ad quem* is furnished by the writing itself, which to all appearances is hardly much posterior to the year 800. This approximate date is also confirmed by internal evidence. The catalogue mentions no work of the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, who died in 804. The *terminus a quo* is supplied by the history of Würzburg. The bishopric was not in existence before the year 741, so our catalogue is more recent than that date. But it is probably posterior to the year 787, because the fly-leaf at the beginning of the volume (fol. 1r) contains, in similar if not identical script, a copy of Charlemagne's famous letter *De Litteris Colendis* addressed to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda in 787.[2] It may accordingly be safe to say that our catalogue was entered in the Würzburg manuscript toward the end of the eighth century.

And this brings me to my second point: May not *Actus Apostolorum* in the catalogue actually refer to the well-known Codex E? [3] I am inclined to think that it does. The identification, I realize, is pure conjecture, but something, I think, may be said for it. If we take the view that the arrangement in the list is not an accidental one but reflects Anglo-Saxon predilection for the works of Pope

[1] The editors of the *New Pal. Society* (*loc. cit.*) concede the possibility that the list refers to Würzburg.

[2] See the edition in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges*, II, 79, and C. H. Beeson's *A Primer of Medieval Latin* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 152 f. A discussion of this letter will be found in Professor Lehmann's forthcoming study on Fulda.

[3] See above, p. 4, n. 2.

Gregory and Bede, then the place occupied by the volume of *Acts* is best explained by similar historical association. And this fits in well with the history of the MS. as it is commonly reconstructed. That history, though sometimes stated so dogmatically as to make it appear that every assertion is attested by documentary evidence, is in truth mostly conjectural.[1] Briefly, it is this: the MS. was written in seventh-century uncial characters, probably somewhere in Sardinia, for it contains, at the end of the volume, a copy of an edict in seventh-century Greek cursive which mentions *Fl. Pancratius, dux Sardiniae* — a local title used between 534 and 749. It must have left Sardinia early, for by the beginning of the eighth century we find it in England: Biblical scholars seem to be agreed that the Venerable Bede, in his *Retractationes in Acta*, written between 731 and 735, used a text that can be no other than Codex E.[2] It is usually stated that it was brought to England by Theodore of Tarsus, though there is no evidence for that. Professor Ropes's suggestion that it was one of the books acquired in Italy by Benedict Biscop or Ceolfrid has more historical foundation,[3] since there is a record that books were brought back to England by both of these inveterate travelers.[4] The MS. must have left England during the eighth century, for the additions which were made to it are all in continental writing and some of them, like the Creed, go back to the eighth century.[5] Dr Cras-

[1] See the example cited by Dr. Craster in *The Bodleian Quarterly*, II (1919), no. 23, p. 289. In F. G. Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* (2d ed., 1896), pp. 145 f., one gets the impression that the MS. never left England; but the same writer gives a very cautious and accurate account of the MS. in his *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (2d ed., 1912), pp. 100 f.

[2] There are over seventy citations from *Acts* in which Bede agrees with E, and in some readings Bede and E agree against all other witnesses. Cf. H. J. Vogels, *Handbuch der neutestamentlichen Textkritik* (Münster i.W., 1923), p. 52. But it is a curious fact that not a single correction or pen-trial is in the Anglo-Saxon script.

[3] J. H. Ropes, *The Text of Acts* (London: Macmillan, 1926), p. lxxxv (being vol. III of *The Beginnings of Christianity*, edited by Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake).

[4] The *Historia Abbatum Auctore Baeda* (ed. C. Plummer), p. 369, speaks of piles of books brought back by Benedict Biscop: *innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam adportauit.* In the same history (p. 379) we read of Ceolfrid: *bibliothecam utriusque monasterii, quam Benedictus abbas magna caepit instantia, ipse non minori geminauit industria; ita ut tres pandectes nouae translationis, ad unum uetustae translationis quem de Roma adtulerat, ipse super adiungeret,* etc. See also the *Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonymo* (ed. C. Plummer), p. 395.

[5] *A probatio pennae* in ordinary minuscule, *saec.* ix, x, occurs on fol. 1 r, on fol. 2 v, top margin, and another by a different hand on fol. 10 v; on fols. 10 v, 11 r, 94 v, 144 v, occur interlinear transliterations of the Greek text. The Latin script seems of about the year 900.

ter has pointed out reasons for thinking that the MS. first went to Italy and was still there in the 14th century.[1] But the usual opinion is that it went from England to Germany, having been taken thither by one of the missionaries. It was in Germany that Archbishop Laud's agents, taking advantage of the turbulent conditions during the Thirty Years' War, acquired so many of the Latin MSS which he presented to Oxford.[2] As the oldest of these came from Würzburg, the natural supposition is that our MS. of *Acts* also came from Würzburg, because such a MS., for which there was no practical use, could have been preserved only in a centre which had a taste for very ancient MSS, and Würzburg was certainly such a centre, as one may judge from extant remains. Heretofore, the connection between Codex E and Germany in the eighth century has rested upon mere assumption. But the MS. itself contains actual evidence of its residence in Germany in that century. On fol. 226v there is a note, scratched in with a stylus, in the column to the right of the Creed, under the pen-trials ερρωcθε *ualete* . . . ερρωσθε. This note is written in clear round uncial characters of the eighth century.[3] If one holds up the parchment to the proper light one can read without difficulty

Καί is reproduced by κι, which is noteworthy and may be of use in fixing the home of the MS. in the tenth century. The pen-trials on fol. 226v are of different dates: *iacobus prs̄br grecus* is in well-formed Caroline of the ninth century; *ερρωσθε ualete* may be of the tenth; two other entries, partially erased, are of the same date. The ungainly insertions in the top margin of fol. 226v *beatus b.tus qui metuit* may be *saec.* viii ex. The same hand made entries on fol. 227 verso and recto. The 18 lines of uncial which contain the Creed seem to me an eighth-century addition. The form of the letter G with the cauda turning up instead of down and the form of X recall French types. The text of the Creed is 'Old Roman' and not 'Textus Receptus.' Cf. A. E. Burn, 'Facsimiles of the Creeds from Early Manuscripts', *Henry Bradshaw Society* XXXVI (London, 1909), 2. See plates II, III.

[1] Cf. *Bodleian Quarterly*, II (Nov. 7, 1919), 290: 'The omission of *g* before *i* in *&dimoloiarū* (= *etymologiarum*) in the note on fol. 2v is characteristically Romance (cf. the Italian *loica* derived from *logica*). . . . A fourteenth-century note on fol. 224v recording a lacuna in the text has more of an Italian than a German look.' See plate II. It should be observed that the fourteenth-century entry consists of only four words (*Nota hic est defectus*) — hardly enough for forming a definitive judgment — and that the scribe who omitted *g* before *i* in the pen-trial on fol. 2v also wrote *td* for *t*. Perhaps carelessness pure and simple accounts both for the superfluous *d* and for the missing *g*.

[2] Cf. *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* XVI, 243.

[3] Dr Kirsopp Lake, in 1913, called my attention to the existence of a note written with a stylus. J. H. Ropes gives the credit for the discovery to E. W. B. Nicholson, but the latter acknowledges his own indebtedness to Dr Lake (cf. *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS*, etc., II [Oxford, 1922], 48). Nicholson does not say what the note contained but he describes the script as 'Latin majuscules' which 'might very well be written at Canterbury in the

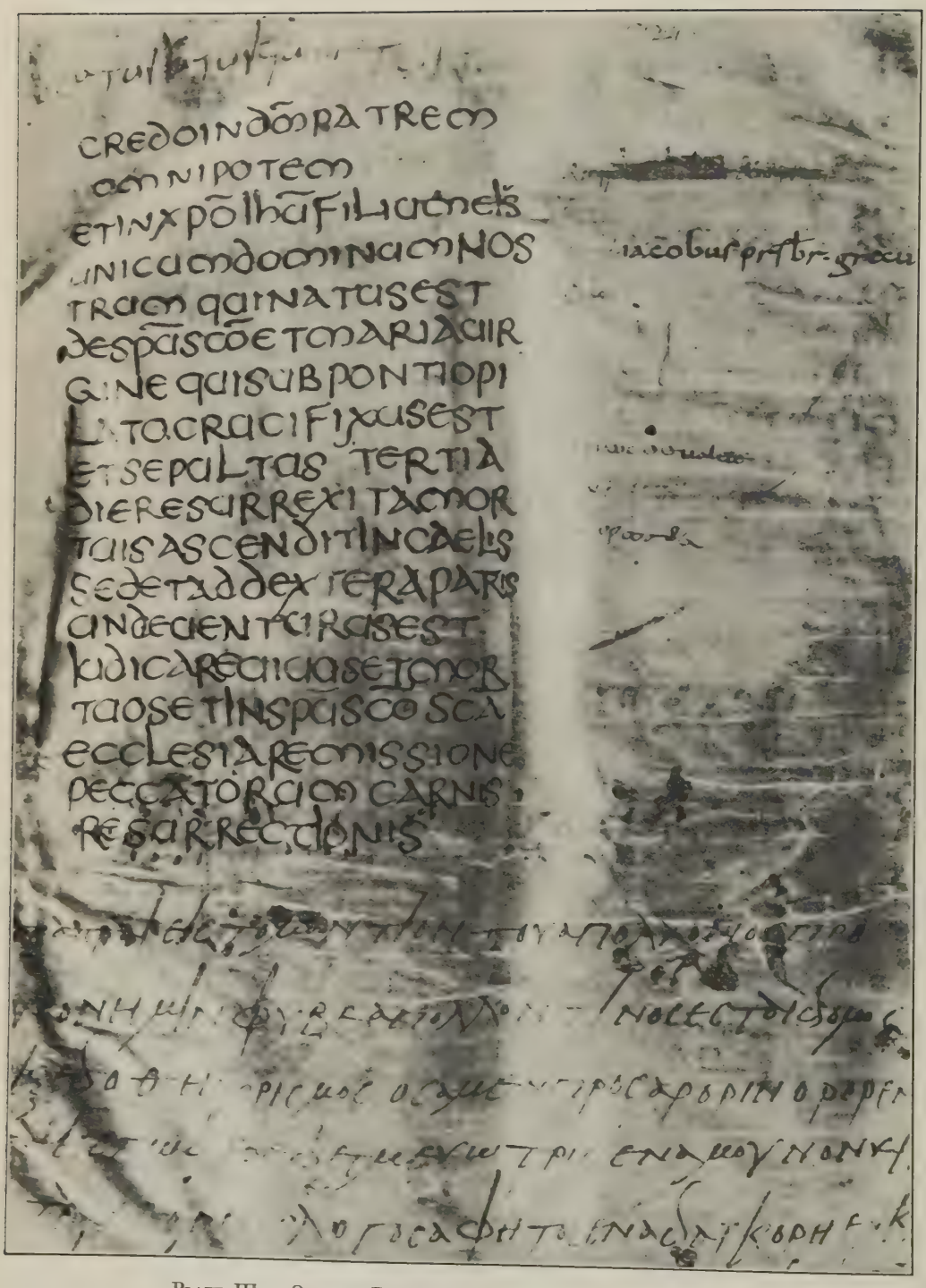

PLATE III.—OXFORD, BODLEIAN MS. LAUD. gr. 35. Fol. 226 v.

MARIAE UIR[GINIS]
GAMUNDUM. If this reading is correct, and I have not the slightest doubt that it is,[1] then Codex E must have been at St Mary's of Gamundum when that note was written. Gamundum, Gamundium, Gamundiae can be no other than Hornbach, situated in the diocese of Metz.[2] About the year 727 Pirmin, the founder of Reichenau, also founded a monastery at Hornbach, and its church was dedicated to the Virgin.[3] He lived at Hornbach till his death, about 753, and there is a tradition that tells of a visit which St Boniface paid him at Hornbach.[4] If Codex E ever came into the possession of St Boniface it would not require a flight of the imagination to see how it got from Fulda to Würzburg, whose first bishop was Burchard, a disciple of Boniface.

Apart from the small kernel of fact contained in the note which connects the MS. with Hornbach, most of the steps in the foregoing reconstruction, are, it must be admitted, conjectural. Yet I venture to think that this mixture of fact and surmise furnishes as probable a story of the wanderings of this curious MS. as we can get at present; and it also satisfactorily accounts for the peculiar prominence given to a MS. of *Acts* in an eighth-century catalogue of a library which to all appearances is the episcopal library of Würzburg.

late 7th c.' According to Dr Craster (cf. *Bodleian Quarterly*, II [1919], 289), the credit belongs to R. L. Poole.

[1] I am aware that Dr Craster reads GAEMUNDUM. The letter E presumably is written in ligature, for there is no room for a full letter between A and M. But apart from the objection that in the eighth century on the Continent ligatures of AE are not found in the middle of a word (though they are found at the ends of lines, to save space, even in our oldest MSS), a careful inspection shows that what has been taken for a scratching with the stylus is in fact a little crease in the parchment. See plate III.

[2] U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen-Age, Topo-Bibliographie*, col. 1262, gives Hornbach as the only equivalent for Gamundiae, -um. All other places by that name are manifestly out of the question in this connection.

[3] Viro sancto arrisit prae caeteris locus, in confinio dioeceseon Trevirensis et Metensis, ob duorum confluxum rivulorum Gamundium sive Gamundiae, aliis *Hornbach* appellatus cuius amoenitate et opportunitate sic captus est Pirminius, ut requiem sibi perpetuam illic statuerit. Expurgato a sordidis venatorum usibus loco, monasterium insigne condidit cum aede sacra in honorem et memoriam beatissimae Virginis Mariae. (Cf. *Gallia Christiana*, XIII, col. 830 E–831 A).

[4] See the Life of St Pirmin edited by Holder-Egger in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, SS.*, XV, pars i, p. 29.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH AND ARTHURIAN ORIGINS

By ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS

IN his article, 'King Arthur and Politics,' published last year in SPECULUM,[1] Mr Gerould has made a valuable contribution to the subject, emphasizing the 'realistic' forces that doubtless played upon Geoffrey of Monmouth in the composition of his monumental *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The connections of Geoffrey with the Norman aristocracy and clergy, the striving of the Norman kings to establish a royal tradition resembling, perhaps even rivalling, that of the French monarchy, are considerations deserving the stress Mr Gerould places on them. It is most likely that Geoffrey was *partially* inspired by the purpose of furnishing the Norman kings with a predecessor as exalted as Charlemagne.

Yet Mr Gerould himself admits that it is hard to prove that Geoffrey was wholly conscious of the political reasons which led him to 'form Arthur in the image of Charlemagne.'[2] And it may even be doubted whether the image of Charlemagne was in the forefront of his consciousness. Certainly the evidence that it was is exceedingly meagre; all that I can discover in Mr Gerould's article is contained in the following sentences. 'There was Arthur, his whole life made clear to anyone who could read Latin — Arthur, before whom the kings of the Continent bowed down either in fealty or fear — Arthur, who worsted even the Emperor of Rome. Charlemagne was no greater, and he was much less ancient.'[3] 'It is not without significance that Geoffrey listed the Twelve Peers of France among Arthur's lords.'[4] Certainly this latter fact proves, what we should assume from antecedent probability, that Geoffrey was not unmindful of the parallel which his Arthur presented in a vague fashion to Charlemagne. But it is the only specific and conclusive piece of evidence.

[1] Vol. II, pp. 33 ff.
[2] *Speculum*, II (1927), 49.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Mr Gerould's other point, that Geoffrey represented Arthur as subjugating the kings of the Continent and as defeating the Roman emperor because Charlemagne was a great conqueror and was crowned emperor at Rome, is plausible enough *a priori*, but it is open to several grave objections. No convincing parallels have been pointed out between Arthur's campaigns and those of Charlemagne. In the war with Lucius, Geoffrey seems to be modelling the strategy and the oratory rather on the Roman histories than on the *chansons de geste*. Some of Arthur's conquests have been shown by Fletcher to be based on Celtic traditions,[1] and though manipulated by Geoffrey, were not his invention. The war with Lucius itself is shown by many pieces of converging evidence [2] to rest on the same Welsh traditions as Arthur's wars with Lot and Lancelot in Arthurian romance. And though Geoffrey may have been the first to make Lucius procurator or emperor of Rome, it is not certain that he was, and his motive may have been quite other than the attempt to show that Arthur was a better man than Charlemagne, emperor of the Holy Empire.

For it must be remembered that the campaign against Lucius is not the only sign that Geoffrey was bent on showing that the British kings were as good as the Romans, or better. The line of descent from Æneas, the capture of Rome by the British sovereigns, Belinus, Constantine, and Maximian (precedents which Arthur cites against Lucius) show that this general contrast of British with Roman prowess was deliberate. And no study of this feature of the *History* is complete which does not take full cognizance of the Welsh tale of the *Dream of Maxen Wledig*, which likewise exploits the Roman connections of a mythical British princess, Elen, and the historic capture of Rome by Maximus, here confused in name with Maxentius.[3] This tale might be set aside carelessly as based on Geoffrey. But the story contradicts Geoffrey's version in point after point. It is unthinkable that if it were concocted as a result of the prestige and authority enjoyed by the *History of the Kings of Britain*,

[1] [Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, X (1906), 83 f.

[2] R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), pp. 347 f.

[3] J. Loth, *Mabinogion* (2d ed., Paris, 1913), I, 211 f., note.

it should so flagrantly defy that authority. Nutt rightly maintained [1] that the *Dream of Maxen* is an example 'of a genre which must have been widely represented in medieval Wales, and which certainly yielded Geoffrey much of the material for his pre-Arthurian sections. . . . Racial pride in the British-born occupant of the throne of the Caesars gives a glow and force to the picture unknown in similar stories elsewhere.' Nutt was probably wrong, however, in proposing that it came down through the centuries as popular tradition. The basis for both the *Dream* and Geoffrey's account of these matters seems to be bookish material, seized upon by patriotic Welshmen because of its connection with the history of their own island, and badly garbled in the process of repetition.

I venture to think that *Maxen Wledig* affords proof that the imaginations of the Welsh still played about the theme of their connections with ancient Rome. And if we surmise that these imaginings passed over to the Bretons along with the vast mass of other traditions later to be embodied in the *Matière de Bretagne*, it is easy to see how they would have crept into Geoffrey's source, the book which, it seems necessary to repeat again and again, was, according to Geoffrey's own statement and the internal evidence of proper names and material,[2] of Breton origin. This interpretation of the facts explains far better Geoffrey's preoccupation with Rome as revealed in the stories of Brennius, Helena, Maximianus, Constantine, Lucius, and Leo, than the theory that Charlemagne was the target at which the Lucius story was aimed.

In sum, no one doubts that Geoffrey more or less consciously modelled the figure of Arthur as rival to the pretensions of the French, political and literary. But that the figure of Charlemagne occupied the foreground of his consciousness when he was working up the story of Arthur is very dubious. Geoffrey's Arthurian materials are a complex product. One may distinguish the historical basis from Nennius; the strands of Welsh mythology; a list of heroic Welsh names; the stories of Arthur's birth and the war with Modred, which seem to betray in localization and nomenclature a Cornish

[1] C. Guest, *Mabinogion*, ed. A. Nutt (London, 1902), pp. 338 f.

[2] [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, X, 82; R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 344 f.

origin;[1] the Breton contribution in the exploits of Hoel, the adventure of Mont St Michel, and the Bretonizing of much of the nomenclature; Geoffrey's obvious adumbration of the Norman court in his account of Arthur's coronation ceremony; his reference to courtly love; his personal observation in the description of Caerleon; his oratorical style, which borrows nothing from the *chansons de geste*, everything from the Latin historians. It is too simple to urge that Geoffrey was motivated entirely or even mainly by a desire to provide a political counterweight to Charlemagne.

Besides attacking the problem of Geoffrey's motives, to which he has brought some significant contributions, Mr Gerould has also attacked in his last few pages the much-debated problem of the origin of Arthurian romance. He asserts the theory, stated most recently and explicitly by Edmond Faral,[2] that Geoffrey is the fountainhead, not only, as everyone admits, of Arthurian pseudo-history, but also of the Round Table cycle. He calls Geoffrey unequivocally 'the father of Arthurian romance,'[3] and later states that 'without him there might never have been any Arthurian romance at all.'[4] Though Mr Gerould admits the existence of the *Britonum nugae*, tales about Arthur to which William of Malmesbury alludes, he asserts that we shall probably never know their extent and precise character,[5] and practically denies that they were coherent and well organized.[6] He admits that they furnished suggestions to the romancers.[7] But Mr Gerould clearly maintains that not they, but Geoffrey's *Historia*, provoked an interest in Arthur in the literary circles of the day, and determined the character of the romances of the Round Table. That is what he must mean when he calls Geoffrey 'the father of Arthurian romance.'

Now, no one doubts that Geoffrey's work stimulated interest in Arthur, particularly among the learned, and that through Wace he

[1] J. Loth, *Contributions à l'Etude des Romans de la Table Ronde* (1912), p. 63. *Zs. für Französische Sprache*, XII (1890), 254.

[2] J. Bédier and P. Hazard, *Histoire de la Littérature Française Illustrée* (Paris: Hachette, 1923) I, 19.

[3] *Speculum*, II (1927), 35. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 48 f.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 34. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 48. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

affected courtly and literary circles. Nor does anyone doubt that he determined the character of the genre which we may best call Arthurian pseudo-history, of which Wace's *Brut* is an example. The issue arises only in connection with that vast body of material properly called romance, of which Chrétien's *Erec* is the earliest surviving example. Its characteristic preoccupation is not with wars and conquests and the founding of cities, but with strange loves and mysterious adventures: it tells 'of turneys and of trophies hung, of forests and enchantments drear, where more is meant than meets the ear.' The issue is: did Geoffrey of Monmouth inspire this literature and determine its character? Or is it in the main a natural flowering of the Celtic tales about Arthur?

Mr Gerould's view stands in sharp distinction to that of certain eminent scholars. Gaston Paris has said that the verse romances '*ne doivent rien à Gaufrei de Monmouth*,'[1] a statement that must be qualified to the extent that some verse romances were influenced by Wace. Mr Kittredge, moreover, twenty-five years ago expressed an opinion which has been borne out since that time by an ever-increasing body of scholars. His noteworthy statement of the problem at issue runs as follows:

> Something produced a great change in the literature of France in the twelfth century, — that is to say, in the literature of the western world, for at no assignable time could French literature have been charged with more momentous consequences to the course of European literary history. That *something* professes to be the emptying into French literature of a large body of Celtic material, — not a little leaven but a huge mass, operating with extraordinary rapidity and with an effect still traceable not only in subtle ways but even in such obvious phenomena as the externals of plot and dramatis personae. Was this material Celtic, and if so, how did it come, and whence? . . . The specific results of our study [*Arthur and Gorlagon*] are to emphasize once more the importance of Irish material (and even 'modern Irish' folklore) in settling these questions. They fall in with what is coming to be more and more recognized as the correct view, — the opinion that a considerable amount of the Celtic material that made its way into France actually came from Ireland, and further, that the function of Wales as an intermediary must not be overlooked simply because early Welsh traditions are sparingly preserved.[2]

[1] *Romania*, X (1881), 488.

[2] [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 265 f.

Mr Kittredge had already lent his authority to the view that at least one branch of the *Matière de Bretagne*, the *lais*, was further transmitted to the Bretons, either directly by the Irish or through the Welsh:

> Thus closely associated with both countries, Wales might well have served as intermediary in the transmission of Irish stories to Brittany.[1]

Let us first consider Mr Gerould's case. Although he does not marshal his arguments on this fundamental question with ordered precision, four points are discoverable.

I. 'His [Geoffrey's] was the notion of Arthur, I need scarcely say, that persisted in all the romances except a few late ones of English derivation. If Arthur became the centre for the exploits of the knights of the Round Table, but himself took small part in them, it was because his position had been fixed by Geoffrey as a world-conqueror: he was too lofty a person to be involved in adventures by the way.'[2] Now Geoffrey's notion of Arthur as the great conqueror of foreign realms, flinging defiance at the potentates of the earth, pitting his own strength against a giant and a king, is precisely not the notion of Arthur of the typical French romance, and it is precisely such a late English romance as the alliterative *Morte d'Arthur* which revives Geoffrey's conception. Does not Mr Gerould in his first sentence mean the exact converse of what he says? And when it comes to the conception of Arthur as the centre for exploits in which he takes small part, it can by no means be fathered on Geoffrey, and cannot with certainty be ascribed to the Carolingian epic. For *Kilhwch and Olwen*, composed, according to M. Loth, before the *History of the Kings of Britain*,[3] represents Arthur as the centre of exploits in which he plays but a minor part. Welsh tradition uninfluenced by Geoffrey, then, assigns to Arthur approximately the same rôle as do the French romances of the twelfth century, and is the most natural source of that concept. Even though the *roi fainéant* of the *chansons de geste* may have influenced those romances, Geoffrey,

[1] *American Journal of Philology*, VII (1886), 199.
[2] *Speculum*, II, 49.
[3] *Revue Celtique*, XXXII (1911), 436.

with his totally different concept, did not. This argument for Geoffrey as the father of Arthurian romance carries little conviction.

II. Mr Gerould refers to 'a set of stories developed in England to enhance the glory of the English kings and minister to the pride of nobles who had learned to call themselves English,' and speaks of their being 'woven into romances.' [1] This set of stories must be Geoffrey of Monmouth's book, since neither Mr Gerould nor anyone else can point to a set of Arthurian stories, other than Geoffrey's, developed in England at this time with political purpose. We are told, then, that Geoffrey's stories were 'woven into romances,' and the following 'romancers' are cited: Gaimar, Wace, Marie de France, Thomas, Béroul, Chrétien de Troyes, Robert de Boron, and Wauchier de Denain. The fact of the matter is, of course, that the two authors who used Geoffrey's work directly and extensively, Gaimar and Wace, were not romancers in any strict sense of the word, and the rest, who were romancers, made no direct use of Geoffrey. Chrétien, Thomas, and Robert de Boron used only Wace.[2] It has yet to be shown that any of these poets, excepting the redactors of Geoffrey, had ever read a line of the *Historia*. The lumping of Wace's and Gaimar's work with true romances, as if they belonged to the same class and tradition, does not contribute to scientific accuracy. And the implication that the pseudo-historical tradition, of which Geoffrey is the head, supplied the characteristic narrative materials of Arthurian romance is as completely mistaken as that it supplied the typical conception of Arthur.

III. A third argument, that Arthurian romance sprang from, and was determined in its nature by, Geoffrey, is implied in the following. After listing the twelfth-century romancers and noting their provenance and court connections, Mr Gerould says: 'What can be ascertained from dialect and dedications indicates, accordingly, that the Arthurian material was used in the first place by writers who either had English or Norman connections, or at least were not nearly

[1] *Speculum*, II, 50.

[2] J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (1923), I, 37, note. Thomas, *Tristan*, ed. Bédier (1902), II, 101: 'Les emprunts de notre poète à Wace sont nombreux, mais tout accessoires.' Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 144: 'Geoffrey, whom Robert, however, probably knew only through Wace.'

concerned with the prestige of the French kings as set over against the English. Once popularized, of course, the stories belonged to all the world, and were obviously used and embroidered by Continental writers without thought of any dynastic or national considerations.' [1] The distinct implication is that not only Wace and Gaimar, but also the other poets in the list who shared their political sympathies, were motivated in their work by dynastic and national considerations.[2]

Mr Gerould himself realizes how little this description applies to Chrétien and makes an exception in his case. But what about the Anglo-Normans, Marie de France and Thomas, to whom Mr Gerould's implication that the earliest insular romances were engaged in exalting the political Arthur would apply, if at all? Only two of Marie's *lais* can be called Arthurian. One, *Chievrefoil*, deals exclusively with the loves of Tristan and Isolt. The other, *Lanval*, reflects no glory on Arthur and his court. Anything further removed in spirit from the *History of the Kings of Britain* it would be hard to imagine. The case of Thomas is worse, for though writing under the patronage of the royal Angevin house,[3] he assigns Arthur no part in his poem, and the facts show that he eliminated Arthur from a tradition in which he was already associated with Tristan. The primitive Welsh triad of Tristan the swineherd, and the *Ystoria Trystan*, containing an early form of the loves of Kaherdin and Bringvain,[4] bring Arthur on the scene, while Continental tradition, represented by Béroul, Eilhardt, and the prose romances, features him prominently. It is Thomas, the Anglo-Norman court poet, and his redactors who alone of Tristan romancers seem disinclined to contribute to the glory of Arthur. There is no foundation whatsoever for the theory that Arthurian romance, as distinct from pseudo-history, first issued from those politically attached to the English

[1] *Speculum*, II, 50 f.

[2] Mr Gerould may have intended his words to apply only to Gaimar and Wace, but by including them with the romancers he has courted misunderstanding.

[3] *Modern Language Review*, XVII (1922), 24–28. Mr Gerould's remark that Thomas' poem is 'by general consent' among the earliest of the romances, and his dating, 1155–70, ignore the work of Wilmotte, Foerster, Miss Schoepperle, Ranke, and Kelemina.

[4] *Romania*, LIII (1927), 95.

throne, in an effort to counterbalance the renown of Charlemagne by depicting a more glorious hero and conqueror in Uther's son.

On the contrary, there is striking evidence that, in Geoffrey's own time, Frenchmen, authors of Carolingian epics, took kindly to, and even used, the materials of Arthurian romance. In the *Couronnement Louis*, which may be dated about 1130,[1] we twice meet the phrase '*tot l'or d'Avalon*,'[2] evidence that the riches of Avalon had become proverbial in French literary circles which knew not Geoffrey and had no interest in anti-French propaganda. More extraordinary and more significant is the discovery that one of the earliest Carolingian epics, produced at St Denis under the very mantle, so to speak, of the French monarchy, is largely made up of Celtic material. The *Pèlerinage Charlemagne* was composed to celebrate the fair of Lendit, instituted at St Denis in 1109; Voretzsch dates the poem soon after this,[3] and scholars generally agree that it belongs to the first half of the century. It is regarded as a puzzle because of its grotesque conjunction of pious and comic elements.[4] The pious element can be easily isolated and identified as monkish advertising of the relics of the Passion at St Denis. The rest can with almost equal clarity be derived from the *Matière de Bretagne*. Thurneysen pointed out that Bishop Turpin's gab bore so close a relation to the feats of Irish heroes that it could best be explained as 'an afterglow of old Celtic story-telling.'[5] Mr K. G. T. Webster, in a study endorsed by

[1] *Couronnement Louis*, ed. E. Langlois (1920), p. vii; (1888), p. clxx. I am of course aware that the eight extant MSS are of the thirteenth century or later. But since the phrase 'L'or d'Avalon' occurs in all eight MSS, and is twice used in *laisse* xliii, which contains examples of the linguistic and phonological evidence (for instance, the absence of *s* in the nom. sing. of *sire*) on which Langlois relies for date, it must have belonged to the original poem. It is worth noting that, though Langlois (p. clxix) assigns the composition of the poem to the Ile de France, he emphasizes (pp. lviii, clxxiv) the importance in the third branch (ll. 1430–2224) of legends drawn from Poitiers and of localizations at Poitiers and in Brittany. It would be precisely in these regions, I believe, that a French author before 1130 would be most likely to come in contact with vigorous Arthurian traditions. Cf. *Romania*, LIII (1927), 89 f.

[2] *Couronnement Louis*, ed. Langlois (1888), II, ll. 1796, 1827.

[3] Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfrz. Literatur* (3d ed., Halle: Niemeyer, 1925), p. 183.

[4] J. Bédier, *Légendes Epiques*, ed. 1913, IV, 153.

[5] R. Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, pp. 18–21. Cf. the vows in *Meraugis* and the *Vulgate Lancelot*. Cf. *Romania*, XLI (1912), 531.

Schofield [1] and which M. Bédier has termed 'excellente,' [2] connected the revolving castle of Hugo with Irish legend,[3] and the twelve couches surrounding one superior couch with the identical arrangement in Conchobar's palace.[4] He has also found clear analogues to the story itself in *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, *Diu Krone*, and *The Turk and Gawain*. Gaston Paris and Mr Kittredge found other clear analogues respectively in *Rigomer* [5] and *Arthur and Gorlagon*.[6] I myself have shown how Hugo's palace, turning like a wheel and supplied with images blowing horns, is paralleled by the similar castle in *Arthur of Little Britain*, and, like it, must go back to an Irish original.[7] Mr Cross and Mrs Laura Loomis are about to publish studies of the Celtic elements in the *Pèlerinage*. Two solutions are conceivable for the extraordinary number of Celtic and Arthurian parallels to the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne:* either by some strange collusion the romancers seized upon this one *chanson de geste* out of the mass, pillaged it rather thoroughly, but unanimously rejected anything Carolingian or pious; or the advertiser of St Denis seized on a story which has every mark of being a genuine Arthurian tale, made Charlemagne the hero, dovetailed it into the already existing legend of Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem, and developed the inherent comedy of the Arthurian situations with true *esprit gaulois*. The first explanation is fantastic. The latter must be the truth, and is the view to which Schofield and Webster incline.[8] It demonstrates once more that the *Matière de Bretagne* did not first win popularity in literary circles because of Geoffrey's book; even less because of sympathy with the political implications of that book.

IV. A fourth argument for the dependence of the Arthurian romances on Geoffrey is explicitly set forth by Mr Gerould. Since, in his opinion, it has not been shown that coherent, well-organized tales of Arthur existed before Geoffrey, therefore without him there

[1] W. H. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, pp. 152 f.
[2] Bédier, *Légendes Epiques*, IV, 153, note.
[3] *Englische Studien*, XXXVI (1905–06), 356, n. 2.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 366.
[5] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXX, 111.
[6] [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 212 f.
[7] R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 224, 172–175.
[8] Schofield, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 f.; *Englische Studien*, XXXVI, 367–369.

might never have been any Arthurian romances at all. [1] The answer is that both the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne* and the Modena sculpture show that well-rounded, elaborate tales did exist before Geoffrey, and later furnished material to the romances, both verse and prose. Mr Gerould relegates to a footnote the following remark: [2] 'About the evidence from the reliefs [*sic*] in Lombardy, there is still the gravest doubt.' I shall not here recapitulate the evidence from documents, from the history of sculpture and architecture, from military costume, which combines to show that the Arthurian relief at Modena is to be dated between 1099 and 1106. That evidence I published, in 1924, in the journal of the College Art Association; [3] in 1925, in *Nuovi Studi Medievali*,[4] I pointed out that M. Mâle, who alone among archaeologists assigns the sculpture to as late a date as 1160, is not to be relied on for dates in general and this date in particular. More recently in my *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*,[5] and in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, I have presented my arguments on this capital matter. Many of the most competent judges in archaeology and the history of romance have assured me of their agreement.

There has been ample time to dispute my argument, but the only challenge so far published is that of M. Deschamps in the *Monuments et Mémoires, Fondation Piot*, XXVIII (1927), 69 ff. He attributes the sculpture to the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and dates it about the middle of the century. How much weight we should attach to his literary opinions may be judged by M. Deschamps's statement that the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, '*s'il n'était pas entièrement original, s'il laissait supposer des emprunts à des légendes anciennes, était toutefois la source de toutes les compositions littéraires racontant les exploits du roi Artur et ses compagnons.*' He points out not a single detail derived from Geoffrey, and fails to note that Arthur's Queen has a different name from that which Geoffrey gives her, and that the names Isdernus and Galvaginus are both nearer the Welsh than the forms in the *Historia*, and are there-

[1] *Speculum*, II, 48.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Art Bulletin*, VI (1924).
[4] Vol. II (1925–26), p. 105.
[5] Page 7.

fore independent, if not earlier. On the literary side M. Deschamps's case could not be weaker. On the archaeological side, he has much to say that is worthy of attention, but again there are fatal weaknesses. He ignores Mr Porter's various arguments for a connection between Bari and Modena; he discusses the sculptural style of everything but the archivolt in question; and in the matter of armor he is so incautious as to state that the Bayeux Embroidery is '*datée généralement des environs de 1125*.' This opinion he would find few French scholars of eminence to corroborate,[1] and it is completely refuted by the fact that the rectangular 'chest-protector' has been pointed out on no later monument (except the embroidery) than 1023, and that the closest parallel in armor is found in a manuscript completed by 1072.[2] If M. Deschamps could produce a warrior from a dated monument of the middle of the twelfth century as close to those represented at Modena in hauberk, pennon, shield, and helmet-form as those that I reproduced from a manuscript of 1109,[3] then his argument would deserve serious consideration. But the examples of armor from the middle of the century that I cited would only show more clearly the weakness of his case.

The fact is, if we study Arthurian romance, both verse and prose, with our eyes on the Modena sculpture, instead of on Geoffrey of Monmouth, the whole development of that vast literature gradually becomes comprehensible. Foerster, though opposed on principle to the existence of any romance before Chrétien, nevertheless admitted that the sculpture long antedated Chrétien, that it illustrated a scene from one of those numerous *contes bretons* to which there is frequent reference, and that it found echoes in the literature of the Round Table.[4] In other words, it represents a stage in the development of Arthurian story, which, except for the reflection in the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*, is lost to us. It stands in the direct line of

[1] *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires*, 1924, p. 118; *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXXXII (1921), 157 ff.; *Bulletin Monumentale*, 1913, pp. 129 ff.; C. Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, III, 25.

[2] *Art Bulletin*, VI (1923), 6.

[3] *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*.

[4] *Zs. für Romanische Philologie*, XXII (1898), 248; W. Foerster, *Kristian von Troyes: Wörterbuch* (1914), 19*, n. 2.

descent of the romances. We should properly expect to find here the solution of many riddles, and our expectations are not vain.

First, the Modena sculpture indicates the organic connection of the romances with the *contes bretons*. It has been shown to represent that famous traditional story, the abduction and rescue of Guinevere. It contains precise details that reappear in Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein*, *Durmart le Gallois*, and the *Vulgate Lancelot*.[1]

Secondly, it proves the organic connection of the *contes bretons* with Welsh and Irish legend. When the story of the sculpture is reconstructed, it reveals its descent from the famous Irish story of the abduction and rescue of Blathnat,[2] from which the Welsh episode of Blodeuwedd is also descended.[3]

Thirdly, the sculpture illustrates how mythological elements penetrated into Arthurian romance. A long line of scholars, from Gaston Paris down, has noted the presence of these elements; my own work, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, is mainly concerned with them. Scholars with an incurable dislike of myths may avert their eyes from Gawain's solar traits, the demonstrable descent of 'Morgain la déesse' from Matrona, Celtic goddess of the waters,[4] or of Mabon from Apollo Maponos,[5] the references to the land from whence no man returns,[6] and so forth. But there they are, facts which demand explanation. Now the famous Irish story on which the Modena sculpture is ultimately based contains three important personages. Cuchulinn is the son of a god and a goddess, and his solar traits are well known.[7] Curoi possesses traits which, in combination, leave no doubt of his originally mythic nature.[8] He declares that, however great his height,[9] he gives light to the household, but not burning. His special function is to journey over the whole world. He leaves his home at nightfall for an Oriental expedition into Scythia, his return is in the morning, and every night during his absence his castle revolves. The meaning of this can be verified by

[1] R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 8–10.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 10–14. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 17 f. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 191–193.
[5] J. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures* (1887), pp. 27 f.
[6] R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 213 f.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 47. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[9] The literal translation of '*cacha be dim airdi*' (E. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 302) is 'however great I may be in my height.' There is a *double entendre* intended here.

gazing at the heavens with the eyes of primitive man. By day no movement appears in the sun's home, the sky; but as soon as the sun departs and the stars are out, all the heavens seem to be turning slowly.[1] The damsel for whom Cuchulinn and Curoi contend is called Blathnat, 'Little Flower.' The battle for her lasts from November 1 till the middle of spring. If this is not myth or the remains of myth, there is no such thing. One is not surprised that a lady named Florence in *Arthur of Little Britain*, who betrays not only in her name but also in her rôle her derivation from Blathnat, is said to be made in the exact image of Proserpine.[2] And here in the Modena sculpture we see what was once an Irish myth in process of transformation into an Arthurian romance.

Fourthly, the names on the sculpture shed an extraordinary light on Arthurian nomenclature. One of them, Winlogee, is obviously the Breton name Winlowen,[3] which has been substituted for the Welsh Gwenhwyvar. It descends into Arthurian romance as Guinloie, Guenloie, and Gwendoloena.[4] This Breton influence on the nomenclature of Arthurian romance has been pointed out by Zimmer,[5] and Dr Brugger,[6] and brought into connection with the fact that the Arthurian *contes* are always referred to the '*Bretons*,' not to the '*Gallois*.' The Modena sculpture also furnishes the earliest form of the name Gawain, Galvagin(us), and thereby gives us the clue to the derivation not only of this name but also of Lancelot's, so that we can trace them both back to Welsh divine epithets and ultimately to Irish gods. The confirmatory evidence is so copious that I can only refer the reader to my own discussion.[7]

All four of Mr Gerould's assertions or suggestions in support of his view that Geoffrey was the father of Arthurian romance must be

[1] The Irish author says that 'it was as swift as a mill-stone.' Probably the simile was inserted by a redactor who did not know that the allusion was to the star-lit sky. The comparison with a mill-stone was retained, however, and reappears in the French and German versions of the *Mule sans Frein* story. See R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 113.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 168–175.

[3] J. Loth, *Chrestomathie bretonne* (1890), p. 147.

[4] *De Ortu Walwanii*, ed. J. D. Bruce (1913), p. 85; *Yderroman*, ed. H. Gelzer (1913), p. lvi; *Chevalier as Deux Espees*, ed. Foerster, 1877.

[5] *Zs. für Französische Sprache*, XII (1890), 231 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, XLIX (1927), 201 ff., 381 ff.

[7] R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 62–66, 91–96.

rejected. Geoffrey passed on neither his concept of Arthur, nor his incidents, nor his political coloring to the romancers of the twelfth century, and they drew for their materials on stories demonstrably current before Geoffrey. A well-recognized test of paternity is resemblance, and a paterfamilias whose offspring resembled him no more than Marie's *Lanval* or Thomas's *Tristan* or Robert de Boron's *Joseph* resembles the *Historia Regum Britanniae,* would rightly be the subject of ribald jests. Let us turn from a theory so baseless to the mature judgment of Gaston Paris. The romances of the twelfth century owe nothing directly, and comparatively little through Wace, to Geoffrey of Monmouth.

In a recent article [1] regarding the Irish connections of William of Malmesbury and Glastonbury Abbey, Mr Clark Slover has much to say that is valuable and sound. But he seems to go far beyond his evidence when he implies that William was active in the transformation of Irish legendary themes into Arthurian romances. 'William was interested in Irish material; he had access to Irish documents; and he was actively engaged in the adaptation of Irish material to the needs of Glastonbury Abbey. The Glastonbury advertisers, moreover, used Arthurian material. The work of William, therefore, added to the Irish influence already established at Glastonbury and provided a means of contact between Arthurian romance and Irish tradition.'[2] No one familiar with questions concerning the *Matière de Bretagne* will deny that the Glastonbury advertisers used Arthurian material, that Glastonbury monks were acquainted with Irish legend, or that Arthurian romance has drawn heavily on Irish legend. But to draw the conclusion, as Mr Slover seems to do, that here at Glastonbury, under William of Malmesbury's inspiration, the story patterns of Irish saga were in considerable quantity revamped for the purposes of monastic propaganda into Arthurian romances, is to leave out of consideration certain essential facts.

Of the four pieces of Arthurian propaganda which Mr Slover cites as emanating from Glastonbury, all are generally believed to have been composed after William of Malmesbury's death.[3] The

[1] *Speculum,* II (1927), 268. [2] *Ibid.,* p. 283.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 269. On date of *Vita Gildae,* cf. Bruce, *Evolution,* I, 196, note. On *De Anti-*

Arthurian passages in William's *De Antiquitate* have been shown to be interpolations, and Mr Slover himself does not deny this. William of Malmesbury's connection with Arthurian romance (as distinguished from history) is confined to the references in the *Historia Anglorum* to the discovery of the tomb of Walwen in Wales, and to the idle tales of the Bretons, which he characterizes as 'foolish dreams of deceitful fables.' [1] This description hardly sorts with the view that he was engaged in manufacturing or manipulating just such fables for the glory of Glastonbury. Again, the parts of Arthurian romance which are generally admitted to incorporate Irish saga material show no trace of Glastonbury influence, for example, the various versions of the Beheading Test and of the Transformed Hag. Furthermore, what are we to make of the considerable number of Welsh names and story motifs which are found in the romances, particularly in *Perlesvaus*,[2] the very romance which Mr Slover rightly brings forward as produced under Glastonbury influence? Finally, we cannot leave out of account the marked Breton coloring in Arthurian nomenclature and topography.

It is an axiom of all science that that theory is true which accounts for the greatest number of phenomena, provided it be not totally incompatible with any. Mr Gerould's assertion that Geoffrey of Monmouth was the father of Arthurian romance, and Mr Slover's more cautious suggestion that William of Malmesbury was instrumental in its beginnings, are incompatible with many facts and explain very few. On the other hand, the theory to which the Modena sculpture leads us does explain an enormous mass of facts, and is incompatible, so far as I can discover, with none. Arthurian scholars have been divided into three groups: Nutt, Kittredge, Brown, Miss Schoepperle, and Cross stressing the Irish contribution; Rhys and Ferdinand Lot, the Welsh; and Zimmer, Foerster, and Brugger, the Breton. All three groups have submitted powerful evidence, and no theory of Arthurian origins which does not accord

quitate passages, cf. J. A. Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends* (1926), p. 18; *Somersetshire Historical Essays* (1921), pp. 21 f.; *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XVIII (1903), 474 ff. On *Perlesvaus* date cf. *Mod. Phil.*, XVII (1919–20), 165, 611.

[1] *Studies and Notes*, X, 40.

[2] R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 73 f., 201–204, 247 f.

with their findings can hold the field. The theory suggested by the Modena sculpture reconciles all three schools, and accounts for a great deal more besides. It fits into that scheme of derivation and transmission I have quoted above from Mr Kittredge. It may be sketched as follows, and is of course open to modifications of detail.

Dyfed and Gwynedd in western Wales were inhabited until a late period by Goidels distinct from their Brythonic neighbors. They possessed traditions almost identical with those of their southern Irish kinsfolk, but they apparently knew almost nothing of the Ulster cycle.[1] The oldest Welsh prose, the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, is localized in precisely these regions and is permeated with Goidelic myth and folklore motifs.[2] According to Mr Gruffydd, who knows this literature better than any other scholar and whose forthcoming study of *Math* is an epoch-making contribution to its understanding, the *Four Branches* are in the main the product of these Goidels, who in the course of time had exchanged their language for Welsh. There is reason to believe that not only the figures of Bran, Pryderi, Gwri, Blodeuwedd, Gilvaethwy, Llew, Arianrhod, Rhiannon, Arawn, and Manawydan reappear in Arthurian romance, but also situations or stories connected with the first four.[3] *Kilhwch and Olwen* represents a later stage, when the Goidelic material had mingled with Brythonic mythology and the hero legends of Arthur, Owain, Myrddin, and so forth. Neither the Welsh nor the Cornish, who shared with them in the development of the *Matière de Bretagne*, were capable of propagating it outside Celtic territory, for they did not come to speak French in any numbers till the end of the eleventh century, and the English were naturally not receptive.

Meanwhile, however, these more than half-mythical stories had passed on to the Bretons, who, at least on the French border, had been bilingual for a century or more. The French laughed at the Breton belief in Arthur's return, but were fascinated by the tales as adapted by Breton reciters. The Bretons reached Italy by the end of the eleventh century, as Senator Rajna's evidence from proper names

[1] I. B. John, *Mabinogion* (1902), p. 16.

[2] *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Soc.*, 1912–13, pp. 14–26.

[3] R. S. Loomis, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 f., 151 f., 201 ff., 217 ff., 233 f., 308, 337.

and the Modena sculpture show. At St Denis they must have made such an impression that the composer of the *Pèlerinage* was moved to borrow heavily from them. Then we begin to get in England the references to the '*Britonum nugae*,' '*fabulosi Britones*,' and so forth; [1] never, significantly, do we find the specific words for Welsh or Welshmen used, but always the words which most plausibly apply to the Bretons. One Welshman, Bleheris, however, can be shown to have played an important part in bringing a Bretonized Tristan romance to the court of Poitou.[2] Another Welshman, Geoffrey of Monmouth, using more or less Breton pseudo-history, raised Arthur to respectability in learned circles. Thenceforth the evolution of the Arthurian cycle is comparatively clear, provided we recognize that throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was always this oral tradition, stretching right back to Celtic heathendom, upon which poets and prose-writers could and did draw for the basic narrative framework and many details of their romances. Malory even, in the dawn of the Renaissance, using doubtless a lost French romance, preserves for us the weeping queens who took away Arthur for healing — a feature which, as Mr Cross and Miss Schoepperle independently proved, rests on the healing of the Irish hero Fraich.[3]

Though one may concede that politics had much to do with the rise and development of the pseudo-historical Arthur in Geoffrey and his redactors, the far greater popularity of the romantic Arthur and his knights is susceptible of no such explanation. It was the inherent charm of the tales themselves, the talent or genius of the *conteurs*, of whom Bleheris was presumably the greatest, that made the *Matière de Bretagne* a literary fashion, not only of the twelfth century, but also of centuries to follow.

[1] For a collection of passages, cf. *Moyen Age*, XIX (1916), 234. On the interpretation of the words, cf. Brugger's powerful, if over-truculent, article in *Zs. für Französische Sprache*, XX[1] (1898), 79 ff.

[2] *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIX (1924), 320; *Romania*, LIII (1927), 82.

[3] *Vassar Medieval Studies* (1923), p. 19; *Manly Anniversary Studies* (1924), p. 284.

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MASTER HENRY OF AVRANCHES AS AN INTERNATIONAL POET

By JOSIAH COX RUSSELL

Exul perambulo mundum
Et per barbarias inglorius erro poeta.

THE wandering entertainer of the Middle Ages, jongleur, minstrel, or poet, is an intriguing subject.[1] We easily conjure up pictures of his errant life, intermittent poverty, and occasional triumphs at feudal courts, and in our imagination we share his vagabond life, the pinch of his poverty, and the joy of his success. Imagination admittedly paints a large portion of the picture of any one jongleur or poet, because the facts of the life of such a character are usually obscure, and the deficit of information about one is filled out with deductions from the lives of others. Rather more than usual information, however, is available concerning the career of Master Henry of Avranches, the author of the lines quoted above. To reconstruct his life we have more than one hundred and fifty of his poems, a long diatribe against him by a rival, Michael of Cornwall, a few documentary references from the Continent, and an illuminating series of items from the Public Record Office, London.[2] From this evidence his career of nearly half a century (1214–1260) emerges, the career of a wandering poet which touches many of the important persons of that time.

Cosmopolitanism was the poet's birthright: his father was a Norman of Avranches, but the son was born in Germany, probably in the last decade of the twelfth century. His early associations are rather clearly with Cologne. Indeed he is possibly to be identified with the envoy, Master Henry of Cologne, who served Otto

[1] No. 9, see *Appendix B* (pp. 58–63, below) for catalogue of poems. The following abbreviations are used: *MS. A* = Cambridge University Library, *MS. Dd.xi.78; MS. D* = MS. *Cotton Vesp. D. V; MS. MA* = *Royal MS., 14 C.xiii; Diss.* = my *Master Henry of Avranches* (unpublished Harvard University diss., 1926). I wish to acknowledge here the advice and encouragement given me so generously by Mr C. H. Haskins of Harvard University during the research for, and preparation of, the material in this article.

[2] See *Appendix A*, pp. 55–58 below.

IV at the court of King John in 1214. At any rate, his poems show him writing for King John at that time and for Otto in 1215. By 1219 he is in England writing for ecclesiastical patrons until about 1227 when Peter des Roches fell from royal favor and left for a crusade. A few years later he turns up again in Germany, which he finds agitated by heretic-hunters and inhospitable to wanderers. He is at the Papal Curia in 1232 and 1234. The imperial court likewise attracted him while in Italy, and it is possible that he travelled to Germany about 1235 in company with Frederick II. Dean of Maastricht by 1237, he is caught in the disorders in the diocese of Liège of 1238 and soon returns to the Papal Curia, with a story of the loss of his deanery and a castle. A considerable number of poems indicate his presence in France, but it is difficult to date them accurately. If he is the Henry, Canon of Avranches, who appears at the Papal Curia in 1234, he was in France just previous to this. In fact, rather nebulous evidence would place several pieces from that time as written at Le Mans and Angers. He wrote for King Louis IX in 1241. Two years later he is in the employ of Henry III, and from then until Easter, 1260, English records preserve information as to his presence or absence. Two gaps in the records, 1245–1250 and a part of the years 1253–1255, apparently indicate further wanderings of which no positive trace remains. The poet probably died in the royal service and did not long survive Matthew Paris (†1259), who owned the largest collection of his poetry. [1]

In the course of his travels Master Henry wrote for one pope, two emperors, three kings, six archbishops, more than a dozen bishops, and a scattering of lesser dignitaries, feudal and ecclesiastical; this we learn from his poems. About seventy, or roughly one-half of his known works, are for this group of patrons: for his other pieces the probability of patronage rapidly shades off into possibility and bare conjecture. The list includes the archbishops of Bourges, Canterbury, Cologne, Mainz, and Trier, and bishops of Angers, Beauvais, Chichester, Clermont, Durham, London,

[1] *MS. A*, see *Appendix B* (pp. 59–61, below). This outline of the poet's travels is a summary of *Diss.*, chap. V.

Norwich, Salisbury, Spoleto, and Winchester — a remarkable geographical distribution.

This dispersion is, however, more apparent than actual. At the Papal Curia alone he wrote a score of poems for six patrons, Pope Gregory IX,[1] John Blund, Archbishop-elect of Canterbury [2] (127), Nicholas of Piacenza, Patriarch-elect of Constantinople (111, 113), Henry of Molenark, Archibshop of Cologne (71), Simon de Sully, Archbishop of Bourges (68, 128), Hugh de la Tour, Bishop of Clermont (108), and Milo de Nanteuil, Bishop of Beauvais.[3] Likewise he must have found many of his English patrons at the royal court. During the minority of Henry III they include Eustace Falconberg (38, 47), William de Sainte-Mère-Eglise (8), Ralph Neville (39, 40), Geoffrey de Bocland (42), Pandulph (49), Peter des Roches (23), and Archbishop Stephen Langton (9, 44). In several instances the poet dwells upon acts taking place at royal command or suggestion.[4] The long period of service at the English court later (1243–1260) has been mentioned; but composition at other courts is not so easily detected unless the patron is king or emperor. In general two-fifths of his pieces were demonstrably written at court, one-fifth probably, one-fifth possibly, and one-fifth clearly elsewhere. The importance of the court as a sphere of the poet's activity is very marked.

The higher ecclesiastics, pope, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, seem to have been generous patrons: for them Master Henry composed at least nine-tenths of his Latin lines. Yet, excepting the pope and the German archbishops, who were also great secular lords, these patrons do not seem to have extended him hospitality away from court. A poem on the building of Salisbury Cathedral (20) is the only indication that Master Henry visited an episcopal see. Apparently the bishop at home had little time or inclination for patronage: probably the competition or leisure of the court were necessary to stimulate him thus to encourage the art of poetry.

[1] Nos. 89, 112, 114, 116, 117, 122. Nos. 127 and 128 are addressed to the pope in behalf of patrons, and no. 33 concerns the author at the Curia.

[2] When reference is to only one or two poems the numbers will be given in parenthesis in the text.

[3] Nos. 69, 72, 73, 78.

[4] Nos. 8, 38–40.

In reconstructing Master Henry's travels the course must in general be drawn from court to court. However, some allowance must be made for the half of his poems where patronage is less apparent — religious verse in considerable quantity for instance. An indefinite but probably a large place in the poet's life was occupied by monasteries whose patronage need have left few marks. As a clerk, a constant traveller, and a writer of religious verse he was triply open to their hospitality, and certain definite evidence of his obligations to them remains.

Master Henry was one of several writers who enjoyed the favor of Abbot Henry Longchamp of Croyland.[1] Peterborough owned two manuscripts of his poems, one containing the *Vita S. Oswaldi et Aliorum*,[2] whose introduction lauds Abbot Martin and several other officers and monks of Bury. Ramsey Abbey possesses some of his poems,[3] and a squib is made upon the name of one of its abbots (53). We may conjecture that the long poem upon SS Crispin and Crispinian (28) was written for the monastery of St Crispin at Soissons, and that St Edmundsbury and Dunstable were the recipients of the legends of St Edmund (24) and St Fremund.[4] With considerable vigor the poet denounces the archbishops of Mainz and Trier for denying hospitality to wandering clerks in the religious houses of their provinces.[5] For the Prior of Canterbury he wrote a piece about St Thomas (9). He calls himself *seruus Pantaleonis*, probably of Cologne, in four lines giving thanks for hospitality received at St Albans (92):

> Do grates, Albane, tibi, qui Pantaleonis
> Me seruum gratis aluisti, duc bone, donis

[1] See my "Literature at Croyland Abbey under Henry Longchamp (1191–1237)." *Colorado College Publications*, General Series, No. 148 (December, 1927).

[2] No. 48. See Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748), p. 396 under Henry of Huntingdon, and p. 219 under "Henry de Davench," excellent illustrations of the way in which the authorship of Master Henry of Avranches' poetry has been obscured.

[3] *Prosae Magistri Henrici Versificatoris.* See *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, etc., ed. W. D. Macray, Rolls Series (London, 1886), p. 365.

[4] No. 22. St Fremund's body is alleged to lie there [F. G. Holweck, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* (St Louis, 1924) under Fremund]. The Bollandists suggest Dorchester as his burial place (Acta SS, May, II, 656).

[5] No. 79. He refers to the same situation some years later in No. 118.

Anglorum prothomartiris, aue! Tu me tibi probum
Agnoscas. Fateor mihi, te, uenerande, patronum.

The poet is quoted by Matthew Paris,[1] and wrote a begging poem to Abbot William of Trumpington (94).

Whether at monastery or at court Master Henry faced audiences which he must convert into patrons, who would reward him to the extent that he interested them in his poetry. For a time his success seems small: a whole series of appeals for largess come from the years 1214–1223,[2] whose tone is even more significant than the number. He thanks Richard Marsh for a small gift because (34)

Res me parva iuuet, spes in magna nocet.

The Prior of Canterbury had failed to remunerate him (9) for the *Sancti scripta Thome miracula*.[3] Poverty-stricken and despondent, he felt that:

Nec uia lata patet, sed inangulor hic apud Anglos
Ingratosque meis prelatos sencio donis.

However, only a few begging poems are of later date: to Frederick II (11) and Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz (120, 123) about 1232–1235, and roughly a decade later to Bishop William Raleigh of Winchester (153) and William of York, Bishop of Salisbury (154). These are rather casual and signify nothing as to his actual pecuniary condition. Indeed after 1223 his attitude never seems warped by poverty, and we may perhaps assume that by this time he had successfully mastered the essentials of securing patrons for himself. The years 1214–1223 stand out as the formative and experimental period in his life. The abundant pieces of this period make clear what he discarded as well as what he developed, both in his poetry and in his attitude toward his patrons.

[1] *Chronica Maiora*, iii, 189, 190, 391, also iii, 43 and *Appendix B* of this article. Item 11, *Appendix A*, is dated at St Albans.

[2] Nos. 9, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 44, 46, 49, 94.

[3] If this is the *Life of St Thomas* (no. 1) as Winkelmann believed [*Monatschrift für die Geschichte Westdeutschlands*, IV (1878), 337], the Prior seems to have taken the following lines too seriously:

Ve michi, quod tacui celeberrima gesta uirorum
Qui pro lege Dei seruanda se posuerunt
Ierusalem murum contra Babilonis alumpnos.

One all too obvious characteristic of Master Henry's earlier poetry in his preoccupation with himself and his accomplishments; we see this in his lines to King John (37):

Nomen habes non inmerito diuina, Iohannes,
Gratia uoce sue conueniente rei
Ergo uel gratus summo uel gratia summi
Es pro parte mea casus utrique facit
Si summo gratus, ergo pietatis alumnus
Ergo pauperibus ferre teneris opem,
Ergo mihi cum sim pauper; si gratia summi,
Ergo dans quod habes, omnibus, ergo mihi,
Ergo sui proprie dicaris gratis sui
Enfatice gratis munus habebo tuum.

Two lines in praise of the king and the rest devoted to his own needs to which, indeed, the first two form an introduction! It is *gratia* and *ergo*. The frequency with which *sic* and *ergo* intrude in his early verses suggests that the poet had recently studied logic.[1] Little wonder his patrons were few!

Early in his career he tried his hand at fables (31); he composed a debate-poem, *The Knight and the Clerk* (41) and a dialogue in which a German has it that the English have tails and drink too much beer; the German's taunts and the Englishman's vigorous retaliation suggest student activity,[2] later unmistakable in requests for vacations (150, 151). Yet the place and date of the poet's study are quite obscure.[3] He recited upon *Generation and Corruption* before a university group (35). Even Michael of Cornwall conceded his proficiency in grammar:[4]

Gramaticalia scis, sed naturalia nescis,
Nec logicalia scis.

[1] Nos. 21, 32, 37, 41–46, 93.

[2] No. 93. Cf. the statement of Jacques de Vitry, *University of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints*, II, iii, 18.

[3] Conjecture places his study of logic before 1214, and of advanced subjects about 1230 upon the basis of a remark in no. 118 and his apparent interests in the following years. Cf. no. 100A; *Diss.*, chap. V, note 27 ff.

[4] *MS. MA*, fol. 270r. Cf. the fragments, nos. 3, 5, 74; the longer pieces, nos. 13, 18, 103, and nos. 159–161 by 'Master Henry,' who in one or more of these three is probably identical with our poet.

Judging from the paucity of these intellectual pieces, they were not in great demand. This also holds for odd verse forms such as the reversible line (54A):

> Sacrum pingue dabo nunc macrum sacrificabo
> Capris ira satur non apris appropriatur.

Another curious contrivance appears in two poems (40, 65) as follows (40):

> Memor es et ut fias pastor gregis
> Regis fauor prout competit
> Petit iam uotis egencium
> Opus est et necessarium.

Gradually in 1220–1224 Master Henry and his learning recede into the background but only in proportion as the patron and his interests advance. The clearest illustration of this change occurs in the introductions to eight saints' legends written from about 1218 to about 1232. The first, St Fremund (22), lacks an introduction. The blessings of St Hugh (95), St Thomas (1), and St Edmund (24) are invoked in the next three. The patrons as well as the saints come in for praise in the longer and more fulsome adulations of the last four, St Guthlac (19) to Henry Longchamp, St Oswald (48) to Abbot Martin of Bury, St Birin (23) to Peter des Roches, and St Francis (89) to Pope Gregory IX. Even the later begging poems emphasize the patron more than the poet.[1] The four later legends declare themselves requested works which presupposes a certain amount of popularity on the part of the poet. He had evidently learned that "even court poets were courtiers first and poets second." [2]

Master Henry's development as a courtier becomes more of an achievement as we realize his egotistical and contentious disposition. To Frederick II about 1232 he could assert (11):

> Cum tua sic alios premat excellencia reges,
> Sumque poesis ego supremus in orbe professor,
> Dicendi, licet equiuoce, sumus ambo monarchi,
> Et summum reputo, quo in hoc communico tecum,

[1] Cf. nos. 9, 34, 38–40, 49, and 94 with the earlier poems, nos. 37, 42, 44, 46.

[2] C. H. Haskins, 'Henry II as a Patron of Literature,' *Essays in Mediaeval History presented to T. F. Tout*, edd. A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), p. 76.

which is only a little less presumptuous if we could be sure that he had already written the *Life of St Francis* (89) for Gregory IX. He was adept in vituperation. He tells how on entering a church at Angers he beheld two asses braying in the choir (133): one was Peter Siler to whom he devotes a dozen pieces,[1] all very acrimonious and frequently advising Peter to be silent (*silere*). Peter Siler was probably the fellow-poet Peter who with Master Henry carried a controversy to the Papal Curia (33), but his poetry is not known to have survived. Neither have we Master Henry's share of his controversy with Michael of Cornwall.[2]

All that is known of the Cornishman is contained in his long poem against Master Henry, but he depicts both himself and those with whom he found favor quite clearly. His assertions are not subtle: they are either too improbable to be true or too probable to be false. He answers certain allegations of Master Henry. In the language of Fuller, Henry "had traduced Cornwall as an inconsiderable country, cast out by nature in contempt into a corner of the land. Our Michael could not endure this affront, but full of Poeticall fury falls upon the Libeller, take a tast (little thereof will go far) of his strains."[3] The court poet had poked fun at those "strains," and had called the Cornishman Michaeloto and Michabel.[4] His attitude had been that of the patronizing cosmopolitan toward the picturesque provincial. Michael was deeply insulted, and his "Poeticall fury" raged throughout 1244 lines of extraordinary Latin. Henry was a Thersites,[5] his father a thief and his mother a prostitute.[6] That Henry was aged[7] we may well believe, but let the mind's eye try to picture the poet in the following description:[8]

[1] Nos. 129, 130, 132–144.

[2] Michael's poem is to be found in Cambridge Univ. Lib., *MS. Ff. vi. 13; MS. Bodl. 851;* British Museum, *MS. Cotton Titus A. XX*, and *MS. Royal 14, C, xiii* (= *MS. MA*). In *MS. Bodl. Misc. 2188*, late 13th cent., are *Versus Magistri Michaelis de Poter de Cornubia*, who may be another poet since Master Henry's enemy is usually given the surname 'Blaunpayn.'

A trace of another controversy appears in Thomas Smith's catalogue of the Cottonian Library (1696, p. 92). *MS. Cotton Vitell. D. VIII*, now lost, contained an *Altercatio inter Magistrum Henricum de Albrincis et Leonium Teutonicum:* Leonius Teutonicus may possibly be a corruption of Ledulphus Teutonicus, who appears in a document of 1245 in England (Liberate Roll 21, m 1).

[3] Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662), p. 203.

[4] *MS. MA*, fol. 271v, col. 1. [5] Fol. 272v, 2. [6] Fol. 271r, 1.

[7] Fol. 270v, 2. [8] Fol. 270r, 1.

Est tibi gamba capri, crus passeris et latus apri,
Os leporis, catuli nasus, dens et gena muli,
Frons uetule, tauri caput, et color undique Mauri.

Michael undertakes to defend Cornwall and gives way to a rhapsody on England.[1] His attitude was that of the proud provincial who detested the supercilious cosmopolitan and objected strenuously to the crowd of sophisticated continentals whom the king had admitted to favor. England was good enough for him!

The Cornishman's poem was popular. It was recited before large and respectable audiences and was copied in several MSS. The inscription on one MS. informs us that the poet read it before the abbot of Westminster and the Dean of St Paul's and afterwards before the Bishop of Ely and the Chancellor of Cambridge, together with the "university of masters."[2] The latter part of the poem, addressed to Hugh Mortimer, official of Canterbury,[3] mentions this reading at Cambridge:[4]

Clero presente Grantabrigie residente
Sese prebente mihi testes et perhibente
Hugo, presul Hely, librans metra laute fideli
Proposito celi michi mitram dans Michaeli
Decreuit pridem quod pro me protulite idem
Iudex illud idem quod clerus clamat ibidem.

At each reading the poet seems to have added verses; it is an anti-royal outburst, attacking especially the king's half-brothers:[5]

Nulla ualentia sed uiolentia.

This may refer to the general roughness of these royal relatives or more particularly to the sack of Bishop Hugh of Ely's manor in October, 1252.[6] The poem itself was probably written soon after this — one reading occuring on Wednesday after Purification[7] and another in Lent,[8] both probably in 1253. Michael's grievances

[1] Fol. 269v, 2.
[2] *MS. MA*, fol. 269v.
[3] Fol. 271r, 2.
[4] Fol. 274r, 1.
[5] Fol. 274r, 2.
[6] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, v, 343. The bishop died on August 9, 1254, *ibid.*, v, 454.
[7] *MS. MA*, fol. 271v. 1.
[8] Fol. 271v, 2.

coincided with the then general dislike of the overbearing foreigners, and it is not surprising that the poem was well received.

In Master Henry's poetry the controversies of his patrons frequently figure. Richard Marsh and Archbishop Henry of Cologne struggle against their respective chapters of Durham (34) and Cologne (71) in suits at London and Rome. Aldrich (Bishop of Trent?) humiliates his enemies in the presence of a distinguished company (106). William of Coulaines harasses Le Mans (145), trying to force an unfit candidate into the archdeanery of Laval. In petitions to Gregory IX the poet urges the claims of John Blund as Archbishop-elect of Canterbury to a pallium (127) and of Archbishop Simon de Sully of Bourges to jurisdictional supremacy over the Archbishop of Bordeaux.[1] In a bit of political propaganda Rome urges Innocent III to acknowledge Otto IV as emperor (21). When the turbulent communes of the Duchy of Spoleto and the March of Ancona try to force the deposition of their rector, Milo de Nanteuil, all the poet's sympathy is, as one might expect of a court poet, with constituted authority.[2] It is thus highly probable that Master Henry's lost piece upon the trouble between King John and the barons favored the king (98).

Master Henry's sympathy seems as genuine as his antipathy. Besides his difficulties at Ancona and Spoleto, Milo de Nanteuil was in trouble with his diocese over debts, and with Louis IX about his county. Finally as he was leaving Italy, he was waylaid and despoiled of his wealth.[3] Yet upon the bishop's death in 1234 the poet composed a short but sincere memorial extolling his courage (126). Rather more conventional verses mourn the death of Robert Passelewe in 1251 (148, 149). Both sympathy and humor appear in a versification of Henry III's speech to the surgeons attending John Mansel's broken leg (62). Of all his patrons the poet seems closest to Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester. He mentions the bishop as a judge in the suit involving Richard Marsh (34)

[1] No. 128. This controversy is also the subject of no. 68.

[2] Nos. 69, 72, 73, 78.

[3] Upon Milo's difficulties see Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *MGH.SS.* xxiii, 927, 936. Auvray, no. 827; Boehmer-Ficker, no. 13097; L. H. Labande, *Histoire de Beauvais* (Paris, 1902), p. 74.

about 1221, and wrote the *Life of St Birin* (23) at his request some later. The poet's departure from England about 1227 may have been influenced by his patron's fall from power. In an introductory poem to Frederick II (11) the poet mentions Peter as a mutual friend. John Blund, English chroniclers say, was Peter's candidate for Archbishop of Canterbury.[1] Finally, he praises the bishop as the rock of the Church (155), probably in 1235 when this belligerent prelate was assisting the emperor in reducing Rome to papal obedience.

The line between sympathy for and admiration of powerful patrons is difficult to draw, that between admiration and flattery of a capable patron even more so. Judgment of Master Henry's motives is complicated by the fact that the wide range of his interests made it possible for him to appreciate without affectation men of widely varying character. Because he was successful we may assume that his gratulatory verse mirrors quite exactly the achievements and distinctions upon which his patrons prided themselves.

There are about a score of such poems. Stephen Langton is the greatest of English archbishops except St Thomas Becket (44). Holding the capitals of David, Guiscard, Charlemagne, and Caesar, Frederick II is the mightiest of those who might claim rank with their predecessors (12). Eustace Falconberg (38) and Ralph Neville (39, 40) become bishops and Nicholas of Piacenza advances from Bishop of Spoleto to Patriarch of Constantinople (111, 113). German lords rejoice in the title of 'magnate' (121, 125), and the greatest magnate is Siegfried III, Archbishop of Mainz (123). Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne is commended for both that lay and religious activity (45) which eventually brought him a political assassination and a religious canonization. Richard Poore erects a mighty cathedral outside of Salisbury and beyond royal jurisdiction (20), while Theodoric of Wied repairs two castles and builds two to protect his archdiocese of Trier (147). Louis IX brings the Relics of the Crucifixion to Paris (14); William of Sainte-Mère-Eglise retires from the bishopric of London after a long and eventful career (8).

[1] No. 126. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, iii, 243, 244; *Annals of Oseney, Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, iv, 74.

Some merely reflect the interests of patrons. Frederick II's fine intellectual attainments are mentioned (11); the wisdom of the late Michael Scot, whose translation of the *Liber Avicenne de Animalibus* the poet may have copied,[1] is extolled. The emperor is urged to codify Roman Law as Gregory IX has systematized Canon Law (12). That this pope favored learning is suggested by the poet's emphasis upon John Blund's study at Oxford and Paris, and the esteem in which he is held in both universities (127). Henry III is the friend of God and is given *One Hundred Proverbs of Justice* (101). Robert Passelewe fails to secure an expected preferment, but there is consolation in that he need not visit the Papal Curia whence no rich man returns — rich (77). The young Bishop of Clermont is released from the tutelage of the neighboring Archbishop of Vienne (108).

Master Henry often lavished unstinted and undeserved flattery by extravagant comparisons or by punning upon names; both methods amount to a mannerism and, when present, tend to corroborate other evidence of his authorship. The first method is illustrated by a florid passage on Hugh of Lincoln:[2]

> Inter tot flores et gramina nascitur Hugo;
> Inter gramina flos, inter flores rosa; nec flos
> Simpliciter, sed flos hominum, flos cuius odore;
> Cuius siderea specie Lincolnia fragrat,
> Et flagrat; fragrat redolens, flagrat coruscans;
> Eius enim titulis redolet, signis que coruscat.

An example of the punning type may be taken from the introduction of the *Life of St Francis*:[3]

> At tu, sancte pater, bone pastor Gregori none,
> Qui pro peccato gregis orans qui gregis horis
> Inuigilans tanti mensuram nouam imples.

[1] Which a 'Magister Heinricus Coloniensis' finished on August 9, 1232, using the imperial exemplar in the house of Master Volmar, a physician to the emperor (Huillard-Bréholles, IV, 381; A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laureatianae*, etc., IV, 109). The evidence for identifying Master Henry as of Cologne is given in *Diss.*, chap. V, note 14 ff.

[2] No. 95. Other examples are in nos. 8, 11, 34, 38, 43, 48, 89, 94, 120, 123.

[3] No. 89. Other examples are in nos. 4, 36, 42, 46, 49, 89, 94, 120, 146, 148, 149, 152, 155. For disparagement puns are used in nos. 21, 68, 79, 129 ff.

Thus etymologizing he plays upon the English Trumpington (94), the French Passelewe (36, 149) and Des Roches (155), the German Friedrich (11), Engelbert (46), Siegfried (123), and Heinbach (152). This indicates that the poet had at least a slight knowledge of these languages.

As Master Henry matured, he made more and more use of rhyming verses following a fixed scheme, usually eight syllables to a line with occasional variation. Most of these are hymns and some are of considerable beauty:[1]

Stupet caro, stupet mundo
Stupet spiritus immundus
Quos tres hostes rex Edmundus
Uno Marte domuit
Rex et miles, rex sanctorum
Miles regis angelorum
Sanctus immo flos sanctorum
Sanctitate domuit.

A letter close of November 22, 1244, indicates Henry III's pleasure in a bit of the poet's verse which he had ordered for use in an important ceremony in Westminster Abbey:[2]

Mandatum est eidem quod in manu brachii illius, quod rex fieri precepit in honore Beati Thome apostoli, apponi faciat anulum quendam aureum competentem, quem fieri faciet fasticium cum pulchro saphiro, et in eodem anulo inscribatur uersum quendam quem faciet Magister Henricus uersificator talem continentem sententiam, "Is bene benedictionem dare debet qui omnibus benedictionem adquisivit, dum ei dicebatur, beati qui non uiderunt," etc. et prouideat omnibus modis quod bracium illud cum tali anulo promptum sit die Sancti Thome apostoli proximo instanti, ita quod monachi Westmonasterienses eo die solemniter illud deferre possint in processione in capis de choro in uenerationem eiusdem apostoli.

The saints' legends are the most striking of the poet's efforts, and that such a poet as Master Henry should give so much time and attention to hagiography is characteristic of that century when "never, before or since, has the miracle been so much in vogue."[3]

[1] No. 25. Other examples are nos. 26, 29, 35, 68, 69, 77, 79, 104, 148, 150, 151, 158.

[2] *Close Rolls* (1242–1247), p. 270.

[3] G. H. Gerould, *Saints' Legends* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), p. 53. The poet's longer pieces about saints are nos. 1, 2, 6, 16, 17, 19, 22–24, 27, 28, 48, 89, 95.

Henry's legends are usually versifications of older prose works, though at least three are either inspired by or written to take advantage of the enthusiasm aroused by the canonization of St Hugh (95), the translation of St Thomas (1, 2) in 1220, and the widespread popularity of St Francis following his canonization in 1228 (89); and we may judge the motives behind patrons' requests for these legends from Henry Longchamp's letter to Peter of Blois in which he asked him to revise the *Life of St Guthlac* with his 'honied eloquence.'[1] The older saint's life had become antiquated, involved, out-of-date, and the abbot desired the best of modern literary memorials for his patron saint. We can almost hear old abbot Henry (he served forty-seven years) later say with pride, 'Ah yes; Peter of Blois and Master Henry of Avranches wrote these two lives of St Guthlac for me.'[2]

A Chancery item[3] discloses a payment of ten marks to Master Henry for the lives of St George and St Edward. The choice of these two kingly saints might well have been a political move to emphasize royal sanctity — certainly since the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth opposition to royalty had been canonized twice in the persons of Thomas Becket and Hugh of Lincoln.

The *Life of St Edward* is probably *La Estorie de Seint Aedward le Rei* which has been dated 1245 and is dedicated to the queen.[4] Master Henry usually wrote in Latin, but in *MS. A* there is one piece of medium length in Anglo-Norman to which he has good claim[5]; it is inherently probable that the poet could versify as easily

[1] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, etc. trans. for Bohn's Antiquarian Library by A. T. Riley (London, 1854), p. 224.

[2] *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense*, ed. J. A. Giles (London, 1845), p. 135: '1237. Obiit dominus Henricus de Longo Campo, abbas Croylandiae, ad cuius petitionem magister Petrus Blesensis, archidiaconus Bathoniensis tunce eloquentissimus, uitam sancti Guthlaci heroico stylo et magister Henricus metrico stylo, uenustissime dictauerunt.'

[3] *Appendix A*, item 2.

[4] M. R. James, *La Estorie de Seint Aedward le Rei* (Oxford, 1920). T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, etc., III (London, 1871), pp. 25, 26.

[5] No. 15, *Les IX Joies Nostre Dame* occupies fol. 45r–46v following no. 14, *Louis IX and the Translation of the Relics of the Crucifixion to Paris*. No. 15 appears anonymously in eight MSS of which *MS. A* is probably the earliest. The poem's appearance so early (before 1259) is the chief reason for doubting the authorship of Rutebeuf, to whom it has been attributed on account of its presence in two MSS (B. N. *MS. Fr. 837* and *MS. Fr. 24432*) containing collections of poems of which Rutebeuf wrote many but hardly a majority. See A. Kressner,

in his native tongue as in Latin. Master Henry's claim as author of this piece opens the question of his possible authorship of other legends of the same period. On one manuscript of the *Vie de Saint-Auban* appears the following note: [1]

> Mittatis si placet ad dominam comitissam Harundel, Isabellam ut mittat uobis librum de Sancto Thoma Martyre et de (Sancto Ae)dwardo quem transtuli et protraxi ( )terit domina comitissa Harun( ) usque at Pentecostem.

Thus the author of the piece on St Edward was also the author of the piece on St Thomas, and since the note appears on a romance the others were probably romances. Paul Meyer has detected the stylistic resemblance between the romances of St Edward and St Thomas and their similarity to a third romance, *Guy of Warwick*.[2] The writer of the above note upon the *Vie de Saint-Auban* may possibly be its author. The illuminations in the MSS of the romances of St Thomas, St Auban, and St Edmund are very similar and may have been done by Matthew Paris, as Walsingham stated.[3] If Master Henry is responsible for any of these we have more evidence of his connection with the great chronicler.

The saints' legends seem to have circulated among the ladies.[4] *St Edward* is dedicated to the queen, and Her Majesty also borrowed from the Master of the Templars in England, R. de Sanford, a book '*in quo continetur Gesta Antiochie et Regum.*' [5] As is clear from the note on the *Vie de Saint-Auban*, Isabel, Countess of Arundel, was interested in the book about St Thomas and St Edward, and to her was dedicated a *Life of St Edmund Rich*.[6] A second note in the MS.

Rustebeuf's Gedichte (Wolfenbüttel, 1885), pp. 201–206: P. Meyer, in *Romania*, XIII (1884), 512. The other MSS are B. N. *MSS Fr. 1635, Fr. 12786*, and *Lat. 16537; Arsénal, MSS 3142* and *5202; St Geneviève, MS. 1137;* and *Phillips MS. 8336.*

[1] Robert Atkinson, *Vie de Saint Auban* (London, 1876), p. ix.

[2] *Fragments d'une Vie de Saint-Thomas de Cantorbéry* (Paris, 1885), p. xxxv.

[3] Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. v.

[4] For the influence of women upon the development of poetry, cf. Gerould, *op. cit.*, p. 136, and W. Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures in the Study of Mediaeval and Modern History* (Oxford, 1900), p. 178.

[5] *Close Rolls* (1247–1251), p. 283.

[6] Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, p. 136; cf. bibliographies on pp. 358, 359.

of the *Vie de Saint-Auban* mentions a book of the Countess of Winchester.[1]

We are naturally interested in the kinds of rewards which Master Henry desired and received for his extensive versification. That he welcomed either temporal or spiritual reward is stated in a group of lines of which he thought well enough to use in two poems (9 and 47):

> Saluo Sanctorum titulo, qui talia tanto
> Cui, tali, tanto potuit patrare Creator?
> Et, si tanta dedit tali uel talia tanto
> Donum mundanum uel donum spirituale
> Maius uel melius, maiore uel meliori
> Largiri potuit semper, sed noluit umquam.

Thus Master Henry's desires for largess is clear but lacks definition in detail. This is likewise true of certain indications of the poet's remuneration. His probable indebtedness to monasteries for hospitality has been mentioned. A second poem to a patron suggests a gift for the first poem of sufficient value to make another effort worth while. The four long saints' lives written by request presume rewards, probably of liberal proportions. These rather unsatisfactory hints are, however, supplemented by much more definite evidence.

If the poet and the canon of Avranches who appear simultaneously at the Papal Curia in April, 1234, are identical, we may easily believe that the pope had paid the poet well for the *Life of St Francis* (89); both his clerkship at Rome and canonry at Avranches were probably papal gifts.[2] By 1238 Master Henry held a castle in Germany [3] and the deanery of St Servatius at Maastricht, both probably

[1] Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

[2] Auvray, no. 1881, of April 12, says that Henry, clerk of St Mary in Trastevere and canon of Avranches, had come to Rome seeking a prebend of higher value at Avranches. However, since he had been convicted of 'malicious writings' against the bishop of Avranches, he must forego his request and be suspended from his benefice until the bishop should forgive him. No. 108 features the release of Hugh de la Tour from tutelage, which took place on April 13 (Auvray, no. 1883). No. 136 (written in France) mentions the poet's prebend, which seems from a reference in no. 141 to have been at Avranches.

[3] Nos. 114, 116, 117 tell of his loss of this castle *quod Teutonice Mons Fortis dicitur* — presumably named 'Starkenberg' but unidentified.

as gifts of the emperor and the latter with permission of the pope.[1] Of the envoys of Otto IV in 1214 Master Henry received the largest gift from King John.[2]

By far the most valuable information both as to the actual rewards of Master Henry and to his later life (1243–1260) — from which few poems have survived — is furnished by the records of gifts, salary payments and wine grants in the English rolls. Since these are quite full and illustrate both the amount and method of payment, they constitute a unique and valuable source of knowledge of the income of a thirteenth-century man of letters.[3]

For the years 1243–1245 only two items remain but these are of great interest. The first authorizes the payment of a half-year's salary to the poet from October 20, 1243 to April 5, 1244 at the rate of twenty shillings a month. On March 7, 1245, he was granted the ten marks for the lives of St George and St Edward already mentioned.[4] After an absence of several years he suddenly reappears on the rolls in the summer of 1251 with permission to collect the arrears of his salary (100 shillings) from the Exchequer even if it be closed.[5] Since the records show no continuation of salary beyond 1244 and mention no salary at all for several years after 1251, the 100 shillings was probably five months' salary due him in 1244 but which absence from England may have prevented him from collecting.

[1] In no. 112 the poet describes himself as *decanus Traiectensis* which may be either Utrecht or Maastricht, but the other details point to the trouble in the diocese of Liége in which Maastricht lies (J. P. Kirsch, 'Das Lütticher Schisma von Jahre 1238,' *Römische Quartalschrift*, III, 1889, 176 ff.). In 1237 a Henry was dean of Maastricht (*Compte-Rendu des Séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, CIX, 1867, 43). Another document of 1237 has a *Magister Henricus decanus Traiectensis*, but editors differ upon the city designated, Ch. Piot for Utrecht (*Chartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint Trond*, I [Brussels, 1870], 90) and A. Wauters for Maastricht (*Table Chronologique des Chartes et Diplômes Imprimés*, IV [Brussels, 1874], 265). St Servatius was in very close relation with the emperor. See Böhmer-Ficker, nos. 811, 1033, 1100, 1475, 1960, 2014, 2110, 3877, 3905, 4193, 4194, 5448, 5450, 10870, 14771, especially nos. 1441 and 4340. On April 15, 1236, Gregory IX allowed the *decanus Traiectensis* to hold several benefices (Auvray, no. 3104).

[2] *Close Rolls* (1204–1224), p. 177b.

[3] Baron de Pirch's summary of these items, although inadequate and very inaccurate, might have aroused interest in the poet earlier, had it not been so little known, appearing in the *Bulletin Annuel: Mémoires de la Soc. d' Archéol. d' Avranches* (1846), pp. 32–38.

[4] *Appendix A*, item 2. [5] Item 4.

The king's munificence, still purely voluntary, seems to have been fixed during the years 1251–1253 on the basis of earlier precedents. The payment of the arrears of 100 shillings may have been the precedent for payments of similar size in the next year.[1] Gifts of 10 pounds appear twice,[2] and the total for each year is approximately twenty shillings a month — the 1243–1244 rate. Some evidence of the continuance of these payments appears in January, 1256, in a gift of 60 shillings for expenses,[3] probably for three months, and slightly over a month later in another of 25 shillings.[4] With an odd item of 11 shillings [5] these gifts cease altogether three months later.

The summer of 1251 also saw the beginning of a form of gift which came to be peculiarly associated with the poets laureate, the wine grant. A letter close of August 2, stipulates that to *Magistro Henrico uersificatori* shall go *duo dolia uini meri et optimi*.[6] On August 30, the king commands that, besides the two *dolia* already granted to the poet, he shall received *unum bonum dolium et peroptimum*.[7] If the adjectives express the poet's preference for good wine, they stand in marked contrast to his dislike for beer displayed in the lines quoted by Camden and Du Cange:[8]

> Nescio quid Stygiae monstrum conforme paludi,
> Ceruisiam plerique uocant; nil spissius illa,
> Dum bibitur; nil clarius est, dum mingitur; unde
> Constat quod multas feces in uentre relinquit.

The publication of the letters close of 1251–1270 will probably reveal other grants until May 20, 1257, the date of the letter patent which grants to Master Henry a tun of vintage and a tun *de recko* yearly for life.[9]

The custom of giving the poet about 20 shillings a month or eightpence a day was followed only occasionally if at all after 1253: for this were substituted two grants of three-pence a day for life. On Feb-

[1] Items 6, 7. [2] Items 3 and 5. [3] Item 10.
[4] Item 11. [5] Item 12.
[6] *Close Rolls* (1247–1251), p. 483. [7] *Ibid*, p. 496.
[8] Camden, *Britannia* (1587), p. 361: Du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* in all editions under 'cerevisia.'
[9] *Patent Rolls* (1247–1258), p. 555.

ruary 10, 1255, the king ordered the treasurer and chamberlains to disburse to Master Henry *uersificatori* the daily three-pence which were formerly enjoyed by John de Corleye.[1] This was granted presumably for his ability and service as a poet, but the second grant, made to 'our clerk, Master Henry of Avranches,' suggests that the poet became one of the court chaplains since three-pence a day was their wage.[2] The Issue Rolls record the payment of six-pence daily from 1256 until Easter, 1260. The reckonings were made at Easter and Michaelmas. Since the poet seems to have received his full salary for the Michaelmas terms, 1259, he was alive at Easter, 1260; he probably passed away during the following half-year. The Tellers' Rolls — rough memoranda of disbursements from the lower Exchequer — indicate that the poet often received his payment in small and irregular sums.[3] Indeed items of two and three shillings suggest that he might collect the amount due him at intervals as short as four or six days.[4] However, neither permanent stipend nor wine-grant seems as valuable as its earlier counterpart in gifts.

Wine-grants and a definite salary for consoling, amusing, and defending the king in verse caused Master Henry's position at the English court to approximate that of the poets laureate. As Warton has noticed, Master Henry was even subjected to abuse by a rival as many laureates were.[5] Moreover, Michael of Cornwall dubbed his enemy *archipoeta,* beginning his poem:

> Archipoeta uide quod non sit cura tibi de
> Non reprehendis in me . . .

Farther on he says:

> Pendo poeta prius te diximus archipoetam
> Quem per posterius uix dicimus esse poetam
> Immo poeticulum.[6]

[1] Item 9. [2] Item 13.

[3] So Miss Mabel M. Mills (Romaldkirk, Darlington, England) who transcribed the items in *Appendix A* informs me.

[4] Item 15.

[5] Thomas Wharton, *History of English Poetry* (London, 1774), I, 47. See also E. K. Broadus, *The Laureateship* (Oxford, 1921), p. 9.

[6] *MS. MA,* fol. 272v, 1.

No real basis exists for considering him a fully recognized poet laureate — in the records he appears only as the 'versifier,' not even as the king's versifier. *Archipoeta* was probably the equivalent of the *uersificator magnus* which appears in one MS.[1] Both were probably well-known designations for our poet.

Master Henry's career emphasizes the international and clerical character of Mediaeval Latin civilization. Although his poetry is seldom scholarly, he composed in Latin in four countries, found his audiences largely among churchmen, experienced the hospitality held one or more ecclesiastical preferments. Writing in Latin he appealed to few nobles below emperor or king; his superiority over that of the French jongleur is evident. Even French, widely current as it was, admitted only to England, parts of Italy, and the Levant; Latin was universal. Master Henry might hold a clerkship at Rome, a canonry at Avranches, and at the same time serve as Dean of Maastricht or write for Henry III. Few such sinecures were open to the jongleur who usually sang first and received his reward later.

The organization and universality of the Church explains how Master Henry could travel so easily from country to country; this does not necessarily explain why he did so. But as a court poet he must move about; for all courts were ambulatory. Even the pope left Rome as often as his well-being was endangered by malaria or rebellion. Michael of Cornwall says of our poet:[2]

> Per terras uarias uelud explorando poeta
> Erras, et uarias tibi uestes uerme repletas.

But Master Henry could avoid travel and its discomforts only by giving up his profession; for Master Henry must to seek out his readers and hearers. The slow and limited circulation of manuscripts made the establishment of personal contacts the one practical method of self-advertizing.

A group of clever lines, a bit of skillful flattery or brilliant imagery was worth using on more than one patron. The same six lines expressing the poet's interest in spiritual as well as temporal rewards were presented to Eustace Falconberg (47) and to Stephen Langton

[1] *MS. Digby 172*, fol. 123r, for no. 102.

[2] *MS. MA*, fol. 272v.

(9). Langton (9) as well as Richard Marsh (34), heard the poet's plaint, '*inangulor apud Anglos.*' '*Plus uolo quam ualeo*' appears in the introductions of the lives of St Edmund (24) and St Hugh (95); in the latter this phrase is followed by

> mea parua scientia tanto
> Materie non sufficeret superaddere formas

which turns up later in the *Feast of All Saints* (43), differing only in the tense of the verb. The alliteration of *clarus* and *clerus* occurs in at least eight poems.[1] The conclusions of eleven pieces, mostly saints' legends, present a definite sequence of development.[2] SS Guthlac (19), Birin (23), Oswald (48), and Francis (89) are compared to Alexander the world conqueror. The descriptions of the building operations of Richard Poore (20) and of Theoderic of Wied (147) have many details in common. The lines to Engelbert (46)

> Barbarus 'v' variat in 'b.' Nos, ergo, Latini
> Hanc converso 'b' variemus in 'v'
> Sic Engebiertus . . .

are repeated for Robert (4) with appropriate variations. Punning upon names was, we have seen, one of his favorite devices.

Flattery by favorable comparison is found, we saw, in the *Life of St Hugh* (95) of 1220; this device is again used in 1221, first to the retiring bishop of London (8), then to his successor (38), and about 1226 to the Abbot of Peterborough (48). In the next decade he uses it with reference to St Francis (89), to Frederick II (11), and finally to Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz (123). Contemporaries would have regarded the order of presentation in both decades as of descending importance. The poet may have added to the inherent flattery of the lines the distinction that it had already pleased a superior.

The course of time would exhaust Master Henry's repertory and the available supply of patrons; it would become advisable to try another court. The several long saints' legends of 1217–1227 glutted the English market; but later we find him writing the *Life of St*

[1] Nos. 8, 35, 41, 46, 47, 95, 118, 126.
[2] Nos. 27, 43, 22, 103, 95, 19, 24, 48, 23, 89, 14.

Francis (89) in Italy and the long poem upon SS Crispin and Crispinian apparently in France (28). On the whole, England seems to have borne with him longest.

To the inducements to travel offered by the conditions of patronage must be added Master Henry's restless disposition. At times he expressed discontent with England (9, 34), Germany (10, 112) and Italy (10), and never remained long in France. His contentious disposition was doubtless responsible for many of the difficulties which made emigration attractive (9):

O si
Anglia Theutonie me saltem redderet album.

There are still to be explained the poet's apparently voluntary absences from England after 1243 when he enjoyed many gifts and a comfortable salary. When other explanations are exhausted there remains the almost irresistible wanderlust of the international poet. As a young man he described his life as that of an exile wandering in foreign lands.[1] Over thirty years later Michael of Cornwall characterized the career of his rival in lines which indicate that the aging poet, Master Henry of Avranches, still answered to the description of his youth:[2]

Immo per terras uagus erras, set quot oberras,
Narrans res miras, deliras, nec tibi liras.

APPENDIX A

Item 1. Liberate (Chancery) Roll 20 m 12. 28 Henry III (1243–1244). (In margin) "*Liberate pro Magistro Henrico versificatore et fratre Hamone de Bello loco.*" (In text) "*Rex eisdem* (i. e., *Thesaurario et Camerariis*) *salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Edwardo de Westmonasterio VI Libr' ad acquietand' expensas Magistri Henrici versificatoris a xx die Octobr' anno etc. xxvii usque ad quintam diem Aprilis anno etc. xxviii qui capit per mensem xx sol quamdiu steterit in servicio nostro per preceptum nostrum. Liberate etc. fratri Hamone de Bello loco xxv s̄ ad acquietandam unam robam ad opus suum de dono nostro. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxx die Marc'.*"

[1] In the quotation at the beginning of this article.
[2] *MS. MA*, fol. 274v.

Item 2. Liberate (Chancery) Roll 21 m 10. 29 Henry III (1244–1245). (In margin) "*Pro Magistro Henrico versificatore.*" (In text) "*Rex thesaurario etc. salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Magistro Henrico versificatori x* $\frac{a}{m}$ *pro servicio suo quod nobis impendit dictando vitas beatorum Edwardi et Georgii. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium vii die Marc'.*"

Item 3. Pipe Roll 95 m 7 (under expenses of Wardrobe). Compiled 35 Henry III for years 29–36 Henry III, and year is uncertain. "*Et Magistro Henrico versificator'* x li." Quoted by Madox, *The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer* (London, 1769), II, 202.

Item 4. Liberate (Chancery) Roll 27 m 6. 35 Henry III (1250–1251). (In margin) "*lib' pro Henrico versificatore.*" (In text) "*Rex eisdem (i. e., Thesaurario et Camerariis) salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto nobis Magistro Henrico versificatori C sol qui ei debentur de arrerag' stipendiorum suorum. Et hoc sine dilacione et difficultate faciatis licet scaccarium sit clausum. Teste ut supra per ipsum Regem.*" (Apparently at Woodstock July 14.) Quoted by Madox, *op. cit.*, I, 391.

Item 5. Chancellor's Roll 36 m 20. Account for 36 Henry III (1251–1252). (In same place as entry in Pipe Roll 95 and among the same type of entries.) "*Et Magistro Henrico versificatori* x li."

Item 6. Liberate (Chancery) Roll 28 m 8. 36 Henry III (1251–1252). (In margin) "*Pro Magistro Henrico Abricens.*" (In text) "*Rex vicecomitibus Lond' salutem. Precipimus vobis quod Magistro Henrici Abricensi habere faciatis C sol ad expensas suas de dono nostro. Et computabantur. Teste ut supra per Regem. Teste Rex apud Windes' xiiii die Jun'.*"

Item 7. Pipe Roll 96 (under Farm of London and Middlesex). 36 Henry III (1251–1252). "*Et Magistro Henrico de Abrinc̄ C sol de dono Regis per breve Regis.*" (A single casual payment.)

Item 8. Liberate (Chancery) Roll 29 m 2. 37 Henry III (1252–1253). (In margin) "*pro Magistro Henrico Albricens'.*" (In text) "*Rex eisdem (i. e., Thesaurario et Camerariis) salutem. Liberate de Thesauro nostro Magistro Henrico Albricenci x marcas de dono nostro. Teste ut supra (i. e., Rege apud Winton' xxii die Jun').*"

Item 9. Liberate (Chancery) Roll 31 m11. 39 Henry III (1254–1255). (In margin) "*Liberate pro Henrico versificatore.*" (In text) "*Rex Thesaurario et Camerariis suis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Magistro Henrico versificatori singulis diebus quamdiu vixerit tres denarios ad sustentacionem suam quos concesseramus Johanni de Corleye et a solucione inde facienda eidem Johanni de cetero desistatis et arreragia si que debentur dicto Johanni, prefato Magistro habere faciatis. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium x die Febr'.*"

Item 10. Liberate (Chancery) Roll 32 m 15. 40 Henry III (1255–1256). (In margin) "*Pro Magistro Henrico de Averench'.*" (In text) "*Rex Thesaurario et Camerariis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Magistro Henrico de Averenches sexaginta solidos ad expensas suas de dono nostro. Teste ut supra (i. e., Rege apud Windeſ xx die Jan.')*"

Item 11. Liberate (Chancery) Roll 32 m 13. 40 Henry III (1255–1256). (In margin) "*Pro Henrico de Averens'.*" (In text) "*Rex eisdem (i. e., Thesaurario et Camerariis) salutem. Liberate de Thesauro nostro Henrico de Averens' xxv sol ad expensas suas de dono nostro. Teste ut supra (i. e., Rege apud Sanctum Albanum xxv die Febr'.)*"

Item 12. Liberate (Chancery) Roll 32 m 9. 40 Henry III (1255–1256). (In margin) "*Pro Magistro Henrico versificat'.*" (In text) "*Rex Thesaurario et Camerariis suis salutem. Liberate de Thesauro nostro Magistro Henrico versificatori xi^a s' de dono nostro ffacta prius solucione Th' de Sab' Com' quam vobis iniunximus. Teste ut supra (i. e., Rege apud Windes' xxi die Maii.)*"

Item 13. Liberate (Chancery) Roll 32 m 3. 40 Henry III (1255–1256). (In margin) "*Pro Magistro Henrico de Averench'.*" (In text) "*Rex Thesaurario et Camerariis suis salutem. Liberate de cetero de Thesauro nostro dilecto clerico nostro Magistro Henrico de Averenches preter illos tres denarios quos ei prius concessimus singulis diebus quam dum vixerit alios tres denarios ad sustentacionem suam. Ita quod habebit singulis diebus quam diu vixerit sex denarios. In cuius, etc. Teste ut supra (i. e., Rege apud Westmonasterium xiii die Septembr') et istud liberate est patens.*"

Item 14. Issue Roll 11. 41 Henry III. Michaelmas Term from Michaelmas 1256 to Easter 1257. Appears to be issued *in Medio Tempore* and is later than Wednesday next before Feast of St Gregory.

"*Magistro Henrico versificatori qui capit inde vi d', iiii lib'r'. xv s'. vi den' per idem tempus.*"

Item 15. Issue Roll 12. Apparently a Tellers Roll. Michaelmas 1256–Easter 1257. "*Magistro Henrico de Abrincis ii s'. Item xl s'. Item x s'. Item iii s'. Item xvii* (may be *xviii*) *s'. Item vi s', viii d'.*" (All these entries struck through with a single line.) (Below in same column) "*Magistro H versificatore i m^a un' ania aur' Item v s'.* (These items not struck through possibly were not paid out.)

Item 16. Issue Roll 13. Easter 1257–Michaelmas 1257. "*Magistro Henrico de Abrinces versificatori qui capit indie* (sic) *vi d', iiii^or li vii s' per idem tempus.*"

Item 17. Issue Roll 14. Tellers Roll probably. Easter 1257–Michaelmas 1257. "*Magistro Henrico Averenches xiiii*^{or} *s' ix d'. Item xxv s'.*" (Both struck through.) (Below in same column) "*Magistro Henrico versificatori ii s' x d' ob'.*" (Not struck through.)

Item 18. Issue Rolls 15 A and B which are duplicates. Michaelmas 1257–Easter 1258. "*Magistro Henrico versificatori qui capit in die vi d', iiii li viii s'.*" (As in A.) B adds "*per idem tempus.*"

Item 19. Issue Roll 16. Michaelmas 1257– Easter 1258. "*Magistro Henrico le versifiur xii s' a crastino Sancti Michaelis usque ad diem Sancti Romani per* (mutilated here) *utraque die comput'. Item eidem xx s' per Thesaurario die Sancti Thome Apostoli.*" (At end of column and struck through.) "*Magistro Henrico le versifiur vii s' de prestitis super vadis.*"

Item 20. Issue Roll 16 dorse. Michaelmas 1257–Easter 1258. "*Magistro Henrico le versifiur xx s'. Item xx s'. Item vi s'. Item xii d'.*"

Item 21. Issue Roll 17 A m 2. Easter-Michaelmas 1258. "*Magistro Henrico versificatori qui capit in die vi d' iiii*^{or} *li xiiii s' vi d' per idem tempus.*"

Item 22. Issue Roll 17 B m 1. Michaelmas 1258–Easter 1259. "*Magistro Henrico versificatori qui capit in die vi d' xvii s' scilicet a crastino Sancti Michaelis usque ad diem animarum per xxxiiii*^{or} *dies utroque die comp' per breve patens.*"

Item 23. Issue Roll 18. Michaelmas 1259–Easter 1260. "*Magistro Henrico versificator' qui capit in die vi den' iiii*^{or} *li xiii sol vi den' per idem tempus.*"

APPENDIX B

CATALOGUE OF THE POEMS OF MASTER HENRY OF AVRANCHES

Published Works

The list of the published poems given here is referred to in the subsequent list by letters in parentheses. (a) W. Camden, *Remaines of a Greater Worke* (London, 1605) gives excerpts from no. 4 on p. 143; no. 7, *Poetry*, p. 41; no. 34, *Poetry*, p. 17; no. 37, p. 144; no. 38, p. 143; no. 49, p. 144; no. 69, *Poetry*, p. 19; no. 88, *Poetry*, p. 22. (b) *Monatschrift für die Geschichte Westdeutschlands*, IV (1878), 336–344: nos. 9, 71, 79, 90, 91, 92, 93. (c) *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, XVIII (1878), 484–492: nos. 10, 11, 12. (d) G. G. Leibnitz, *Scriptores Brunsvicensia Illustrantium* (Hannover, 1710), II, 525–532: no. 21 from *MS. Cotton Vitell. D XVI.* (e) G. La Farina, *Rischiarazioni e Documenti sopra Nove Studi Storici del Secolo XIII* (Bastia, 1857), II, dcliii: no. 21 reprinted from (d). (f)

Francis Hervey, *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi* (London, 1907), pp. 200–223: nos. 24, 25, 26. (g) *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, XL, 172, no. 26; XL, 114, no. 29, p. 283, no. 75; XX, 140, no. 64 (cf. XLVIII, 269); XX, 144 f., no. 102; for the many versions of no. 70 cf. XV, 96, 97, XXXI, 180, 197, XLII, 83. (h) L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, III (Paris, 1894), 468–474: no. 31. (j) H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (München, 1920), pp. 248–253: no. 41. (k) A. Cristofani, *Il più Antico Poema della Vita di S. Francesco d' Assisi* (Prati, 1882): no. 89 from *MS. Assisi 338* (*MS. A 182*). (l) *Miscellanea Francescana*, V (1890), 77 ff.: no. 89 from *MS. Versailles* (*8*). (m) *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLIII (1925), 96 ff.: no. 89 from *MS. A*. (n) Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, VI, 62: no. 94. (p) J. F. Dimock, *Metrical Life of St Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln* (Lincoln, 1860): no. 95. (q) Du Cange, under "*cerevisia*": no. 96. (r) Anthony Wood, *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1674): no. 127, I, 27; no. 152, I, 86; no. 150, II, 29; no. 155, I, 87; all excerpts.

Manuscripts[1]

MS. A (Cambridge University Library, *MS. Dd. xi. 78*) was written at St Albans sometime between 1243 (date of no. 62) and 1259, the date of the death of its owner, Matthew Paris. (*Diss.*, chap. I, notes 1–27). The name Henry appears in nos. 11 and 33; nos. 1, 14, 35, 41, 59–60, and 89 are attributed to him by contemporary hands in this *MS.;* and nos. 19, 48, 89, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, and 102 by other reliable sources. (*Diss.*, chap. III). This article has described many of the distinguishing characteristics of his poetry which corroborate the poet's claim to authorship of the poems in this MS. The attribution of poems to "William of Ramsey" is based solely upon a mistaken statement of John Leland (*Diss.*, Appendix). No. 88 is apparently a later addition of which Philippe de Gréve is probably the author (*Diss.*, chap. IV, notes 98–102). The following list supplements that of *A Catalogue of the MSS preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1856), I, 469–476, whose numeration is given in brackets.

MS. A, part 1, fol. 1–57. 1, [1]. 2, [2]. 3, *Fragment of Grammar*, "Nominis omnis in o sexum signantis utrumque," fol. 29r. 4, *To Robert*, "Tu bene Robertus, quasi robur thus, bene robur," fol. 29v (a). 5, *Fragment of Grammor*, "Ista duo uerba cio, cis, et cieo es," fol. 29v. 6, [3], 7, [4], (a). 8, [5]. 9, [6], (b). 10, 11, 12; [7], [8], [9]; (c). 13, [10], 14, [11]. 15, [12]. 16, [13]. 17, [14].

[1] The Harvard College Library possesses photographs of *MS. A*, fol. 1–200; *MS. D*, fol. 151–184; *MS. MA*, fol. 269–275; and *MS. Digby 172*, fol. 84v–85r, 123.

MS. A, part 2, fol. 58-153. 18, [15]. 19, 20, 21 (d, e), 22, 23, 24 (f); [16]–[21], also were in *MS. Cotton Vitell. D XIV* now lost: no. 20 is in *MS. D*, fol. 157r–160r; no. 23 is in *MS. Bodley 40*, fol. 43v-52v. 25, *Hymn to St Edmund*, "Stupet caro, stupet mundo," fol. 137r and fol. 193v (f). 26, *Hymn to St Edmund*, "Profitendo fidem solam," fol. 137r and fol. 194r (f, g). 27, [22]. 28, [23]. 29, [24], *Hymn to St Mary*, "Anna partu soluitur," fol. 148v: also in *MS. Rawlinson C 510*, fol. 26, (g). 30, *Fragment*, "Tutus erit quicunque negat nisi fama laboret," fol. 149r. 31, [25], (h). 32, [26].

MS. A, part 3, fol. 154-199. 33, *Henry and Peter at the Papal Curia*, "In mota lite michi det procedere rite," fol. 154r. 34, *To Richard Marsh, Bishop of Durham*, "Omnis adulator mihi displicet. At tamen ipse," fol. 154v, (a). 35, [28]. 36, *To Robert Passelewe*, "Unica tres titulos ne tollat littera, sicut," fol. 165r. 37, *To King John*, "Nomen habes non inmerito diuina, Johannes," fol. 165v, (a). 38, [29], (a). 39, *To Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester*, "Successu Nova Villa sui iuvenescit alumni," fol. 166r. 40, *To Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester*, "O qui flos es Anglicorum," fol. 166r. 41, [30], (j). 42, [31]. 43, [32]. 44, *To Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury*, "Stephane, te sublimat sic honor te sanctificans," fol. 171r. 45, *To Engelbert of Burg, Archbishop of Cologne*, "Engelberte, uiri gladio fungentis utroque," fol. 172r. 46, *To Engelbert of Burg, Archbishop of Cologne*, "Barbarus 'v' variat in 'b.' Nos, ergo, Latini," fol. 173v. 47, *To Eustace Falconberg, Bishop of London*, "Eustachio bona scit stacio qui firma columna," fol. 174r. 48, [33], also in *MS Bodley 40*, fol. 57v–69r. 49, *To Pandulph, Bishop of Norwich*, "Te totum dulcor perfundit, et inde notaris," fol. 187r, (a). 50–61, fragments of no importance, fol. 187r–v. 62, [34]. 63, *Fragment*, "Carbones, charbuns, nos, nus, conburimus, arduns," fol. 188r. 64, *To St Mary*, "In te concipitur," fol. 188v, (g). 65, *Fragment*, "Prudens uates et ornate," fol. 189r. 66, *Fragment*, "Cum sumus imbuti, non est equaliter uti," fol. 189r. 67, *Fragment*, "Roborare dat id es sedet ad ora rubor," fol. 189r. 68, *To Simon of Sully, Archbishop of Bourges*, "Aduocatus iustitie," fol. 189v. 69, [35], (a). 70, *The Joys of the Virgin*, "Gaude uirgo, mater Christi," fol. 190v, (g). 71, [36], (b). 72, [37]. 73, [38]. 74, *Fragment of Grammar*, "Omnibus in rebus sunt tantum quinque notanda," fol. 193r. 75, *To Salome*, "Nil pretendat mundo triste," fol. 193v, (g). 76, *A Kind of Apocalypse*, "Fratris utrumque supplente," fol. 194r. 77, *To Robert Passelewe*, "Summus conscendens apicem," fol. 194r. 78, (39). 78, [40]. 79, [41], (b). 80, *Fragment of French*, "Tut li mund doit mener, etc." fol. 196r. 81–87, fragments of no importance, fol. 199r. 88, [42], (a).

MS. A, part 4, fol. 200–238. 89, [43], see (k, l, m) for *MSS*. 90, *Against Lambekinus*, "Cur, Lambekine, longo tegis ulcera crine?" fol. 238, (b).

91, *Against Lambertus*, "Non tibi, Lamberte, parcam. Si carmina per te," fol. 238, (b). 92, *To St Albans*, "Do grates, Albane, tibi, qui Pantaleonis," fol. 238, (b). 93, *Debate between Conradulus and an Englishman*, "Non ualet audire mala plus Conradulus ire," fol. 238, (b).

MS. Cotton, Nero D I, fol. 145 contains no. 94, *To William of Trumpington, Abbot of St Albans*, "Ostendam sermone breui quis et unde sit abbas," (n). 95, *The Life of St Hugh*, "Arma uirumque cano, quo iudice, nec caro cara," British Museum, *Royal MS, 13 1*, iv, fol. 9–23; *MS Laud 515*, fol. 117–140, (p). 96, *Beer*, "Nescio quod Stygie monstrum conforme palude," C. U. L. *MS Ll. 1. 15*, fol. 23, (q). 97, *Altercatio inter Magistrum Henricum de Albrincis et Leonium Theutonicum*, see p. 41, note 2. 98, *Certamen inter regem Johannem et barones*, see Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 219. 99, *Epitaph of William Marshall*, reference to this on flyleaf of *MS A* and also in Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, iii, p. 43. 99A, *De quodam loco ubi proposuit studere*, and 99B, *Quedam sequertia de Beata Virgine*, also mentioned on flyleaf of *MS. A*. 101, *100 Proverbs of Justice*, "Pax Henrico, Dei amico," *MS. Digby 172*, fol. 84v. 102, *Hymn to the Virgin*, "Aue, maris stella, mellis stilla," *MS. Digby 172*, fol. 123v; for other MSS see (g). 103, *Metrical Treatise on Grammar*, "Comoda gramatice" (MS. mutilated), *MS. Rawlinson G 50*, all 39 folios.

MS. D (*MS. Cotton Vesp. D V*), fol. 151–185, a 13th-century MS. The author of no. 112 was Dean of Maastricht in 1238 and the name Henry appears in no. 123. The writer of no. 155 mentions his *De Gestis S. Birini* (23). The patrons Peter des Roches, Gregory IX, Simon of Sully, Milo of Nanteuil, and Robert Passelewe, the Bourges-Bordeaux controversy, the refusal of hospitality to wandering clerks in Germany, and even an entire poem (no. 20) reappear from *MS. A*. This, together with numerous similarities of style and subject, makes clear that Master Henry is their author rather than his enemy, Michael of Cornwall, to whom a modern hand has attributed this group of poems.

MS. D. 104, *Stephen and Saul*, "Solus et sapientia," fol. 151r. 105, *The City*, "Intrauit clausam quicumque paludibus urbem," fol. 151r. 106, *To Aldrich* (Bishop of Trent?), "Qui sic Aldrice propellere te volverunt," fol. 151v. 107, *Feast of St Nicholas*, "Festa subalternant Nicholaos; ille uocauit," fol. 151v. 108, *To Hugh de la Tour, Bishop of Clermont*, "Roma tuum nomen exaltat, episcope Clari," fol. 152r. 109, *To a Judge*, "Sume librum iuris, doctor verbi quod relator," fol. 152v. 110, *To Berthold*, "Multos tu multus facis hic, Bertholdi, tumultus," fol. 152v. 111, *To Nicholas of Piacenza, Bishop of Spoleto and Patriarch-elect of Constantinople*, "Te, Nicholae, decus quod promovet, amovet et qui," fol. 153r. 112, *To Gregory IX upon the Poet's Difficulties at Maastricht*, "Sancte Pater,

si queque tuos iniuria sensus," fol. 153r. 113, *To Nicholas of Piacenza* (see no. 111), "Pontificem placidum genuit Placentia. Qui dum," fol. 154r. 114, *To Gregory IX upon the Poet's Difficulties in Germany*," Sancte Pater, cuius regis excellentia mundum," fol. 154r. 115, *To a Judge*, "Ordinis, ut video, sacri reverende professor," fol. 154v. 116 (same as no. 114), "Sancte Pater, cause brevis est tenor. Ambo potentes," fol. 154r. 117, (same as no. 114), "Stat sublime secus et inexpugnabile castrum," fol. 155r. 118, *To Siegfried III of Eppenstein, Archbishop of Mayence*, "Aptatos Sifride, diu bene veneris omnes," fol. 156v. 119 (to the same), "Neve susurronum predictis curia vellet," fol. 156v. 120 (to the same), "Hec sunt que de te vulgaris opinio ponit," fol. 157r. 121, *To Egbert*, "Vir dilecte Deo, magnatum flos, Egeberte," fol. 157v. 122, *To Gregory IX*, "Sancte Pater, cuius disponitur omne manu ius," fol. 157v. 123 (same as no. 118), "Si Statensis honos relevans de pulvere pronos," fol. 158r. 124, *The Carnival*, "Festa celebrando Carniprivalia quando," fol. 158r. 125, *To Odo*, "Spera figurarum cum sis pulcherrima finis," fol. 158v. 126, *Death of Milo of Nanteuil, Bishop of Beauvais*, "O mors digna! Mori clarum clerique Milonem," fol. 158v.

No. 20, fol. 159r. 127, *To Gregory IX in favor of John Blund, Archbishop-elect of Canterbury*, "Sancte Pater, cuius discretio cismata mundi," fol. 162r, (r.) 128, *The Bourges-Bordeaux Controversy*, "Pressos erumpnis releuans tibi quinque columpnis," fol. 166r.

Nos. 129–130, 132–144, are addressed to Peter Siler, whom he designates as 'Bordo.' No. 131, *To Michael of Villoiseau, Bishop of Angers*, "Discussor veri, decus admirabile cleri," fol. 169r, interrupts the series. 129, "Petre Siler Petra sile iam noster Homere," fol. 168v. 130, "Ad nova qui nichil es, Petre, versibus in veteranis," fol. 168v. 132, "Est attendenda tibi lis tum de profitenda," fol. 169v. 133, "Nuper in Andegavi que nosco docere putavi," fol. 169v. 134, "Fingunt fraude pari quod sit mihi mos imitari," fol. 170v. 135, "Improperant quod sum quasi cecus quem mihi casum," fol. 170v. 136, "Sollivagum minime socialem Bordo tibi me," fol. 171r. 137, "Basochie misere ve nobis quot periere," fol. 171v. 138, "Bordo feceris equi soboles nequissima me qui," fol. 172r. 139, "Quid loquar erravi quando te Bordo vocavi," fol. 173r. 140, "Peter Siler, socie Bordonis predo sophie," fol. 173v. 141, "Te Pater ut nosci presente pepercimus hosti," fol. 174r. 142, "Hactenus austere se naiades opposuere," fol. 174v. 143, "De Petro Silere volui quasi Petra silere," fol. 175r. 144, "Res ita Venere deberes ergo latere," fol. 176r.

145, *Against William of Coulaines*, "Nos tua barbaries dampnat, Willeme, Latinos," fol. 176v. 146, *To Fulk Basset, Bishop of London*, "Quod michi Fulconis de nobilitate videtur," fol. 177v. 147, *To Theoderic of Wied*,

Archbishop of Trèves, "Predicta reliquiis patrem Trevir inclita sedes," fol. 178v. 148, *Death of Robert Passelewe*, "Cantatus mihi totiens," fol. 179r. 149, *Death of Robert Passelewe*, "Nullus aque, nullus peccati terminus in se est," fol. 179r. 150, *To a Bishop, Asking for a Vacation*, "Presul vir preclare," fol. 179v, (r). 151, *To a Master asking for a Vacation*," In adventu Redemptoris," fol. 180r. 152, *To Conrad of Heimbach*, "Oppressum morbis consolaturus amicum," fol. 180v, (r). 153, *To William of Raleigh, Bishop of Winchester*, "Presul Wintonie, cleri Willelmi lucerna," fol. 181r. 154, *To William of York, Bishop of Salisbury*, "Te, Willelme, quidem qui flos et fructus es idem," fol. 181v. 155, *To Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester*, "O Petre de Saxis, qui cleri summus es, ac sis," fol. 182r, (r). 156, *The Trinity*, "Dum volo presentis epitheta retexere festi," fol. 183r. 157, *St John the Baptist*, "Precursor Domini, pre iudice missus in urbem," fol. 184r. 158, *The Censors and the Lawyers*, "O censores delegati," fol. 184v.

159, *Grammatical Treatise*, "In mediis ditonas has lector precipe partes," British Museum, *Add. MS. 23892*, fol. 84–87. 160, *Grammatical Treatise on Accents*, "Accentus varias. Dicto et determinato," *MS. Laon 465*. 161, *Equivoca*, "Augustus, ti, to, Cesar, vel mensis habeto." This poem appears in many MSS and is attributed to several grammarians, but the earliest MS. seems to be *MS. Arras 798* which lists it as "Equivoca Magistri Henrici." Cf. *Diss*, chap. III, note 85 ff.

162, *Vita beati Edwardi*, see *Appendix A*, item 2. 163, *Vita beati Georgii*, see *Appendix A*, item 2.

Colorado College.

THE COVERS OF THE LORSCH GOSPELS

By MARGARET H. LONGHURST and CHARLES RUFUS MOREY[1]

I. The Vatican Cover[2]

FEW Carolingian manuscripts are better known than the finely illuminated Gospel-book from S. Nazarius in Lorsch, half of which figures as *Pal. lat. 50* in the Vatican Library, and of which the other half is in the Bathyaneum in Karlsburg, Hungary. The Vatican codex in fact contains only the Gospels of Luke and John, the first two Gospels being in the Hungarian collection.

The division of the manuscript apparently occurred in the latter part of the fifteenth century, since a rebinding at that time is recorded by a note at the end of the Vatican manuscript. It was then that the famous ivory plaque illustrated in Plate I became the front cover of the Vatican portion, while a silver-gilt plaque with a representation of the Crucifixion supplied the back. Originally, however, the ivory plaque (now detached from the manuscript and preserved in the Museo Cristiano) formed the back cover of the Gospel-book, as may be seen by the three large holes in the right central panel which served in the binding of the book. We shall see later that this is confirmed by traces of the fittings of the clasps that fastened the original codex which exist on the left central panel. The plaque which is the pendant to the Vatican ivory, and formed the front cover of the codex, is the well-known ivory of the Victoria and Albert Museum which will be discussed in a second article.

This relation was first pointed out by Graeven,[3] and confirmed by Goldschmidt's observation that the London plaque contains in

[1] *Studies in the Art of the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library*, edited by C. R. Morey and E. Baldwin Smith, No. 4. The first three of this series of *Studies* are still awaiting publication, as follows: No. 1, E. S. King, 'A Copper-gilt Cross Reliquary,' in the *Memorie* of the Pontifical Academy of Archaeology; No. 2, Edward Capps, Jr, 'An Ivory Pyxis,' in the *Art Bulletin*; No. 3, William C. Hayes, Jr, ' An Engraved Glass Bowl,' in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

[2] A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und Sächsischen Kaiser* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1918), I, nr. 13.

[3] H. Graeven, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, X (1901), 15.

PLATE I

ROME, VATICAN LIBRARY, MUSEO CRISTIANO: THE COVER OF THE LORSCH GOSPELS

its lower panel the Nativity and the Annunciation to the Shepherds, while that of the Vatican is ornamented in this panel by the history of the Magi, showing thus a chronological sequence from the front cover to that of the back.

On the Vatican panel we see the Magi before Herod and bringing their gifts to the Child, who sits, cross-nimbed, on His Mother's knee, with a very large Star of Bethlehem above His head. The stylistic effect of this panel is decidedly mediaeval, but one feels closer to the antique on raising the eyes to the central panels, where we find the figure of the Saviour and two angels, illustrating by virtue of the animals at the feet of Christ the thirteenth verse of the ninety-first Psalm: '*super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem.*' Still more Hellenistic are the angels in the topmost panel, supporting a disc with conch-filling against which is relieved a decorated cross. Of this panel, and its antique quality, we shall have more to say later.

During the course of the work that is being carried on with a view to the publication of a catalogue of the Museo Cristiano, the Lorsch plaque came under examination along with other ivories, and a request was made for the removal of the five panels from their setting in order that examination might be made of the posterior faces. This request was granted by Mgr Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Library to which the Museo Cristiano belongs, and the delicate task of demounting the thin and brittle pieces was successfully carried out under the supervision of S. E. Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, under whose special supervision the Museo Cristiano is placed. The liberation of the pieces from their setting not only revealed some interesting facts about their backs, but also made it possible to see how the panels were put together,[1] and what is more important, to reconstruct the surprising history of the plaque as a work of art.

[1] It will be noted from the posterior faces of the panels reproduced on Plates IV and V that the outside edges of A, B, D, and E have a set-off which was evidently intended to fit a wooden backing excavated in the centre and bearing this set-off on its rim. For dovetailing, the upper panel A is grooved on its lower edge to fit over the tongues projecting upward from B, C, and D. B is dovetailed into C by a tongue along its right edge, and C in the same way into D. B, C, and D dovetail into E by a tongue projecting from their lower edges. All these dovetails are fastened by dowels except in the case of the upper and lower horizontal edges of C.

To save the reader's time and patience, there are reproduced in Plate II the five plaques in their present liberated state, and in Plate III their outlines, with the numerous holes in each indicated by numerals. The explanation of these holes may be briefly given by reference to the numerals, as follows:

1. Holes, notches, or fractures due to the rivetting or nailing of the metal strips of the mounting (see Plate I) to the wooden board that formed the backing of the plaque: A 3, 20 (holes 1, 5, 6, and 12 are broken out from the same cause); B 21, 24 (18 is broken out from the same cause); C 5, 7, 12, 13, 15 (1 is broken out from the same cause); D 1, 7, 8, 14, 17, 19; E 6, 7, 14 (12 and 16 are broken out from the same cause).

2. Corresponding holes for the insertion of pegs to secure the dovetailing of the panels together: *A–B*, A7–B5, A8–B4, A10–B2, A11–B1; *A–C* none; *A–D*, A15–D2, A16–D3, A18–D6, A21–D5; *B–C*, B18–C9, B20–C8, B22–C6; *C–D*, C14–D18; *B–E*, B12–E2, B14–E4, B16–E5, B22–E3; *C–E* none; *D–E*, D22–E8, D24–E9, D25–E10. A11 still retains a portion of its peg.

3. Holes for nailing the plaques to a previous wooden backing: A 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 13?, 14?, 17, 19?; B 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17; C 1?, 2?, 3, 4?, 10?, 14? 16?; D 9, 10, 12, 13? 16, 26, 28; E 1, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16. A portion of iron nail remains in B17, C3, and C10.

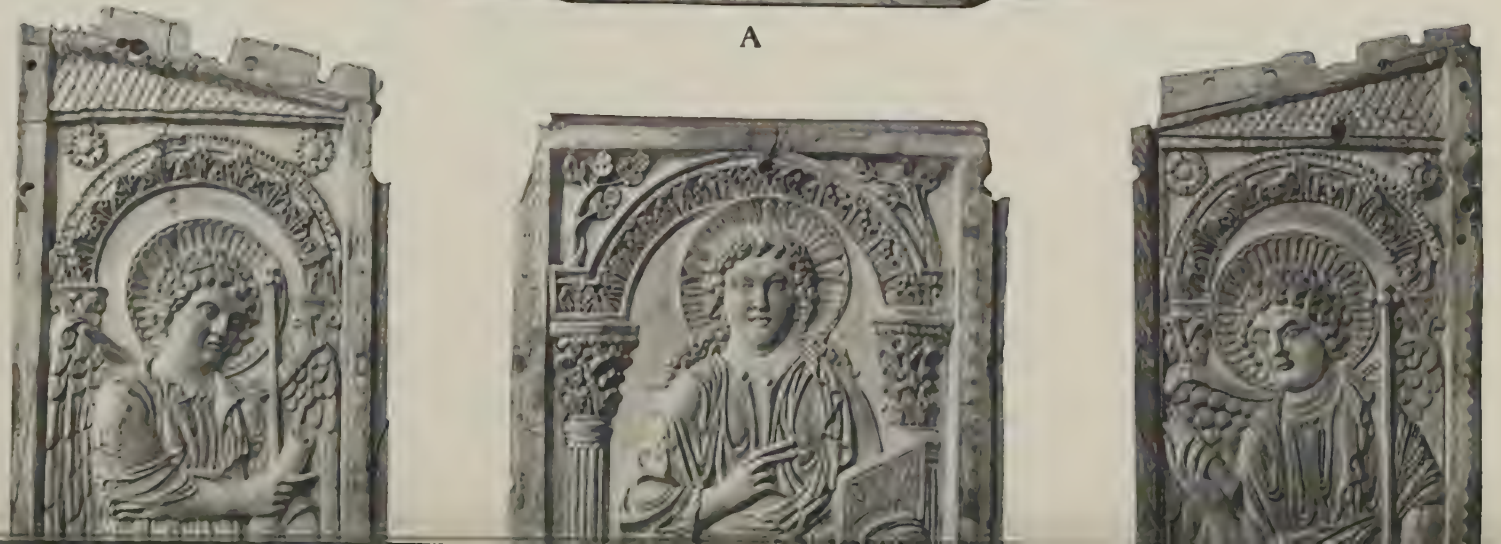
4. Holes inserted in D for binding purposes: 11, 15, 17.

5. Holes plugged: A 11, 13, 14, 17, with ivory or bone; 9 with wax. B 13, 15, 17, with ivory or bone; 7 with wax. D 11, 15, with ivory or bone; 27 with wax.

6. Rust stains: red stains as of iron-rust in or around A 9, 13, 14, 17; B 7, 17; C 3, 10; D 9, 20. Green stains on the grooves on the back of B at 8 and 10, and on its front at 9; on D at 12 and 16, front and back, and on the front at 26; on E at 10, front and back.

The fact that the green stains, coming from bronze or copper nails or pegs, occur in the regularly spaced holes along the outside border of the plaque, while the iron-rust and the remains of iron nails are found in the case of the holes of the interior, indicates an original fastening of the plaque to a wooden backing by means of

A



B

C

D

E

PLATE II

ROME, VATICAN LIBRARY, MUSEO CRISTIANO: THE IVORY PANELS OF THE LORSCH BOOK-COVER

bronze or copper nails, while the irregularly placed holes that betray the erstwhile presence of iron nails must be the result of later repairs. The green stains connected with the grooves on the back of B at 8 and 10 are evidently the traces of the bronze or copper strips inserted in these grooves and forming part of the clasps of the codex.

Plate I shows the plaque as mounted before the removal of the panels, and evidently in the same condition as when it served as the front cover of *Vat. Pal. lat. 50.* It was mounted within a wooden casing, the posterior face of which was covered with red silk. The use of the plaque in this form as a book-cover is still attested by the pieces of cords and of binding paper, as well as fragments of pasted cloth, which appear along the left edge of the wooden board. The other edges of the board are bevelled and bound with a silver sheathing adorned with a foliate design in low repoussé. Another trace of use as a book-cover is to be seen in the interruption, on the right edge, of the modern copper-gilt strips, in two places which were evidently the locations of clasps. The clasps were fastened by nails inserted in two holes in the wooden backing which have also cut through the silver sheathing. To note the splits caused by the nails once driven through B7 and C3 completes the descriptive data gained by the recent examination of the plaque, with the important exception of what was revealed upon the back of the panels.

The back of B revealed nothing except the two grooves for the insertion of the bronze or copper strips to which the original clasps were attached, and one of the combinations of scratched lines which occur on all the panels and may have been assembly marks. On A was found a very faint drawing of a beardless head with short curly hair, and one of a draped right arm with fingers extended in the gesture of speaking (Plate IV). The back of C shows at its top two quills beautifully drawn in ink. On D appears another drawing — a segment of a circular border inclosing an ornament which consisted of alternating inverted and upright palmettes; the artist drew two palmettes only, as sufficient to record the motif. Finally, on the back of E was found the incised inscription and monogram (in Greek letters) whose description is made unnecessary by the reproduction of the back of this panel on Plate V.

The name incised at the top of the panel is readily restored: *Fl. Anastasiu*S PAVLVS PROBVS / *Sabinian. Pomp*EIVS ANASTASIVS. Flavius Anastasius Paulus Probus Sabinianus Pompeius Anastasius, consul at Constantinople in 517 A.D., is known to us by four of the ivory diptychs which the occupants of the consular office in the fifth and sixth centuries used to distribute among their friends as souvenirs of the honor. Two of these preserve both the leaves of the diptych: a diptych in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Plate VII), and another of which one leaf is in the Museum of Berlin and the other in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington. Of each of the other two only one leaf is known — a plaque in the library of the chapter of the cathedral at Verona, and a fragment that was formerly in the Janzé collection in Paris but is now lost.[1] It is evident that our panel E was made out of another of Anastasius' diptychs, by planing off the ornament on its front and carving a new set of reliefs on the back.

This diptych, however, differed from the four already known in that the latter conform, — with variation in the subjects displayed at the bottom of the plaque, — to the figured type wherein the consul is represented seated on an elaborate chair, raising in his right hand the *mappa circensis* with which he gave the signal for the games of the circus to begin. In the space below him the small reliefs refer for the most part to these games. Our panel was of the simpler 'ornamental' type of diptych, like that of Justinianus, consul in 521, which is illustrated on Plate V. We may supply from the latter the *tabella* in relief which contained the incised name of the consul and the tondo, likewise in relief, which formed the border of the monogram in the centre of the panel. Other ornament in relief which fell victim to the planing-off of the panel included doubtless a motif at the bottom such as the rosettes on the Justinianus diptych. The original width of the panel, calculated on the space taken by the missing letters of the name, must have been roughly m.0.125, which is that of two out of the four diptychs of Anastasius already known. The name concealed in the Greek monogram is not yet deciphered; it is

[1] E. Molinier, *Les Arts appliqués à l'Industrie* (Paris: Lévy, 1896), I, *Ivoires*, 23 ff.

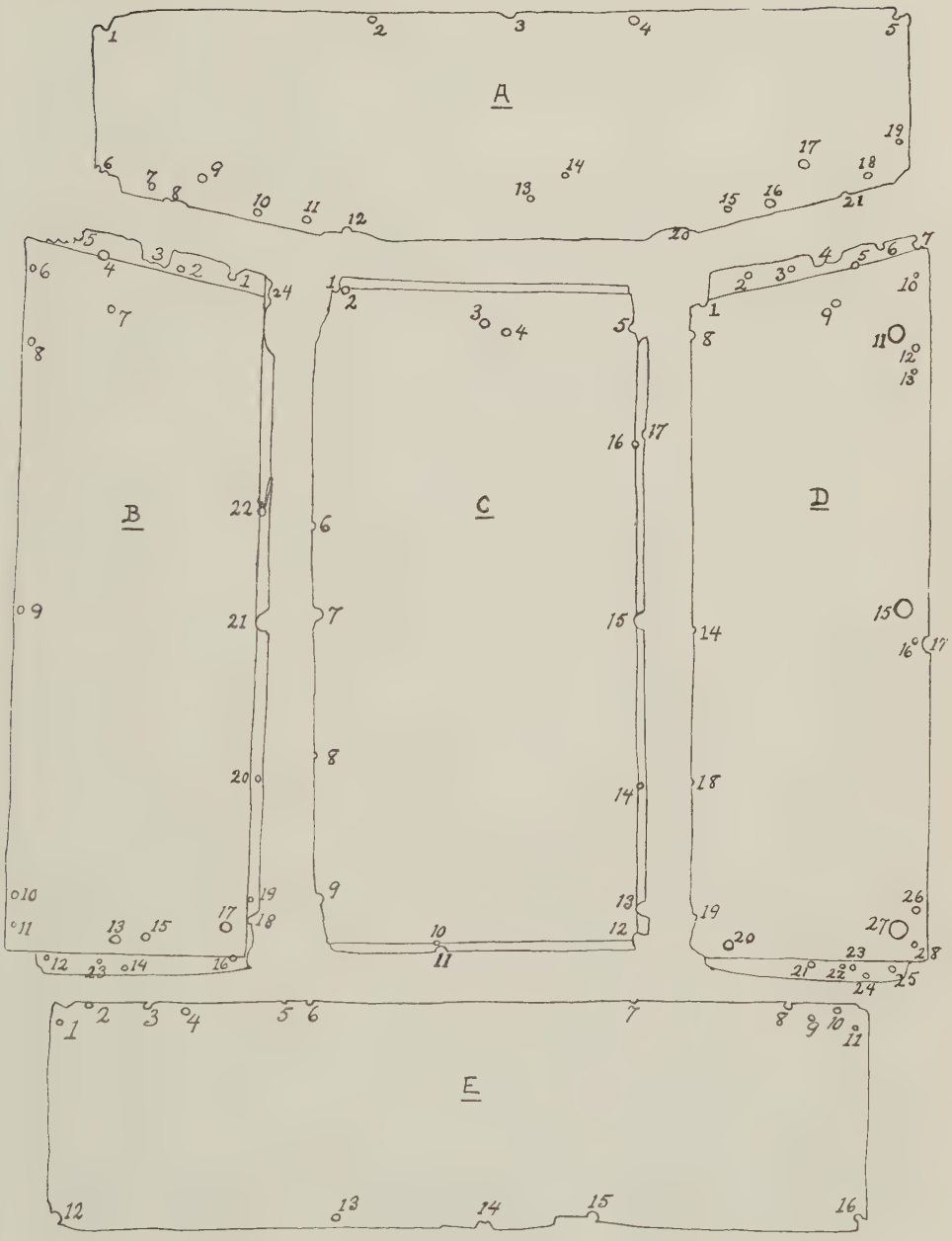


PLATE III

DIAGRAM SHOWING LOCATION OF HOLES IN THE IVORY PANELS OF THE LORSCH BOOK-COVER

not necessarily that of the consul, however, but might be that of the recipient of the diptych. In any case the demounting of panel E has brought to light a fifth diptych of Anastasius, and of a type hitherto unknown among his diptychs.

It will be remembered that on the back of panel D appears a drawing of a segment of circular border, adorned with alternating upright and inverted palmettes. The fact that the same motif is used to ornament the tondo on the plaque of Justinianus makes it likely that the artist who carved the other side of the panel made a memory-note in this fashion of the antique ornament of the diptych which was re-used for E. If this is the case, the short-haired curly head and gesturing arm that are faintly drawn on the back of A assume considerable importance. For if a memory-note was made in one case, it is likely that we have the same in the other, and that the head and arm on the back of A are also copied from an antique original that was before the artist as he worked.

That such an antique model existed, and that both the Vatican five-part plaque and its pendant in the Victoria and Albert Museum were copied from an Early Christian diptych of the fifth or sixth century, was made evident by Graeven in the article already cited. His conclusion was based mainly on the plaque in South Kensington, and the parallels which he could draw between its curious association of the Madonna with the Baptist and Zacharias, and a well-known miniature in the Vatican Cosmas Indicopleustes, and between the flying angels supporting the medallion (inclosing the bust of Christ as in the case of the South Kensington plaque, or inclosing the cross as in the case of that of the Vatican) and the customary decoration of the upper panel of the five-part diptychs of the sixth century, one of which is illustrated in Plate VI. The miniatures of the Cosmas Indicopleustes are Alexandrian conceptions of the sixth century, and the five-part diptychs of the type illustrated in Plate VI belong to the same school that produced the Cathedra of Maximianus in the Museum of Ravenna. The evidence for the Alexandrian origin of this monument was collected by E. Baldwin Smith,[1] and the

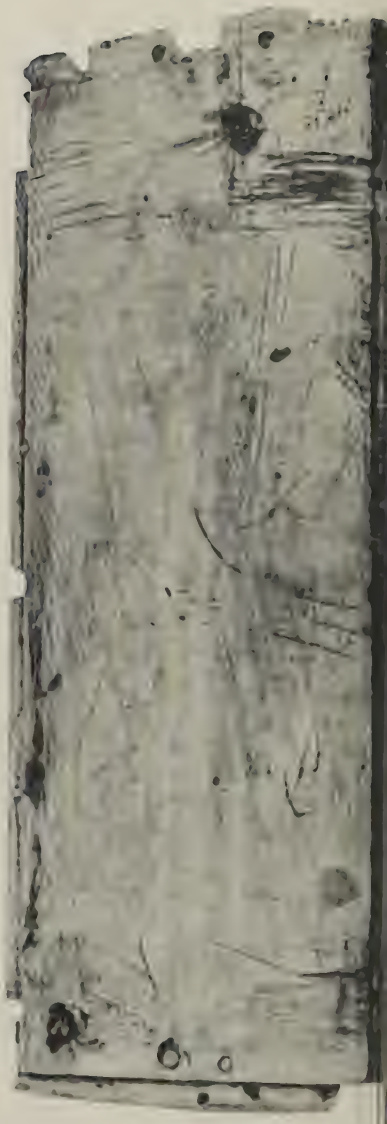
[1] E. Baldwin Smith, 'The Alexandrian Origin of the Maximianus Chair,' *Amer. Jour. Arch.*, XXI (1912), 22–37.

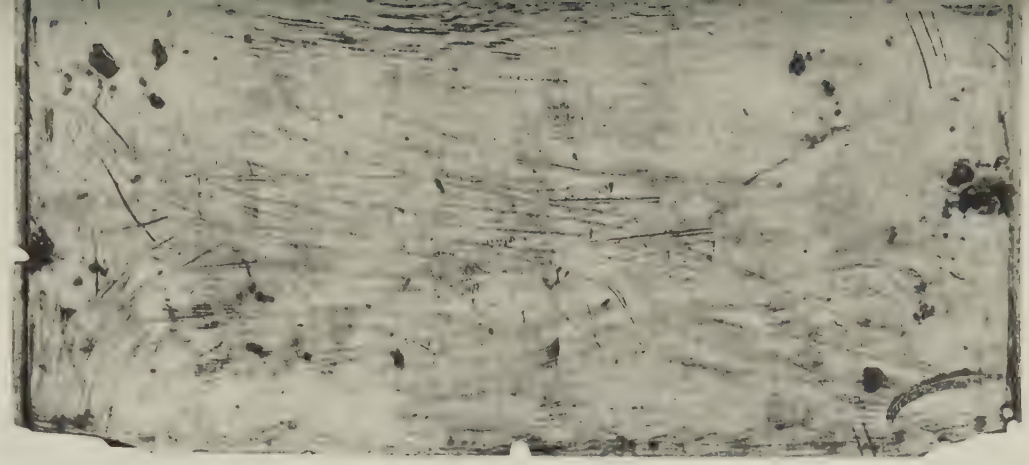
majority of archaeologists at the present time accept this provenance for the Cathedra and the ivories connected with it. To these indications that the original of our two plaques was a diptych of Alexandrian provenance or style may be added the fresco described by Neroutsos-Bey [1] in the catacombs of Alexandria, representing '*Jésus-Christ . . . d'un âge juvénile et les pieds nus . . . au milieu des serpents, des crocodiles, des lézards et d'autres reptiles de toute forme et de toute espèce*'; a lion is also described among the animals around the Saviour, and while His figure is flanked immediately by two defaced and unrecognizable figures, the fresco terminates at either end with the figure of an angel. To the author cited, the fresco resembled so much the group on the Vatican plaque that he reproduced the figure of Christ from the latter by way of illustrating the fresco. Further evidence for the Egyptian origin of this type, so like the Horus trampling the crocodiles of Pharaonic art, is given by Baldwin Smith in his *Early Christian Iconography*, apropos of its use on another mediaeval copy of an Early Christian original, the ivory book-cover in the Bodleian at Oxford.[2]

The drawing on the back of panel D removes the difficulty in the way of recognizing the Christ and His attendant angels as copies from an Alexandrian original. An Early Christian Alexandrian Christ would have worn the hair short, to judge from the steady use of this type of Christ in Alexandrian-Coptic monuments, while on our ivory the hair falls long upon the shoulders. The memory-sketch on the back of panel D evidently reproduced the right arm and gesturing hand of the Christ of the original, and also in a rough way the short curly hair of His head. This also accounts for the curious effect given by the locks on Christ's shoulders, in the mediaeval carving; they seem like artificial locks fastened to the base of the skull, rather than the natural continuation of the hair of the cranium. The copyist followed his model faithfully to the extent of producing a curly head with short hair, and then added the shoulder locks that were indispensable to the type current in his school — the 'Ada'

[1] *L'Ancienne Alexandrie* (Paris: Leroux, 1888), pp. 47 ff.

[2] E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory-carvers in Provence* (Princeton University Press, 1918), pp. 146 ff.





C

D

PLATE IV

POSTERIOR FACES OF PANELS A, B, C, AND D OF THE LORSCH BOOK-COVER

type of Christ familiar to students of Carolingian and Ottonian art. The same effect is afforded, in somewhat less pronounced fashion, by the head of Christ in the medallion on the upper panel of the plaque in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The above furnishes good evidence that the central panels of the Vatican plaque are fairly faithful copies of the corresponding panels of a five-part Alexandrian diptych. The scenes of the Magi in the lower panel, in view of the pronounced mediaeval aspect of the figures and the architecture, can hardly be so considered. As to the upper panel, with its flying angels supporting the disc that incloses the cross, it is nothing less than the surviving panel of the original Early Christian plaque.[1]

It is true that the copyist has been so faithful to his original, in the three central panels, that it is difficult to detect at first the differences that betray the more antique quality of the upper panel. The right hand of the angel on the left resembles closely, in finger length and the mode of fashioning the nails, the right hand of the Christ. The articulation of the right foot of this angel is no better than that of Christ's left foot. The upper lip of the same angel seems to be reproduced in the same feature as it occurs in the faces of Christ and the angels of the central panels. But one notices that in the latter the feature becomes exaggerated until it reaches the effect of a mustache.

More significant differences emerge on careful examination. The quatrefoil rosettes of panel A have become hexafoil in B, and in both B and D they lack the clear differentiation of the central and lateral ribs of the acanthus leaves. The draperies that disappear upon the too boldly modelled forms of the central panels are more antique and functional upon the flying angels of panel A, where the tendency to incise the folds upon the form is visible, but not nearly so exaggerated as upon the figures of B, C, and D. The grooves of the dangling folds of the pallia of the angels in A cut through the edge at the end of the garment; in the panels below they commonly stop short, leaving the undulating edge of the drapery continuous. The

[1] Miss Longhurst wishes to withhold judgment on the date of this panel until she has had an opportunity again to examine the original.

hair which is rendered in impressionistic lumps on the heads of the flying angels has in the hands of the copyist become a series of stylized corkscrew locks. The eyes of panel A look like those of the consular diptychs of Greek style [1] (see Plate VII), with the characteristic protruding eyeball and its drilled incision; in the central panels this incision is surrounded by an incised circle. The deep fluting of the conch behind the cross in the medallion held by the flying angels, and the sharp relief of the scalloped edge of the conch, have been flattened out in the nimbi of Christ and His angels. The addition of balls at the angles of the cross has been shown from an interesting statistic compiled by E. S. King [2] to be a peculiarly Egyptian practice of the Early Christian period. The motif of relieving the cross against a conch, difficult to parallel in later periods, is a frequent practice of Early Christian Coptic ornament, as exemplified by the limestone niche-cap in the Cairo Museum (from Edfu), dated by Strzygowski in the sixth or seventh century, which is reproduced on Plate VIII.[3]

The conclusion indicated by the comparisons above given, that panel A is the surviving portion of the original Early Christian plaque, is borne out by the greater spontaneity and vigor of its execution, and confirmed by the richer color of the ivory of this panel, and by its physical relation to the rest of the book-cover. It is evident for example that the three-sided shape of the lower edge of the panel is not original, since the bias cutting on the left goes through a portion of the angel's drapery, and the dovetail hole 18 on the other side pierces the angel's foot. On the horizontal central part of the lower edge appears the incised remains of such a garland ornament with central medallion as appears on the upper panel of the five part plaque illustrated in Plate VI; this has been planed off,

[1] Edward Capps, Jr, in a forthcoming article in the *Art Bulletin*, gives convincing evidence for the attribution of the ' Greek' consular diptychs to Alexandrian ateliers.

[2] *art. cit.*, p. 1, n. 1.

[3] J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1904), 48, no. 7300. Other examples: *ibid.*, 40, Abb. 47, from Luxor; W. E. Crum, *Coptic Monuments, Cat. gén. . . . du Musée du Caire* (Cairo: Inst. franç. d'arch. orientale, 1902), Pl. XLV, 8665, and Pl. XLVI, 8671, from Esneh; O. Wulff, *Altchr. und Mittelalterl. Bildwerke: Kgl. Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1909), III, 1, nos. 232, 233, from Luxor and Philae respectively.

Plate V

Posterior Face of Panel E of the Lorsch Book-cover.
Leaf of a Diptych of Justinianus, Consul in 521 A.D.

PLATE VI

LEAF OF A FIVE-PART DIPTYCH IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS

no doubt to conform the thickness of this panel to that of the rest. The reason for the cutting of the corners of the panel appears from the condition of the upper panel in the five-part plaque of Plate VI; the dovetailing weakened the ivory at these points so that they are liable to fracture, and it was a condition of this sort that made necessary the cutting-off of the corners of the panel A.[1] The mediaeval artist who carved the rest of the plaque had to adjust his panels B and D to the thus abbreviated shape of the upper panel, and from this arises the peculiar arrangement of the Vatican book-cover, unique among the five-part plaques thus far known. Unique, save for the same arrangement in its pendant of South Kensington, where, as will be shown in the next article, demands of symmetry caused the repetition of the appearance of the Vatican plaque.

The Vatican plaque is thus a restoration, apparently close to the original in the central panels and less so in the lower panel, of a five-part diptych of the Alexandrian style which had deteriorated in its middle and lower panels to a point that demanded replacement of these and was broken as to the lower corners of its upper panel so that these had to be trimmed. It is natural to suppose that the antique plaque was one of the original covers of the Lorsch Gospels, and to connect this restoration with a passage in the Chronicle of Lorsch which states that the Abbot Salmann (972–998) '*tres libros ex ebore et argento mirifice vetustari fecit*,' for the transitive *vetustari* might very well carry the meaning of 'to be restored to their antique aspect.' Goldschmidt believes that the passage refers to a later restoration and that the Vatican plaque dates in the ninth century, raising thus a question which will be largely the theme of our article to follow.

At any rate, the demounting of the Vatican book-cover has not only added another to the limited list of consular diptychs, but has enriched the material of Early Christian art with a carved ivory panel of first-rate quality, the surviving member of a five-part plaque which is earlier in style than any so far known. By its vigorous Hellenism it reflects a phase of Alexandrian style that is even anterior

[1] The lower corners of the upper panel of the well-known five-part 'Barberini' plaque in the Louvre are completely broken away.

to the Cathedra of Maximianus, and it is impossible to date the panel later than the second half of the fifth century.

In an article to follow[1] will be given the findings resulting from the demounting of the plaque in South Kensington which was carried out this summer, and an attempt will be made, as indicated above, to define more closely the date at which the Vatican plaque and the pendant in the Victoria and Albert Museum were manufactured.

[1] Article No. 2, cited p. 64, n. 1, above.

PLATE VII

CONSULAR DIPTYCH OF ANASTASIUS, CONSUL IN 517

Plate VIII

Coptic Limestone Relief from Edfu, VI–VII Century

NOTES

BEOWULF 1039 AND THE GREEK ἀρχι-

The *Rex regum* of Vulg. Rev. 17.14; 19.16 (cf. 1 Tim. 6.15;[1] 2 Macc. 13.4) was several times imitated in Old English poetry, mostly in the form of *eal(l)ra cyninga Cyning*, and always in the first hemistich. The series begins with the *Andreas*, if the argument I have elsewhere[2] presented with regard to its relative date is accepted. Two instances occur (978, 1192). In the former of these, the alliterative word is an adjective:

> Gewāt him þā se hālga heofonas sēcan,
> eallra cyninga Cyning þone clǣnan hām.

In the second, the alliterative word is a noun: Andrew reproaches the devil that he had been cast into darkness,

> þǣr þē cyninga Cyning clamme belegde.

Arrived at the *Christ*, we find Cynewulf employing the adjective of *An.* 978, and calling the Saviour (*Chr.* 136)

> ealra cyninga Cyning, ond þone clǣnan ēac
> Sācerd.

In the other case (*Chr.* 215), the noun is the name of Christ:

> ealra cyninga Cyning, Crīst ælmihtig.

The lines at one time regarded as belonging at the end of the *Christ* furnish one instance, with a noun in the second hemistich (*Pseudo-Christ* 1681):

> ealra cyninga Cyning ceastrum wealdeð.

The *Juliana* (289) has one instance, with a noun alliterating:

> ealra cyninga Cyning tō cwale syllan.

In the *Christ and Satan* (205), Christ furnishes the alliterative word:

> mid ealra cyninga Cyninge, se is Crīst genemned.

And the same is true in *Hymn* 3.22:

> ealra kyninga Kyning, Crīst lifiend.

[1] Rendered by Ælfric, *Hom.* 1.8: 'Hē is ealra cyninga Cyning, and ealra hlāforda Hlāford.'

[2] 'The Old English Andreas and Bishop Acca of Hexham' (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 26.270–6).

But, if we may judge from statistics [1] based on the *Judith* (350 lines), *c* is one of the consonants least used for alliterative purposes; on the other hand, *h* has almost the highest rank in that respect. Now as *cyning*, with other words which signify *lord*, *ruler*, etc., might often be conveniently used in the line, on condition that they began with some other letter, the Old English poets have prefixed to such terms a qualifying word, signifying some appropriate trait or relation, and by this means have satisfied the requirements of this branch of their poetical technique. Thus, besides the simple *cyning*, we have, in the *Beowulf*, eleven common nouns framed from it, beginning respectively with *b*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *l*, *s* (2), *p*, and *w* (2). Of these compounds, the one that most concerns us here is *hēahcyning*, which, by the way, is the only one in *Beowulf*, of seven nouns in *hēah-*, which denotes a person.

Hēahcyning occurs only once in the poem (1039), and there in alliteration with another of those coinages which, whatever other purposes they may serve, are useful in this technical respect. This word is *hildesetl*, 'war-seat, saddle,' as *hēahsetl* (1087) means 'throne,' and *meodosetl* (5), 'mead-seat, hall-seat.' The poet, in 1039, is introducing an elaborately adorned saddle belonging to King Hrothgar, who is about to bestow it on Beowulf after his conquest of Grendel. It is a war-saddle, and it is the saddle of no mean king, yet it is bestowed upon a wandering knight who has come in quest of adventure:

þæt wæs hildesetl hēahcyninges.

Hrothgar is, then, a high king, a chief king, or, we might say, a king of kings. Just how shall we interpret this? Does it mean that Hrothgar, envisaged as a Northumbrian ruler, is figured as a Bretwalda — like one of the three Northumbrians [2] who, beginning with Edwin (617–633), continue with the sainted Oswald (634–642), and end with Oswy (642–671)? If Hrothgar in some sense personates Aldfrith [3] (685–705), under whom we conceive [4] the idea of the poem to have been framed, such an allusion would not be without its pertinence, seeing that Oswald was Aldfrith's uncle, and Oswy, the Bretwalda of widest sway and influence, was his father. For, however the star of Northumbria had paled under Ecgfrith, Aldfrith's brother, and under his own rule, the recollection of its comparatively recent glories must have been eagerly cherished in the following generation.

[1] See my edition (Boston, 1888), pp. lix–lxi; 2d ed., 1889, pp. lxv–lxvii.

[2] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* 2.5.

[3] 'The Possible Begetter of the Old English Beowulf and Widsith' (*Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 25.319 ff.).

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 343 ff.

Even before the period within which we may reasonably believe the *Beowulf* to have been composed, the prefix *hēah-* had begun to be employed in words expressive of eminence. A datable instance is found in the laws of Wihtræd, King of Kent, which are assigned to 695.[1] In the proem to the laws, it is stated that there was present, as the first-named of the notables by whom the code was framed, Berhtwald, 'Bretone hēahbiscop,' being the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, after an interval of three years, immediately succeeded (consecrated 693) Theodore of Tarsus, and who died in the year when Bede completed his *Ecclesiastical History*.[2] It is clear, from this mention of him in the laws, that *hēahbiscop* is, by 695, the translation of the Latin *archiepiscopus*, which eventually came to be rendered in Old English as *ærcebiscop*, our modern *archbishop*.

The equation of *hēah-* with Latin *archi-*, Greek ἀρχι–, is reflected in various Old English compounds of later date than the *Beowulf*. In the *Andreas*, which is a relatively early poem,[3] we find not only an instance of *hēahcyning* (6), this time as a kenning for God, in a formula, *heofona Hēahcyning*, which becomes a favorite with poets,[4] but also *hēahengel* (885) and *hēahfæder* (791, 875), in both of which the equation with the Greek is preserved (ἀρχάγγελος, πατριάρχης). In Cynewulf there are five instances of *hēahengel* (*Chr.* 202, 403, 528, 1018; *El.* 751), and one of *hēahfæder* (*Jul.* 514); noteworthy, too, is the occurrence of *hēahboda* = *archangel* (*Chr.* 295), side by side with *bodan* = *angels* (*Chr.* 449). In Alfred's translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, we have not only instances of *hēahengel*, but also *hēahsongere* (*archicantator*), ed. Miller 314.3; *hēahcræftiga* (*architectus*), 468.23. About the year 1000, the ἀρχισυναγώγος of Mark 5.38 is rendered *hēahealdor* in the West Saxon Gospels.

Whenever *hēah-*, then, occurs as prefix in the designation of an individual, it is fair to presume that it stands, or originally stood, as an equivalent

[1] Plummer, *Bædæ Opera Historica* 2.86, bottom; 2.186, bottom; cf. my 'King Oswy and Cædmon's Hymn' (*Speculum* 2.67).

[2] In 702 he joined with King Aldfrith of Northumbria in the condemnation and excommunication of Bishop Wilfrith, and it was he who consecrated Aldhelm as Bishop of Sherborne.

[3] Cf. the reference in note 2.

[4] It constitutes the first hemistich in *Gen.* 50, 1025, 2165; *Dan.* 626; *Chr.* 1340; *Ph.* 446; *Hy.* 3.50; 6.15; 8.42. With the singular of *heofon* occur, in first hemistichs: *Hēahcyning heofones* (*Dan.* 408); *heofones Hēahcyning* (*Chr.* 150). Other instances of the word in the first hemistich are: *Hēahcyninges hās* (*Gen.* 124); *hālne, Hēahcyning* (*Ps.* 118.146); *hāteð þonne Hēahcyning* (*Sol. and Sat.* 173). It occurs at the end of the second hemistich in *Gen.* 172; *Ph.* 129, 483; *Rid.* 40 (41).38, where it stands for the Ovidian *Tonans* (cf. Shakespeare, *Lear* 2.4.230; *T. and C.* 2.3.11; *Cymb.* 5.4.30, 95), a word which Aldhelm is fond of employing. Some form of *heofon*, in the first hemistich, alliterates with it in the three latter cases; cf. *Hy.* 7.60: *on heofonrīce Hēahcāsere* (see *Cāseres, Ph.* 634).

Three hundred years after the period of the *Beowulf*, the phrase *heofonan Hēahcyning* appears in a homily (ed. Napier 142.21) of Wulfstan, Archbishop of York (*d.* 1023).

of the Greek ἀρχι- (or its Latin derivative, *archi-*). If we apply this canon to *hēahcyning*, we should naturally suppose that it stood for ἀρχιβασιλεύς. It is a rather striking confirmation, or at least exemplification, of this hypothesis that the Greek word is actually found in a document of the year 619, or a little later. This was a petition drawn up in diplomatic, if not obsequious, terms, requesting, on the part of the Byzantine government, and therefore no doubt at the instance of the emperor, safe-conduct and immunity for certain envoys to Chosroes II, King of Persia (590–628).

From the accession of the Emperor Heraclius, in 610, till the death of Chosroes, the Byzantine empire had successively endured and repelled the aggressions of the Persians, whose power was soon to be overthrown by the Saracens. During the first twelve of these years, Heraclius, who had succeeded the atrocious tyrant, Phocas (602–610), had been unable to avert the train of misfortunes in which the Persian war had already involved the Romans for a period of six years before he ascended the throne. Appeals to the magnanimity of Chosroes were in vain: according to Gibbon (ed. Bury 5.74), 'the suppliant embassies of Heraclius to beseech his clemency, that he would spare the innocent, accept a tribute, and give peace to the world, were rejected with contemptuous silence or insolent menace.'

At length, in 619, a Persian army overran Asia Minor, laid siege to Chalcedon, on the opposite shore of the Bosporus from Constantinople, and captured it. Interviews followed between the imperial officials and the Persian commander, as a result of which it was decided to dispatch another embassy to Chosroes. In the words of Gibbon (5.76):

> The friendly offer of Sain [Shāhīn], the Persian general, to conduct an embassy to the presence of the Great King, was accepted with the warmest gratitude, and the prayer for pardon and peace was humbly presented by the prætorian præfect, the præfect of the city, and one of the first ecclesiastics of the patriarchal church. But the lieutenant of Chosroes had fatally mistaken the intentions of his master. . . . Sain was flayed alive, according to the inhuman practice of his country; and the separate and rigorous confinement of the ambassadors[1] violated the law of nations and the faith of an express stipulation.

After a rehearsal of the mutual civilities which had formerly obtained between the Persian and the Roman court, and which had been rudely interrupted by the barbaric Phocas, the petition to Chosroes goes on to state that, even during the nine years or so of the reign of Heraclius, the conditions in both empires had hindered the resumption of the former courtesies. But now — and here we come to the sentence which particularly concerns us — encouraged by the reply of Sain to the overtures for

[1] According to Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Roman Biog.* (2.404), they were afterwards put to death.

peace, 'we have decided,' say the commissioners, 'to disregard the past, and, insignificant as we are, to make supplication to the great King of kings' [1] (*βραχεῖς ὄντες ἄνθροποι πρὸς ἀρχιβασιλέα τηλικοῦτον τῇ δεήσει χρήσασθαι*).[2]

We know how the ambassadors were entertained, and what was the fate of the unfortunate Sain; but nine years afterward, Heraclius, after a series of expeditions and campaigns, reduced Chosroes to an ignominious flight, to deposition at the hands of Siroes, his son, and to death after five days spent in a dungeon. The true cross, as it was believed to be, of which Jerusalem had been despoiled by the Persians in 614,[3] was restored in 629. This triumph of the Roman arms has been recounted by Gibbon (5.94):

> Heraclius performed in person the pilgrimage of Jerusalem, the identity of the relic was verified by the discreet patriarch, and this august ceremony has been commemorated by the annual festival of the exaltation of the cross [Sept. 14]. . . . He again ascended his throne to receive the congratulations of the ambassadors of France and India; and the fame of Moses, Alexander, and Hercules was eclipsed, in the popular estimation, by the superior merit and glory of the great Heraclius.[4]

But how could the author of *Beowulf*, or an adviser of his, royal or ecclesiastical, have known of the word *ἀρχιβασιλεύς*, of which *hēahcyning* seems to be a translation, seeing that only one instance of it has been adduced? In the first place, this may not have been the only occurrence of the word in Greek literature; in the second place, those in England who were familiarly acquainted with Greek might have coined the word on the analogy of such as we have cited above, perhaps assisted by their knowledge of passages like Ps. 48.2; Matt. 5.35 ('great King'), or, again, Rev. 17.4; 19.16 ('King of kings'). But, apart from these possibilities, what more likely than that Theodore of Tarsus should have been acquainted with the salient facts in the life of Heraclius during the years from 610 to 629?

When the petition was penned, he would have been seventeen years of age, and, when the cross was restored to Jerusalem, would have been twenty-

[1] The recognized title of the Persian monarch, in view of the fact that the governors of provinces and of the larger cities were often called kings.

[2] *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. Bonn, 1832) 1.708.14–15. For the authenticity of this petition, see Gibbon, ed. Bury 5.76, note 88; cf. p. 75, note 87; p. 87, note 116; p. 90, note 127; p. 92, note 129; p. 93, note 132; pp. 496–7.

[3] Gibbon 5.70.

[4] Cf. *Dict. of Gr. and Roman Biog.* 2.405: 'The blessings of his subjects followed him wherever he went, and his fame spread over the world from Europe to the remotest corners of India. Ambassadors from that country, from the Frankish king, Dagobert, and many other eastern and western princes, came to Constantinople to congratulate the emperor on his having overthrown the hereditary enemy of the Roman empire.'

Finlay (*Hist. of Greece* 1.313) calls the reign of Heraclius 'one of the most remarkable epochs, both in the history of the empire and in the annals of mankind.'

seven. When he was twenty-four, one of the most important battles of the whole war was fought within thirty or forty miles of his native Tarsus. In the spring of 626, Heraclius was rapidly pursuing the retreating Persians. The battle is thus described by Gibbon (5.84–5):

> The bridges of the Euphrates were destroyed by the Persians; but, as soon as the emperor had discovered a ford, they hastily retired to defend the banks of the Sarus, in Cilicia. That river, an impetuous torrent, was about three hundred feet broad; the bridge was fortified with strong turrets; and the banks were lined with barbarian archers. After a bloody conflict, which continued till the evening, the Romans prevailed in the assault, and a Persian of gigantic size was slain and thrown into the Sarus by the hand of the emperor himself. The enemies were dispersed and dismayed.[1]

The contrast between the abject humility expressed by the petition of 619 and the glorious deliverance of the Roman empire by Heraclius ten years later may have formed a theme of declamations in the Athenian schools to which Theodore had listened, or in which he had engaged; and, in order to point the first term of the antithesis, the very words in which the representatives of the government had placed themselves at the feet of the Archking, the High King, may conceivably have been quoted.[2]

We should, however, remind ourselves that Theodore was not the only channel through which Byzantine influence was, directly or indirectly, reaching England in the seventh century. To some of these I have adverted in the paper (pp. 6–8) mentioned in note 2, below.[3] To others attention is called in a recent work by N. Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England during the Early Centuries after the Invasion* (Upsala, 1926). The following quotations from Åberg have a bearing on our problem, and with them I bring this paper to a close:

> Pp. 6, 7. Their [the Lombards'] conquest of Italy was . . . of radical importance, not only for themselves, but also for the peoples of Middle Europe, as it opened for them the way to the Mediterranean, thereby rendering possible the establishment of connections with the flourishing Byzantine civilization, and with the Orient. . . . The foreign influences appear in the decoration of the Burgundian buckles, where old Germanic motives appear together with the plant- and animal-worlds of the Orient, griffins and lions, classically intertwined acanthus foliage. Step by step this development is followed; we see how the influence from the east more and more gains the upper hand over the old Germanic, which finally succumbs and dies away. This development, which is in full swing at the beginning of the seventh century, is the prelude to the Carolingian renaissance, and is the result of the Lombard invasion of Italy.

[1] Cf. *Dict. of Gr. and Roman Biog.* 2.404.

[2] Cf. my 'Theodore of Tarsus and Gislenus of Athens' (*Philological Quarterly* 2.19 ff.).

[3] See, for instance, in that article (p. 7, note 23) the reference to the institution at Rome of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (see above, p. 79). This was in 701, and with Sergius the English Aldhelm may have conversed (see my 'Sources of the Biography of Aldhelm,' *Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 28.283).

The effects of the political convulsions at the end of the sixth century extend far and wide within the Germanic world; they extend to Scandinavia in the north, and in the west they reach England. During this critical period falls the flowering time of the Kentish culture. To Kent came the influences of the continental interlaced work and animal ornamentation of Style II. A more palpable proof of the active influence of the new connections, however, is afforded by the considerable influx into Kent of Byzantine or Oriental products and semi-precious stones.

P. 155. As far as can be judged, Kentish culture flourished and bloomed rapidly, and beyond all doubt under exceptionally favorable circumstances. The profusion of gold and rare stones and exotic products, some coming from far-distant lands, makes it probable that these circumstances were the result of political and commercial conditions.

P. 163. A find dating from the 7th century, containing naturalistic animal ornaments, is the beforementioned grave from St. John's in Cambridge. . . . If the animal motives in question may be assigned to the 7th century, they must consequently be unconnected with provincial-Roman art, and are thus rather to be regarded as manifestations of Oriental-Byzantine impulses.

Pp. 172, 173. The Germanic interlaced work does not go back to the beginning of the migration period, and does not derive from imperial classical art, but will chiefly originate from Byzantine prototypes. . . . Only through the close connections with Byzantine culture, which flourished with the Lombard penetration to the Mediterranean, was interlaced work seriously incorporated into Germanic art. Its time of greatest development fell therefore after the year 600. . . . During the latter half of the 6th century, the influences of the continental interlaced work seem to have reached Anglo-Saxon England, but without having made themselves much felt there at that time. . . . This state of things is changed, however, with the 7th century, and interlacing flourishes richly also on Anglo-Saxon territory.

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TWO DOCUMENTS CONCERNING ARCHBISHOP ROGER OF YORK

After the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket on 29 December 1170 his opponents were for a long time in great trouble. It was not indeed suggested that they were in any sense accomplices in the act, but it was held that their previous doings were indirectly the cause of it. Among these opponents the highest in position was Roger, the archbishop of York. He had just before taken part in the coronation of Henry II's son in spite of the pope's prohibition, and he had therefore been suspended from his office by Alexander III. Not until October 1171 did the pope give authority for his restoration, and this was only to be effected on definite conditions. He was required to swear before the archbishop of Rouen and other ecclesiastical officers that he had not maintained the Constitutions of Clarendon, that he had never by word or act done anything that led Archbishop Thomas to his death, that he was ignorant that the pope had for-

bidden the coronation of the young king, and that at that coronation all things were duly performed.[1] It is stated that the terms of Roger's purgation were properly carried out,[2] and in December the archbishop issued a rescript to the clergy and people of his province notifying the fact. In this document the address is correctly given, but the terms on which his absolution was granted are discreetly omitted. More than this, about two-thirds of the rescript are occupied by a vehement denunciation of his opponents. This part is so remarkable that it is necessary to print it in full.

Fecerunt hoc qui jampridem sederunt mihi in insidiis. Et quidem primo paraverunt laqueum suspensionis, quo dominus papa plus eorum falsas suggestiones quam juris ordinem secutus, me innodavit. Deinde, ne quoquomodo solvi posset, iniquitatem iniquitati addentes, hinc maximorum virorum libellos arte multiplici, sicut jam a pluribus retro annis instructi fuerant, conquirebant; inde peregrinorum et qui me numquam viderant multitudinem subornabant, ut ea quae non noverant mentientes, apud summum pontificem et curiam Romanam quocunque modo famam onerarent. Absens eram, et qui ex parte mea in curia pauci tantae multitudini vix resistere poterant, tam exquisitis pressi mendaciis, maxime cum quidam, solo habitu religiosi, videntes illos prosperari in iniquitatibus suis, cum illis currebant, et neglecto Dei timore ad eversionem dignitatis ecclesiae nostrae, una cum meretricibus suis quas secum duxerant, ne quis sexus persecutioni meae deesset, multa dixerunt. Hi omnes in unum convenientes proposuerunt in cordibus suis gigantes imitari, parietem ex maximis quasi quibusdam lapidibus et multis mendaciis, fictis ad tempus suspiriis et gemitibus, non solum domos, sed et plateas replentes diurno et nocturno ululatu, eundemque ipsum parietem tanquam quodam indissolubili bitumine, vim naturae facientes, simulatis lacrimis linierunt, sperantes hoc modo coelum claudere se posse, et veritatem perpetuo carceri deputare. Quid plura? Idem Pharao illorum, ille spiritualis, cujus ipsi membra sunt, in tali equitatu incedere videbatur cum corona, et ego, miserae cophini servituti deputatus, respiciebam ad auxilium hominum, et non erat. Cuti enim meae, consumptis carnibus, os meum adhaeserat.[3]

This whole passage seems to be an interpolation, an invention composed with the design of showing that the oath taken by the archbishop was, to say the least of it, insincere. I will notice only two points. There is mention of a suit at the Papal court where Roger's adversaries appear *cum meretricibus suis:* this is a manifest travesty. Secondly, Becket is spoken of as 'Pharaoh.' Now at that time few works were more familiar than St Bernard's sermons on the Canticles, and there in serm. xxxix the name Pharaoh is treated as almost convertible with *diabolus.* This then was the language in which Roger was represented to have spoken of the martyred archbishop in a document notifying his absolution.

[1] J. C. Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* VII (1885), 500.

[2] Ibid., p. 502. So too Arnulf of Lisieux, ep. 57 (misplaced by Robertson, vii, 495).

[3] Robertson, vii, 504 seq.

The use of the name Pharaoh infuriated the Canterbury clerks, and they determined on reprisals. This appears from a letter which is preserved in the immense Becket correspondence and which J. A. Giles included among John of Salisbury's letters as ep. 305. This letter is addressed to the archbishop of Sens, nephew to Bishop Henry of Winchester, in the name of *miseri illi qui quondam fuere Cantuarienses.*[1] It begins with a sober lamentation over the murder, but soon breaks out into invective against Archbishop Roger and his friends, and charges Roger with grave immorality. I proceed to quote the following passage.

Sedent e regione blasphemi, qui sub nomine et honore sacerdotali, sacerdotium persequuntur, principibus adulantes, persecutorum ecclesiae justificantes causam, exultantes in rebus pessimis, scilicet quod potestatibus astiterunt adversus Dominum et adversus christum ejus, cujus sanguis, per eos effusus[1] militum ministerio, de terra clamat ad Dominum magis quam sanguis Abel justi, quem frater ipsius interemit.

Horum caput est ille Eboracensis, quem vidistis et audistis palam in curia archiepiscopum persequentem, et qui indignus fuerat ore sacrilego, quo necem martyris procuravit, ipsius proferre nomen: eum plane mendosus et mendax, jam inauditis coruscantem miraculis adhuc, sicut ex litteris ejus patet, nominat Pharaonem. Sed non movemur, si flagitiosa bellua martyrem non honorat, quae, sicut opera manifesta convincunt, Deum utique non veretur. Dicitur tamen quod parat ad curiam proficisci, ut purget vitae sordidae notam, quasi homo qui justiciam fecerit, et non dereliquerit judicium Dei sui. Et ne ipsius purgatio valeat impediri, procuravit ut nulli nostratum liceat transfretare, nisi domini regis impetrata licentia. Quae quidem obtineri non potest, nisi praestetur cautio, quod nihil[2] queretur contra martyris persecutores. Quid ergo facient miseri zelantes legem, videntes justitiam opprimi, et sibi exitum denegari? Sed certe verbum Dei non est alligatum, et vobis libertas est et os patens ad ecclesiam Romanam, et notissima veritas.

Novistis enim martyrem in vita sua, novistis causam ejus, novistis et nos qui coexsulavimus illi: novistis et istum Caipham temporis nostri, qui sub specie conquerentis persuasit expedire, et unus moreretur aut caperetur, ne tota gens periret. Eratis in Anglia cum patruo vestro domino Wintoniensi, quando idem nunc Caïphas, tunc archidiabolus, Walterum illum, cujus adolescentis admodum venusta facie inductus,[3] nefario concubitu nimis consueverat delectari, hispidum et procaciori lingua evomentem probra, quae in contumeliam naturae perpessus fuerat, oculis orbari fecit. Et postmodum scelus arguentem idem archidiabolus, judicibus qui saecularia negotia exercebant corruptis, adegit suspendio. Sic vir ille, non minus benignus quam pudicus, columbi sui acceptavit affectum. Sic veteris amasii diu exhibitum obsequium remuneravit, ut primo stuprum inferret misero, deinde

[1] According to Bréal, *Recueil*, XVI, 619, one manuscript contains the rubric, *Epistola Johannis Saresberiensis et clericorum beati Thomae.* If John wrote any part of the letter he certainly wrote no more than the opening paragraph.

[2] After *effusus* Giles's text of Joh. Saresb. Ep. CCCV adds *licet.*

[3] Robertson reads *nihil quod.*

[4] In several manuscripts the words *ne dicatur* are here inserted, but in one they are marked for omission.

miseriori, quia de consensu tam sordidae immunditiae poenitebat, capulationem et oculorum avulsionem infligeret, et tandem miserrimum, quia clamore, ut poterat, suas protestabatur angustias, suspensum in patibulo fecerit jugulari.[1]

The letter goes on to say that it was through the instrumentality of Becket himself that Pope Eugenius III was persuaded by the bishops of Chichester and Worcester to admit Roger to purgation. The alleged offence therefore belongs to some time between 1151 and 1153. It is not worth while to discuss the impossible caricature of judicial proceedings which the letter contains — it was part of the furniture of the lowest type of medieval controversy; — I will only note that no hint of the charge against Archbishop Roger is contained in any of the chronicles and correspondence of the time. Had such a scandal been known it is scarcely conceivable that Roger could have been made archbishop of York in October 1154. Nevertheless this fiction has survived as a stain on Roger's character ever since.

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NOTES ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*

I

The Seventh Book of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*

Gower frequently represents the seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis* as reproducing both generally and in details the instruction that Aristotle gave to Alexander the Great. An example of a specific bit of such advice is the following:

> Tawhte Aristotle, as he wel couthe,
> To Alisandre, hou in his youthe
> He scholde of trouthe thilke grace
> With al his hole herte embrace (vii, 1727–1730).

Of the seventh book as a whole he writes at the end of the sixth book:

> As I you herde speke above
> Hou Alisandre was betawht
> To Aristotle, and so wel tawht
> Of al that to a king belongeth,
> Whereof min herte sore longeth
> To wite what it wolde mene.

In the marginal Latin at the beginning of the eighth book, indicating how he intends to continue, he refers to the contents of the seventh:

[1] Robertson, vii, 527 seq.

Postquam ad instanciam Amantis confessi Confessor Genius super hiis que Aristotiles Regem Alexandrum edocuit, una cum aliarum Cronicarum exemplis seriose tractauit, iam ultimo in isto octauo uolumine ad confessionem in amoris causa regrediens tractare proponit super hoc.[1]

In this passage Gower indicates that he has taken matter from other writers than Aristotle, but that the backbone of his work is Aristotelian. As has often been remarked, he did not follow any of the genuine writings of Aristotle, but the spurious *Secretum Secretorum*, one of the popular works of the Middle Ages. Loose and inaccurate statements about Gower's indebtedness to this work by various writers, some of whom apparently had never read it, led to a reaction; in his edition of Gower, Macaulay writes:

The statement of Pauli and others that this part of Gower's work is 'very likely borrowed' from the *Secretum Secretorum* is absolutely unfounded. This treatise is not in any sense an exposition of the Aristotelian philosophy, indeed it is largely made up of rules for diet and regimen with medical prescriptions. Gower is indebted to it only in a slight degree, and principally in two places, vii. 2014–2057, the discussion of Liberality in a king, and 3207*–3360*, the tale of the Jew and the Pagan.[2]

Whether Macaulay means by the word *part* the earlier portion of the seventh book to which he refers in the preceding sentence, or the entire seventh book, is not clear; his references are not to the earlier part of the book. At any rate he leaves his reader with the opinion that Gower is indebted to the *Secretum* only for scattered fragments, and not, as the poet himself says, for his plan as a whole. This impression has been modified by Mr George L. Hamilton, who has shown that 'Gower was indebted to a French version of this work for the material of some of his "ensamples," and for the suggestion of some others.'[3] The seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis*, then, owes much of its material to a developed version of the *Secretum Secretorum* in which much has been added to the original though something has been omitted. Gower has also added matter and handled freely that of the *Secretum* itself, but his production is still in the tradition of the original; it may be thought of as one of the late stages in the evolution of the work, modified but still giving clear evidence of its origin.

In addition to the *Secretum* in the form of the version of Jofroi de Watreford, it seems that Gower may have had other versions, possibly one of them still further removed from the original form than that of Jofroi. Such a conception as Gower's five points of kingly policy (truth, liberality,

[1] See also vii, 18–22, 5398–5407, and Gower's Latin account of his works immediately following the *Confessio Amantis*.

[2] *The English Works of John Gower* (ed. G. C. Macaulay, London, 1901), II, 522.

[3] 'Some Sources of the Seventh Book of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*,' *Modern Philology*, IX (1911–12), 326. The French version is that by Jofroi de Watreford. It was translated into English in 1422; the translation is the third English version in *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, ed. Robert Steele, Early English Text Society, 1898.

justice, pity, and chastity) would probably have been derived from some treatise rather than devised by the poet himself. Yet the accessible versions of the *Secretum*, though dealing with these points, do not give any reason to feel that five is a necessary number. Gower perhaps would have modified a source, as he does the division of philosophy into three parts which he derived from Brunetto Latino. He does not follow exactly, for he omits the classification of logic entirely, and puts rhetoric in its place. But Brunetto does deal at length with rhetoric in such a way as to make plain that Gower's classification, whether deliberately or carelessly changed, may have come from him. Hence it seems within reason to postulate a version of the *Secretum* or some selection from it in another work in which might be found the reason for Gower's five points.

At least Gower emphasizes that these points are five and that they come from Aristotle:

> Bot of verray necessite
> The Philosophre him hath betake
> Fyf pointz, whiche he hath undertake
> To kepe and holde in observance,
> As for the worthi governance
> Which longeth to his Regalie,
> After the reule of Policie (vii, 1704–1710).

The numbering of the points is kept clear in both the text and in the marginal Latin. In the Latin, two of them, liberality and chastity, are specifically assigned to Aristotle, and the others, with chastity as well, are spoken of as policies '*principum regiminis*' or '*ad principis regimen.*' A natural interpretation of these words is that they refer to the *Secretum Secretorum*, which, in whole and in part, was known in both Latin and the vulgar tongues by various forms of the title *De Regimine Principum.* Without the name of Aristotle, Gower might be supposed to have used the words in a general sense, or possibly to be referring to one of the other works known by the same title. Since any other explanation would imply mistake or misrepresentation by Gower, it is simplest to assume that he really used some work purporting to be the *Secretum Secretorum.*

There is little to which the *Secretum* can be assigned as a source before line 1699, where the five points of policy are introduced.[1] Gower was apparently conscious of this, for at the beginning of the book he announces his intention of telling what Aristotle (and Calistre [2]) wrote to Alexander,

[1] Mr G. L. Hamilton has pointed out that Gower's passages on astronomy (670–679) and astrology (633–663, 679–684) owe something to the *Secretum* (*art. cit.*, p. 341).

[2] 'The mention of Callisthenes as an authority is a gratuitous one' (*ibid.*, p. 323), and the same author's 'Studies in the Sources of Gower,' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXVI (1927), 510–11.

but adds:

> Bot for the lores ben diverse,
> I thenke ferst to the reherce
> The nature of Philosophie,
> Which Aristotle of his clergie,
> Wys and expert in the sciences,
> Declareth thilke intelligences,
> As of thre pointz in principal (vii, 23–29).

This rehearsal, for which Gower took the outline from Brunetto Latino, covers theoric, rhetoric, and three heads of practic. The last section of practic

> techeth hou and in what wise
> Thurgh hih purveied ordinance
> A king schal sette in governance
> His Realme, and that is Policie,
> Which longeth unto Regalie
> In time of werre, in time of pes (vii, 1680–1685).

In developing this last by means of the five points of policy, Gower fulfils his promise to tell what Aristotle wrote to Alexander, that is, to present matter from the *Secretum*, which in the Middle Ages was thought of as a letter from the philosopher to the king — '*una vero de suis epistolis est hec quam direxit Alexandro.*' [1]

There are a number of passages, hitherto unmentioned, which by suggesting indebtedness to the *Secretum* in either an original or modified form further support Gower's assertions that he made that work the model for the seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis.*

Gower advises the king to adhere to the truth, for it is 'an unsittende thing' (1736) for a king to lack honesty, because he is above others in power and should be

> Most vertuous in his degre (vii, 1748).

The Latin exhorts the king against breaking promises '*quoniam hoc conuenit infidelibus, iuuenibus et meretricibus*' (56.21); the passage requires the logical inference that deception does not befit one at the other end of the social scale. Further, if the emperor breaks faith, '*exemplum erit reprobum*' in one whose position makes him responsible for the preservation of good faith, without which society would cease to exist. Gower is also concerned with the king's oaths:

> Avise him every man tofore,
> And be wel war, er he be swore,
> For afterward it is to late,
> If that he wole his word debate (vii, 1741–1744).

[1] *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, fasc. V, *Secretum Secretorum* (ed. Robert Steele, Oxford, 1920), p. 38, line 5.

In the advice to Alexander we read:

> Quis te compulit tam frequenter iurare? Non est hoc faciendum sine magna necessitate. Rex uero nisi multus rogatus et frequenter requisitus non debet iurare; nescis quod non conuenit regie dignitati et derogat honori quando iuras (57.15)?

Macaulay has already noted that parts of Gower's passage on liberality (vii, 2017–2023, 2031–2035, 2039) are derived from the *Secretum*. It may be added that in the margin we read of the '*policia quam Aristotles largitatem uocat*,' and that *largitas* is the word used in the Latin (43 *passim*). The word surely is not decisive, but it is true that in the mediaeval translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* (book iv), used by Aquinas, *liberalitas* is employed. In Gower's English and in the English prose versions of the *Secretum* the word is *largesse*. If parts of the passage on liberality come from the advice to Alexander, it may be assumed that other parts which resemble sentences in the same chapter of the *Secretum* are also derived from it. The lines

> So sit it wel in alle wise
> A king betwen the more and lesse
> To sette his herte upon largesse (vii, 2014–2016)

suggest the following: '*Palam siquidem est, quod qualitates multum reprobande sunt quando multum discrepant a medio*' (43. 10). Compare also

> Avarice ,
> Which in a king is a gret vice (vii, 2023–2024)

with: '*Nomen auaricie decedet multum regem et disconuenit regie magestati*' (43.33). The following likewise resemble each other:

> A king behoveth ek to fle
> The vice of Prodegalite,
> That he mesure in his expence
> So kepe, that of indigence
> He mai be sauf: for who that nedeth,
> In al his werk the worse he spedeth (vii, 2025–2030).

> Et qui fundit ultra modum diuicias suas ueniet cito ad amara littora paupertatis, et assimilatur illi qui gratis super se dat uictoriam inimicis suis (43.21).

Macaulay assigns to the *Secretum* one line from the following:

> He [Aristotle] bad, in his corage
> That he unto thre pointz entende,
> Wher that he wolde his good despende.
> Ferst scholde he loke, hou that it stod,
> That al were of his oghne good
> The yiftes whiche he wolde yive;
> So myhte he wel the betre live:

And ek he moste taken hiede
If ther be cause of eny nede,
Which oghte forto be defended,
Er that his goodes be despended:
He mot ek, as it is befalle,
Amonges othre thinges alle
Se the decertes of his men;
And after that thei ben of ken
And of astat and of merite,
He schal hem largeliche aquite,
Or for the werre, or for the pes,
That non honour falle in descres,
Which mihte torne into defame,
Bot that he kepe his goode name,
So that he be noght holde unkinde (vii, 2036–2057).

But the whole is obviously founded on the passage:

Si uis largitatis uirtutem acquirere, considera posse tuum, et tempora necessitatis, et merita hominum. Debes igitur largiri bona tua iuxta posse tuum cum mensura hominibus indigentibus atque dignis. Qui igitur dat aliter peccat, et regulam transgreditur largitatis: quia qui largitur dona sua non indigentibus, nullam acquirit laudem, et quicquid datur indignis perditur (43.15).

Gower reverts to the same idea somewhat later:

Be this ensample a king mai lere
That forto yive is in manere:
For if a king his tresor lasseth
Withoute honour and thonkles passeth,
Whan he himself wol so beguile,
I not who schal compleigne his while (vii, 2131–2137).

He also opposes prodigality to measure:

So as the Philosophre tolde,
A king after the reule is holde
To modifie and to adresce
Hise yiftes upon such largesce
That he measure noght excede:
For if a king falle into nede,
It causeth ofte sondri thinges
Whiche are ungoodly to the kinges.
What man wol noght himself mesure,
Men sen fulofte that mesure
Him hath forsake: and so doth he
That useth Prodegalite,
Which is the moder of poverte,
Wherof the londes ben deserte (vii, 2151–2164).

The source is partly in the passage:

Qui uero fundit regni sui bona immoderate seu inordinate, et indignis dat et non indigentibus, talis est depopulator reipublice, destructor regni, indignus et incompetens regimini (43.28).

Gower's word *deserte* is apparently suggested by *depopulator*, which is not rendered in the English versions. In the margin we read: '*Nota hic secundum Aristotilem, qualiter Principum Prodegalitas paupertatem inducit communem.*' This is not a quotation from the Latin, though it represents the sense of the passage; the nearest verbal parallel is in the first English version:

He that dispendeth the goodis of his Rewme out of ordir and discrecioun, and yevith suche as be not worthi, ne haue no nede therto, that kyng distroyeth his peple and the comoun good of the Rewme, and is not worthi forto regne, for he is fool large (8.2).

Possibly Gower had a text in which some form of the word *communis* appeared.

In advising the king to be just, Gower writes:

He which schal the poeple ryhte,
It sit wel to his regalie
That he himself ferst justefie
Towardes god in his degre:
For his astat is elles fre
Toward alle othre in his persone,
Save only to the god al one (vii, 2728–2734);

Forthi unto king Alisandre
The wise Philosophre bad,
That he himselve ferst be lad
Of lawe, and forth thanne overal
So do justice in general,
That al the wyde lond aboute
The justice of his lawe doute,
And thanne schal he stonde in reste (vii, 3084–3091).

There is some suggestion of these passages in the following:

Dico iterum quod sapientes philosophi et diuinitus loquentes dixerunt quod inprimis deceat regiam maiestatem obtemperare se legalibus institutis, non in ficta apparencia set in firma et uera facti euidencia, ut cognoscant omnes ipsum Deum timere excelsum, et esse subiectum divine potencie. Tunc enim solent homines reuereri et timere regem quando uident ipsum timere et reuereri Deum (47.21).

Gower's *sit* perhaps translates *deceat*.

For his discussion of pity Gower perhaps borrowed something from Jofroi de Watreford; the poet writes:

It sit a king to be pitous
Toward his poeple and gracious
Upon the reule of governance,
So that he worche no vengance,
Which mai be cleped crualte (vii, 3125–3129).

Here also perhaps *sit* translates *decet* in Jofroi's quotation from Seneca: '*Nullum ex omnibus clemencia magis quam regem aut Pryncipem decet.*' [1] This passage is in a section added by Jofroi to the original *Secretum*. Gower writes further:

Pite, hou so that it wende,
Makth that the god is merciable,
If there be cause resonable
Why that a king schal be pitous.
Bot elles, if he be doubtous
To slen in cause of rihtwisnesse,
It mai be said no Pitousnesse,
Bot it is Pusillamite,
Which every Prince scholde flee . . . .
Of Aristotle's lore I finde,
A king schal make good visage,
That noman knowe of his corage
Bot al honour and worthinesse:
For if a king schal upon gesse
Withoute verrai cause drede,
He mai be lich to that I rede (vii, 3520–3550).[2]

The nearest parallel is found in the third English version:

A kynge sholde be Pyteous, Enchu wreth, and the mowrnynges of his corage to hyde and hele, that he be not y-holde hastly by lyght Shewynge of his wrethe, othyr vnwyse. If hit happe a kynge to do any thynge vnawyssely, he owyth hit repel vmbethoght avysely, and wyth reyson know his defaute. Full grete vertu and Souerayne vysdome of connynge is hit in a kynge that he can gouerne hym selfe aryght, And that he hym Selfe well demene. And whan a kynge shall do any thynge opynly, he shall not be ouer hastely ne ouer Slowe, that he be not holde hasty ne Slow (138.9).

The marginal note in the *Confessio Amantis* contains one word (*pusillanimitas*) characteristic of the verse:

Hic loquitur secundum Philosophum, dicens quod sicut non decet Principes tirannica impetuositate esse crudeles, ita nec decet timorosa pusillanimitate esse uecordes.

[1] I quote from the third English version (180, 34) on the assumption that it represents Jofroi's version. I have been unable to see the analysis of the version of Jofroi given by C. V. Langlois in the recent 2d ed. of his *Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au Moyen Age.*

[2] Cf. Gower's *In Praise of Peace,* 148–154.

This perhaps is not a quotation; at any rate it does not appear in the Latin as we have it; in the comparable section of Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, founded partly on the *Secretum*, cruelty and tyranny are mentioned (*e.g.*, stanza 430). Hoccleve also insists that the king should punish the guilty by death if necessary (stanza 446); this is reaffirmed by Gower:

> To slen it is a dedly vice,
> Bot if a man the deth deserve;
> And if a king the lif preserve
> Of him which oghte forto dye,
> He suieth noght thensamplerie
> Which in the bible is evident (vii, 3855–3859).

The first line suggests a passage in the *Secretum* which Hoccleve also uses in his section on pity (stanza 445):

> Noli igitur sanguinem humani generis per te effundere, quoniam hoc soli Deo conuenit, qui nouit occulta cordium et secreta hominum (55.26).

The remainder of Gower's passage gives a thought natural to one who believed that the king should punish the guilty, as is advised under fortitude in the third English version (181.14), and in the Latin of Bacon's edition under the head of justice (50.12).

Gower's last point of policy is chastity. In advising the prince against chambering he writes:

> A Prince him scholde avise,
> Er that he felle in such riote,
> And namely that he nassote
> To change for the wommanhede
> The worthinesse of his manhede (vii, 4252–4256).

The Latin says that unchastity '*femineos mores generat*' (51,12), but the nearest parallels are found in the third English version:

> The foly company of women destrueth the body, sorthyth the lyuedayes, ondyth al vertues, ouerpassyth the lawys of god, And doghty men and hardy hit makyth lyke women, neshe and feynte, dedis of armys to done (139.5).

> Well wyste the wyse Prynce that loue of women and brandynge fylthed of lechurie nesshyth a manes herte and hym makyth lyke a womon, So that he lesyth his Streynth, and hardynesse, and manhode, and chyualrie (190.6).

The second quotation is from one of the parts added to the original. In the next paragraph Gower writes:

> Of Aristotle I have wel rad,
> Hou he to Alisandre bad,
> That forto gladden his corage
> He schal beholde the visage

Of wommen, whan that thei ben faire.
Bot yit he set an essamplaire,
His bodi so to guide and reule,
That he ne passe noght the reule,
Wherof that he himself beguile (vii, 4257–4265).

The marginal Latin repeats the thought and the attribution of it to Aristotle, yet it is not found in the *Secretum*. Perhaps Gower found it in an expanded version of the work, or in some other book purporting to give some of the Philosopher's advice to the King.

In the margin of the section dealing with chastity are the words: '*Aristotiles. O Alexander, super omnia consulo, conserva tibi calorem naturalem.*' As Macaulay observes, this is from the *Secretum*. Yet there the advice has no connection with chastity, but with medical measures for preserving health; the passage runs:

O summe rex, modis omnibus studeas custodire calorem naturalem et retinere, quia quamdiu caliditas temperata est in homine et humiditas, calor naturalis temperatur et corroboratur, quia sanitas et durabilitas in hiis modis duobus consistit (88.5).

This is translated in the second English version, and does not appear in the third. In the first, however, the English corresponds with Gower's Latin: 'Alexandre, dere sone, aboue alle thingis kepe thi naturalle hete' (29.25). Did Gower have a Latin version in this form, or was he rendering back into Latin the French from which the first English version was taken?

Mr Hamilton has already pointed out that Gower knew the *Secretum Secretorum* in Latin.[1] The passages he mentions in evidence, like the reference to bodily heat, are independent of the version of Jofroi, and come from parts of the work not concerned with goverment; apparently Gower possessed the whole work in Latin. The poet was obviously familiar enough with the *Secretum Secretorum* to justify him in saying that he was modeling his seventh book on it; he probably used at least two versions, one of which has not been edited; or if he had but a single version it was not like any of those now accessible.

II

The Sources of Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*

In 1888 Friedrich Aster issued at Leipzig a dissertation entitled *Das Verhältniss des altenglischen Gedichtes 'De Regimine Principum' von Thomas Hoccleve zu seinen Quellen*. The information contained in this work has not come to the attention of all English-speaking students of Hoccleve. It is still said, even in books that may be looked on as authoritative, that

[1] *Art. cit. supra*, p. 341.

The Regement of Princes is a translation of the *De Regimine Principum* of Egidio Colonna, which Hoccleve names as one of his sources (2052).[1] While a superficial comparison of the two works is sufficient to show that Hoccleve cannot be called a translator, Aster shows precisely what his evident indebtedness is, limiting it, with one exception, to short passages in the first and second parts of the first book. There are two more parts of the first book, and the second and third books have three parts each. The similarity of title perhaps gave rise to the common erroneous statement. But there were other books called *De Regimine Principum;* in the Middle Ages the phrase was a descriptive title applied to all books of advice to rulers rather than an individual name.

Aster also shows that a large amount of the apparent learning of Hoccleve, some of which troubled Furnival, came from one of the other acknowledged sources, the *Chesse Moralised* of Jacob de Cessoles.[2] From this work Hoccleve drew far more than from any other source.

A third work on which Hoccleve (2051) says he drew is the *Secretum Secretorum.* To this work, as one of the type giving advice to princes, some form of the title *De Regimine Principum* is often applied; Hoccleve calls it Aristotle's 'book of governance.' Furnival gives a few passages from the *Secretum* on which lines of Hoccleve depend, but his list is much less complete than Aster's. He does, however, include stanza 444, which Aster omitted.

After listing the passages which Hoccleve derived from the *Secretum,* Aster presents one which he believed to come from that work but was unable to discover in it:

> Iustice is of the kynde and the nature
> Of god; and he hath made it, and ordeyned
> On remes and on euery creature (2507–2509).

On this there is the marginal comment: '*Aristoteles capitulo de forma et modo iusticie.* "*Iusticia est de natura dei,*" &c.' It is doubtless true that these words were not in the Latin text used by Aster, but in the first of the three English versions edited by Mr Steele one of the chapters is entitled: 'Of the forme and maner of rightwisnes.' The text runs:

> Dere sone, rightwisnes may not ben ouer preysid, for it is of the propir nature of glorious god, and it is made to sustene all Rewmes for helpe of his servauntis, and rightwisnes owith to kepe the royalle blood, and the richesse of the possessioun

[1] The error goes back to the fifteenth century; the text of *The Regement of Princes* in *MS. 182,* part 4, in the Fitzwilliam Museum ends thus: 'Expl. liber Egidii de regimine Principum translatum per Occlyffe' (Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McLean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum,* Cambridge, 1912).

[2] *The Regement of Princes,* ed. F. J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, 1897, p. xv.

of sugetis, and governe hem in alle her nedes; and what lord doth thus, he is in that case like vnto god.[1]

It seems probable that the Latin text used by the maker of the French version from which the English was taken was the Latin text used by Hoccleve. In other instances Hoccleve's marginal Latin is in reasonably close agreement with the text of the *Secretum* edited by Roger Bacon.[2] In Bacon's text the passage is as follows:

Iusticia est commendacio (siue condicio) laudabilis de proprietatibus Altissimi simplicis et gloriosi. Unde et regnum debet esse eius quem Deus elegit et constituit super seruos suos, cui committenda sunt negocia et regimina subditorum, qui debet speculari et defendere possessiones et diuicias ac sanguinem subditorum et omnia opera eorundem, sicut deus eorum. Ergo in hoc assimilandus est Deo (123.9–17).

The second and third English versions (92.25; 207.21) agree with the Latin rather than with the first version. In the *Secrees* of Lydgate and Burgh we read that 'Thyng Celestial is Rihtwysnesse.' [3]

Aster has also failed to point out Hoccleve's indebtedness for the matter of stanzas 695–700:

Now purpose I, to trete how to a kyng
It nedeful is to do by consail ay;
With-outen whiche, good is he do no thing;
ffor a kyng is but a man soul, parfay! . . .

Nichil sine consilio faciendum est (136.12). Nichil penitus agas sine consilio philosophico (138.14). Fili, necessarium est tibi habere consilium, quoniam unus es in hominibus (139.5).

Excellent prince, in axynge of reed,
Discouereth naght your wille in no maneere;
What that ye thinke doo, lat it be deed
As for the tyme, lat no word appere;
But what euery man seith, wel herkne & here;
And yit whan good counsail is yeven yow,
What ye do wole, kepe it close y-now
Til that yow lyke parforme it in dede; . . .

Reserua ergo tuum secretum, et ne incipias eis dicere quod habes in corde, et non ostendas alicui eorum eleccionem consilii quod apud te est, et non indica eis quod uelis ab eis mendicare consilium (135.8). Quando ergo perceperis rectitudinem consilii in uerbis eorum, fac eos conquiescere, et non manifestes eis uel ostendas in quo uoluntas tua quiescat donec egrediatur in actum et experienciam (135.28).

And if that a man of symple degree,
Or pore of birth, or yonge, be wel conseile,
Admytte his resoun and take it in gre: . . .

O Alexander, noli contempnere paruam staturam in hominibus, et quem uideris diligere scienciam et habundare in uia sapiencie et morum et declinare ac fugere semitam uiciorum: talem ergo dilige et

[1] *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, ed. Robert Steele, Early English Text Society, 1898, p. 33, line 20 ff.

[2] *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, fasc. V, *Secretum Secretorum*, ed. Robert Steele, Oxford, 1920.

[3] Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrees of old Philosoffres*, ed. by Robert Steele, Early English Text Society, 1894, line 2027.

O! worthi prince, beth wel ware, I prey,
That your hye dygnite and sad prudence
No desdein haue of the pores sentence.

Thogh men contrarie eek your oppynyoun,
Thei may, per cas, conseile yow the best;
Also ye ben at your electioun
To doo or leue, as your seluen lyst.
If it be gode, impresse it in the chest
Of your memorie, and excusith it;
If it naght be, to leue it, is a wyt.

habeas iuxta te, et precipue tunc quando uideris ipsum excercitantem animum suum in hiis uirtutibus (137.33).

Si vero discrepent a tuo arbitrio, tunc est tuum examinare et considerare, et si est iuvamentum et utile super eo quod considerasti, amplectare ipsum, et si est inutile, abstine ab eodem (139.14).

The three English versions give this material with some diversity and omission, and it is found also in Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrees* 2063–2172. It will be observed that the Latin text advises not that the advice of a humble or low-born or young man be respected, but speaks instead of a man of small stature. In the first English version, however, is found:

And if he be a young man that yevith the good conuselle haue him not in dispite for his youthe (34.9). Dere sone, dispise neuir a man of poore birthe, ne of litille havyng, ne bi his persone, and thou se in him science and good counselle (34.35).

The second advises respect for the advice of a young man, but for the rest gives only little stature (99.24; 100.24). The third version is silent. Lydgate and Burgh advise the king to heed a young man (2075) and say further:

These experymentys / Owe to meve a kyng,
Nat to despise / A man I the sure,
litel of stede / and litel of growyng,
But afftir he spryngeth / in vertu and norture,
So hym to Cherysshe / owylle of nature,
Whethir he be / of hih or lowe degree,
A kyng floryussyng / in excellent dignitee (2143–2149).

Mr Fulton's translation from the Arabic is as follows:

Do not show more favor to a younger man than to an older one, except when the counsel of the younger one happens to be superior.[1]

A variant reads:

Pay no regard to old men when the advice that comes from a young man could be more profitable.

The Arabic also contains the sentence: 'O Alexander, do not despise small (humble) men' (p. 234). It appears that the version used by Hoccleve rendered the Arabic as referring only to station in life, and not to stature.

[1] *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, fasc. V, *Secretum Secretorum*, ed. Robert Steele, accedunt versio Angelicana ex Arabico edita per A. S. Fulton, etc., Oxford, 1920, p. 233.

Apparently there were in circulation texts of the *Secretum* that mentioned the young man and others that, like Bacon's text, did not; some texts rendered the Arabic as referring to humble station, some substituted little stature, and others combined the two.

After advising the king not to reveal his purposes until ready to act, Hoccleve continues:

> And if it schal be don, lat it noght tarie,
> ffor that is perillous with-oute drede;
> There is no thing may make a lond myscarie
> More than swiche delay (4874–4877).

The same advice appears at the same point in Lydgate and Burgh:

> And when alle thynges / determyned be
> By thy counsayl / them put to execucioun,
> ffor to a Reem / delayes Cause destruccyoun.
> To make dellayes / namely tyme of nede,
> Is greet pereel / as philisoffres devyse (2070–2074).

A satisfactory equivalent for this warning does not appear in any of the English versions or in Bacon's Latin text. One of the Arabic manuscripts, however, gives a variant reading which Mr Fulton translates as follows:

> And when his advice shall appear true to thee, do not hasten to fulfil it, but tarry for a day and a night. But if it is a thing which thou art afraid thou couldst otherwise not carry through, then do it speedily (p. 233).

The suggestion of ruin to kingdoms which appears in Hoccleve and Lydgate does not appear in the variant, but in one of Mr Fulton's Arabic manuscripts (p. 233), in the Latin (136.6), and in the second and third English versions (99.21; 209.30) it appears at this place as a warning against favoritism. Is it possible that there were Latin translations made, or at least corrected, from the Arabic, which have not yet come to the notice of students?

Hoccleve warns the king against flatterers and the avaricious:

> In auxenge eeke of reed, ware of fauel;
> Also ware of the auariciouse;
> ffor none of tho two can conseile wel;
> Hir reed & conseil is envenymouse;
> Thei bothe ben of golde so desirous,
> Thei rekke naght what bryge her lorde be Inne,
> So that thei mowen golde & siluyr wynne (4915–4921).

The Latin reads thus:

> Et ille baiulus qui anelat pecunie acquirende, et ad thesauros obseruandos, non confidas in eo, quia eius seruicium est propter aurum, et dimittit pecuniam currere cum sensibus hominum, et est profunditas sine fundo, et non est in eo

terminus siue finis, quia quanto magis crescit pecunia crescit intencio acquirendi et sollicitudo. Et hoc in baiulo est causa corrupcionis regni multis de causis, quia forte amor pecunie et ardor inducet eum ad tuam mortem uel ad illum qui ad hoc intendit (140.23).

The linking of flattery with avarice is apparently Hoccleve's own doing; none of the versions mention flattery at this point.[1]

In the next stanza is advice on enemies:

> And if your conseil which that ye haue take,
> Unto the knowlech or the audience
> Of your foos comen be, than let it slake,
> And witterly putte it in abstinence;
> ffor execute it were an inprudence;
> In swich a caas, is wisdam it to chaunge;
> Goode is, your conseil be to your foes straunge (4922–4928).

The stanza seems to be derived from the following:

Et noli parcere inimico set in quantum et quantumcunque et quocunque modo honesto poteris tuam in ipso victoriam manifesta, et in quolibet tempore. Caue tibi a potencia inimici (139.7).

The second and third English version (101.18; 210.4) and Lydgate and Burgh (2178) agree with the Latin. In this instance again Hoccleve, if he is following the *Secretum*, may have had a text that could be interpreted to mean what he says.

It is evident that the place of the *Secretum Secretorum* in mediaeval thought cannot be properly estimated until more manuscripts have been published.

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TWO MIDDLE-IRISH RELIGIOUS ANECDOTES

1. The Invention of the Cross

Introduction

The text, here published for the first time, is taken from the facsimile edition of the 'Leabhar Breac,' 'The Speckled Book,'[2] p. 159, col. a, l. 66 — p. 159, col. b, l. 29.[3] This well-known MS. was written previous to 1411,[4] but its language is approximately that of the twelfth century.[5] In describ-

[1] In the seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis*, his *De Regimine Principum*, Gower speaks of 'covoitouse flaterie' in the advisers of a king (line 2168).

[2] Abbrev. *L. Br.*

[3] Ed. Robert Atkinson (Dublin, 1876), though his name is not signed to the introduction.

[4] Cf. *L. Br.*, p. xix.

[5] Cf. G. Dottin, *Manuel d'Irlandais Moyen* (Paris: Champion, 1913), I, xiv-xviii.

ing the contents of *L. Br.*, the editor, Robert Atkinson, has incorrectly included this and the succeeding anecdote in the inedited Irish version of Bede's *De Locis Sanctis*,[1] which immediately precedes.[2]

It seems curious that this text should here be inserted in view of the fact that later in the same MS. there are several longer and more detailed versions of this anecdote.[3] Perhaps the scribe desired to use the remainder of the available space on the folio, and decided to give a preliminary summary of what was to follow.[4] At all events, owing to its brevity the immediate source of this piece cannot be definitely ascertained; but, even it if is not based at first hand upon the apocryphal acts of St Quiriacus concerning the invention of the cross,[5] there is, nevertheless, little doubt that it is from some recension of this work.

Text

Imraiter, didiu, sund ní do scelaib in Constantin cetna sin. i. Constantin meic Elena na hardrigna. 7 ro-gab-side rigi d'éis a athar, 7 ro-indsaig for ferannaib echtrand i-mach. i. for génntib 7 sair-cenelaib. Ro-bristea, tra, cath cech lái for Constantín, 7 ni léctea, didiu, codlud na longud dó fri mét na hingrema 7 in chocaid bói fair. Confacca in n-í Míchel árchaingel chuice i n-a shuan.

"Cid do-t-gní [6] toirsech?" ol in t-aingel.

"Fobíth is tromm lém brissed do genntib form," ol-se.

"Is follus, tra, na fil nert Crist oc cungnam lat," ol Míchel.

"In e-side ro-crochsat Íudaide?" ol Constantin.

"Is e, imorro," ol Michel.

[1] Shortly to be published by me in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie.*

[2] For the Latin text of Bede's work, see J. A. Giles, *Venerabilis Bedae Opera quae supersunt Omnia* (London, 1843), IV, 402–443.

[3] Cf. *L. Br.*, p. 221, col. a — p. 222, col. a; p. 227, col. a — p. 233, col. b; and p. 234, col. b — p. 236, col. a. Ed. G. Schirmer, *Die Kreuzeslegenden im Leabhar Breac* (St Gall, 1886). No doubt misled by the editor's incorrect description of the contents of *L. Br.* on p. 10, Schirmer failed to include this text in his monograph.

[4] The evidence for this theory consists in the scribe's words at the end of the anecdote that enough has been "related of the stories of the cross, for they are in the book (*L. Br.*?) itself." On the other hand, it must be admitted that this statement could be taken to refer to the Latin source from which he was transcribing.

[5] Cf. *Acta Sanctorum Bollandistarum* (Antwerp, 1680), Maius I, pp. 445–448, and A. Holder, *Inventio Sanctae Crucis* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 1–13. Schirmer (*op. cit.* pp. 62–70) has discussed the relation of these Irish texts to their Latin originals. For a bibliography of this subject, see E. Nestle, *De Sancta Cruce: Ein Beitrag zur Christlichen Legendengeschichte* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 82–108.

[6] MS. dosgni.

"Décha, didiu, in cros-sa,[1] amal atberum," ol in t-aingel. "Ar is é-so fuath 7 cumma in craind i-n ro-crochad Crist. Ara ṅ-derntar, didiu, lat-su amarach in fuath-sa do cur i slait moir, 7 no-s-beir fri t'ais[2] documm in catha, 7 mad remut moides, creit do-m thigerna-sa co n-neoch con-is maroen frit."

Ba fír ón, didiu. Moidid remi iarnabarach co na terna nech di-a námtib uad. Is ann, tra, ro-creit Constantín do Crist co n-neoch con-anacair ar-oen[3] fris.

Atcuas, tra, do Elena. i. di-a mathair in scel-sin. Is ed atbert: "Ro-pad cobair mor deit, "ol sí, "dia m-bad hi croch bunaid Crist no-beth fri t'ais."[4]

Co n-id ann-sin, tra, ruc Elena sluagad mor le co Ierusalem do chuinchid crochi Crist cu-sna hIudaidib, no, didiu, co tardad indrud mor tar-sin cathraig mine tuctha in croch di. Is ann-sin ro-gabad le tri senoraig do lucht na cathrach. i, do sain-maicne in lochta ro-crochsatar Crist, 7 boi Elena oc cuinchid na croichi Coimdeta chucu, 7 ni fétus, tra, uadib a hatmál co ro-riagta co mór eat.

Is lor, didiu, innister sunn do scelaib na crochi, ar atatt i-na liubar fen,[5] *et cetera.*

Translation[6]

Here now is treated somewhat of the stories of this same Constantine,[7] who is Constantine the son of the great queen Helena. After his father, he assumed the sovereignty and waged war on foreign, outlying lands, that is to say, upon the barbarians and the Eastern peoples. But each day Constantine was defeated;[8] and he could neither sleep nor eat on account of the amount of warfare and tribulation that befell him. Then in his sleep,[9] he saw Michael, the archangel, coming towards him.[10]

[1] MS. crosa. [2] MS. friatais. [3] MS. ar ioen. [4] MS. friatais.

[5] As has already been suggested (*vide supra*, p. 99, note 5), the scribe is here referring to the apocryphal acts of St Quiriacus concerning the invention of the cross, or he has in mind the longer and more detailed versions which occur later in this MS.

[6] Punctuation and capitalization have been made to accord with modern usage, and all MS. contractions and abbreviations have been silently resolved.

[7] In the preceding passage of *L. Br.* the scribe has been paraphrasing Bede's *De Locis Sanctis* concerning the founding of Constantinople by the emperor Constantine. It is therefore only natural that he should begin his account of the invention of the cross by referring again to Constantine, since this serves as an obvious link between what has preceded and what is to follow.

[8] Literally: 'was broken then the battle each day on Constantine.' For further examples of the idiom, see R. Atkinson, *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac* (Dublin, 1887), *s. v. 'brissim'*.

[9] As this is inconsistent with the preceding statement, one may perhaps be permitted to substitute 'trance' for 'sleep.'

[10] Literally: 'He saw that Michael, the archangel, to him in his sleep.' For the idiomatic use of *in n-í* before a proper noun, see G. Dottin, *Manuel d'Irlandais Moyen*, I, 219, note 2.

"What makes thee sad?" said the angel.

"I grieve because the barbarians overcome me," [1] he answered.

"It is quite clear that the power of Christ is not assisting thee," said Michael.

"Is he that one whom the Jews crucified?" asked Constantine.

"He is indeed," said Michael.

"Behold, now," said the angel, "that which we call the cross; for this is the shape and semblance of the tree on which Christ was crucified. To-morrow make thou its likeness out of a large rod,[2] and bear it on thy back to the battle. And if thou art victorious,[3] then do thou, with all those over whom thou hast power,[4] believe in my Lord."

This indeed came to pass. On the following day, Constantine was victorious [5] so that not one of his foes escaped him. Thereupon, Constantine, with all over whom he had power,[6] believed in Christ.

This story was then told to his mother, Helena, and this is what she said: "It would be a great help to thee if the true cross of Christ were at thy back."

Then, indeed, Helena took a large expedition with her to Jerusalem to demand the cross from the Jews, and to make a great onslaught on the city unless the cross was given to her. She then seized of the people of the city three elders from the particular kindred of the tribe that had crucified Christ. And from them Helena demanded the cross of the Lord, and they could not be got to disclose it until they had been greatly tortured.

But enough is here related of the stories of the cross; for they are in the book itself, *et cetera*.

2. The Repentance of Longinus

Introduction

This anecdote comes immediately after *The Invention of the Cross* in the *Leabhar Breac*,[7] but like its predecessor, it has been wrongly supposed to form part of Bede's *De Locis Sanctis*.[8] To all appearances, it [9] is no more

[1] *Vide infra*, note 3.

[2] Literally: 'so that may then be made by thee to-morrow its likeness to putting into a large rod.'

[3] Literally: 'and if it be before thee that it breaks.' For idiom, see H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen* (Göttingen, 1909–1913), II, 574.

[4] Literally: 'with any thou mayest be able together with thee.'

[5] *Vide supra*, note 3. [6] Literally: 'with any he was able together with him.'

[7] Cf. *L. Br.*, p. 159, col. b, ll. 30–51. [8] *Vide supra*, p. 99.

[9] Thus, for instance, no mention is made of the persecution which Longinus endured at the hands of the Prefect Octavius, and which constitutes the major portion of the *Passio S. Longini*.

than a résumé of the opening paragraph of *The Passion of Longinus* which occurs later in the same MS.[1] Probably this summary was also inserted at this point in order to fill up the folio. On account of its extreme shortness, no definite source can be assigned; but the Latin text from which it is taken doubtless is based upon the *Passio S. Longini.*[2]

Text

Longinus, didiu, 7 Egitianus anmand na dessi batar oc in crochad. i. Longinus ro-t-n-gon Crist tri a thoeb n-dess co ro-scoilt a cride ar dó [3] do-n láigin míled bói i n-a láim, co tanic iar-sin sruth fína 7 sruth usqui a toeb Ísu. Is dib-side do-gníther glan-díunach cuirp Crist 7 a fola i n-eclaisib na Cristaidi.

In-tan, tra, ro-t-gon Longinus in mac dall clár-ainech toeb Ísu do-n goi, rithid banna do-n usqui tanic a toeb Ísu fria cois [4] croind in gói co tarla for agaid Longinus co tancatar a súile do, ar ba dall có-sin.

Iar-sin, tra, ro-déch Longinus for Crist, 7 gabaid aithrechus mor iarum he, co n-id ead atbert: "A Athair Inmain, A Ísu, A slaníccid in Chinedu Dóenna, dena trocaire form-sa, ar is-am pecdach truag. Ar dia no-s-faicind-sea do gnúis amal atcess do cách, ni-dat-gonfaind tria bithu."

Ro-t-maith Dia, tra, a uli chinad [5] 7 peccad do Longinus [6] ar in aithrigesin, co m-ba forcetlaid amra iar-sin, 7 co tarut hil-mile do dóinib docúm n-irse 7 creitme in Choimded for slicht a maigistrech. i. Ísu.

Egitianus, didiu, no Zefatón indara fer bói oc in crochad is e dorat in neim do dig do Crist, *et cetera.*

Translation

Now Longinus and Egitianus are [7] the names of the two who were at the crucifixion. Longinus wounded Christ through the right side and split

[1] Cf. *L. Br.*, p. 181, col. b, l. 46 — p. 183, col. a, l. 19.

[2] Cf. *Acta Sanctorum Bollandistarum* (Antwerp, 1668), Martius II, pp. 384–386. For a discussion of the MSS and the literary development of the story, see *op. cit.* pp. 375–384, and R. J. Peebles, *Legend of Longinus,* Bryn Mawr College Monographs, Vol. IX (Baltimore, 1911). Further references in U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age. Bio-Bibliographie* (Paris, 1903–1907) II, 2852. Most similar of all to the Irish is the version in the *Legenda Aurea,* ed. J. G. Th. Graesse (Dresden and Leipzig, 1846), pp. 202–203.

[3] Cf. *scoiltis a cride ar do.* See R. Atkinson, *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac,* p. 60.

[4] Cf. K. Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography* (Halle, 1906), *s. v.* '*coss*'.

[5] After *uli* one expects nasalization and not aspiration. For a similar exception, compare *na uli threlma* ('all the tools') in the previous column of *L. Br.*, p. 159, col. a, l. 52.

[6] Cf. *ro-maith Dia a pheccad do.* See R. Atkinson, *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac,* p. 60.

[7] Implied by the relative form, *batar.*

his heart in two with the soldier's lance which was in his hand. Thereupon a stream of wine and a stream of water came from the side of Jesus. And it is of them that the ablution through the body of Christ and his blood is made in the churches of the Christians.

Now when Longinus, who was blind and featureless,[1] had pierced the side of Jesus with the spear, a drop of water ran along the wooden shaft of the lance until it fell upon Longinus' face and his sight came to him; for till that time he had been blind.

After this, then, Longinus looked upon Christ, and thereupon great repentance seized him so that he spake as follows: "O Beloved Father, O Jesus, O Savior of the Human Race, show mercy unto me, for I am a woeful sinner. For, if I had seen Thy face as it has been seen by others, I would never have wounded Thee."

Then God forgave Longinus all his faults and his sin because of his repentance. And afterwards he was an admirable teacher and brought many thousands of men to the faith and the belief in the Lord, in the footsteps of his Master, Jesus.

Now the other man who was at the crucifixion, Egitianus or Zefaton, gave the poison [2] as a drink to Christ, *et cetera.*

[1] Literally: 'Longinus, the blind featureless man.' Kuno Meyer cites this passage and translates *clár-ainech* as 'flat-faced' (*Contributions to Irish Lexicography, s. v. 'clár.'*). But this compound seems to imply that Longinus was without eyes and nose. At all events, *clár-ainech* is glossed as *natus cum tabulata facie i. sine oculis et naribus* in W. Stokes' *Goedelica* (London, 1872), p. 144. Perhaps, however, one may translate this word as 'leprous'; for in *Broccan's Hymn,* Brighit is said to have blessed a *clár-ainech,* so that 'his eyes became visible,' and in the Irish notes to this passage the sufferer in question is definitely called a 'leper,' cf. W. Stokes and J. Strachan, *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus* (Cambridge, 1903), II, 338. For the suggestion that the disease referred to was syphilis, see C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae,* I, cxi, n.

[2] Christ, of course, was given vinegar in order that the pain might be somewhat alleviated. As this was in the nature of an act of mercy, it might in this instance be permissible to substitute 'drug' for 'poison' in order to avoid any false implication.

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PUBLIC RECITALS IN UNIVERSITIES OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

MAY I call attention to two more instances, this time from the fifteenth century, of public readings or recitals at the universities apparently apart from the regular lecture courses, in addition to the cases of the ceremonious readings of new works by their authors which I have previously noted from the thirteenth century? [1]

An Escorial manuscript of the fifteenth century informs us that, on the Monday immediately following Pentecost in 1444, John Alfonso of Benevento, doctor of decretals and afternoon professor of the *Decretum* at Salamanca, recited a treatise on penitence before the doctors, masters, licentiates, and many other scholars of the said university.[2] Two other treatises by the same John Alfonso follow in the same manuscript, but nothing is said of their having been so recited. It should be noted that the treatise on penance is spoken of as a *repetitio*, a name which rather suggests a regular academic exercise.[3] But the use of the word in our next example indicates that this was not necessarily the case.

Even domestic science, if it did not share in the regular university courses as it does in our own time, played its part in these extra-curricular public readings or recitals. From Mittarelli's eighteenth-century catalogue [4] of the now dispersed library of the monastery of S. Michele, Murano, near Venice, we learn that it then contained a fifteenth-century manuscript of a *Repetitio* recited in the public schools of Pavia on Thursday, February 24, 1435, by Zaninus de Martulibus who was the cook of Hugo de Piscariis of Parma.[5] The manuscript further contained other praises of the culinary art which he recited in the chief squares of Pavia from a triumphal car.[6] These gastronomic disquisitions appear to have been con-

[1] See *Speculum*, I (1926), 101–105.

[2] Escorial MS e. I. 5, fol. 77: "Inc. tract. penitentie. . . . Istam repetitionem fecit Johannes alfonsi de benauente decretorum doctor cathedram uesperorum decreti in studio salamantino regens. Et rescitauit coram doctoribus et magistris et licentiatis et aliis multis sapientibus uniuersitatis dicti studii die lune statim post diem pentecostes. Anno domini MCCCCXLIIII."

[3] On its significance see Hastings Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895), I, 220, 250–251.

[4] Ioh. Bened. Mittarelli, *Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum S. Michaelis Venetiarum prope Murianum* (Venice, 1779), col. 748.

[5] S. Michael de Muriano Venet., MS 145: "Repetitio recitata in scholis publicis Papiae juris imperatorii 1435 die jovis quam pinguem et gulosam vocamus die 24 februarii."

[6] *Idem*, "aliae eiusdem farinae, nempe de laude artis popinariae, recitatae Papiae in plateis magnis super curru triumphali; sermo magistrandi Zanini coqui, etc."

nected with the carnival festivities preceding Lent[1] and may presumably be regarded as a jocular parody upon the apparently not uncommon practice of public recital before the university.

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AN INVERTED PALIMPSEST

We often read assertions that the mediaeval monks would take precious manuscripts of the classics, erase them in order to use the rare vellum again and write over them some church service book or other ascetic lucubration. It is only just to the Middle Ages to point out that sometimes the reverse process took place. An interesting instance of this is given by A. and W. J. Anderson in their article, 'A Sacramentary of the Ambrosian Rite,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIV (1923), 326–330. In the case of this palimpsest, in the twelfth century the text of Cicero's *De inventione rhetoricae*, lib. ii, 8; *ad Herennium lib. 4* has been written over the text of the Sacramentary which was in Carolingian minuscule. Thus we find the classical enthusiasm of the twelfth-century renaissance guilty of the very conduct which has been made a reproach to monastic obscurantism. It is a good rule that works both ways.

[1] See the above allusion to 'fat Thursday,' still not unknown in Italy.

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REVIEWS

W. A. Morris, *The Mediaeval English Sheriff to 1300*, Publications of the University of Manchester, CLXXVI, Historical Series XLVI. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1927. Pp. 291.

The history of the English shrievalty, when treated from the purely constitutional point of view, offers little 'temptation to the mind that requires to be tempted to the study of Truth.' It may have, however, in perhaps unusual measure, the 'deep value and abiding interest' claimed for such somewhat austere work by the great master of English constitutional history, because of the twofold nature of the sheriff's duties. He clearly played an essential part, both in the growth of central government and also in the administration of local affairs, and his historian must have therefore a mastery of the knowledge gained by research in both fields of his activity — a high requirement which Mr Morris meets, within the limits of time he has set for himself, in a way that gains our respect. Covering the period from the beginnings of the office through the reign of Edward I, he leaves the 'readjustment of the fourteenth century' and the 'decline and fall' for students of later times.

With regard to the problem of origins, Mr Morris agrees with Liebermann and Chadwick that the shire was not a primitive tribal institution, but rather a subdivision of a kingdom, following in point of time earlier administrative divisions drawn round king's *tun* or, later, *burh*. The appearance of shire and hundred, and the coördinate differentiation of the shire reeve from among other king's reeves, took place, he believes, in the time of Edgar, as part of the movement towards centralization of the tenth century. The old dualism of government, which Stubbs portrays, between the alderman as representing local interests and the sheriff as steward of royal rights, necessarily falls to the ground before this view, which regards the sheriff as exercising powers in part delegated to him by the alderman.

The history of the post-Conquest shrievalty Mr Morris divides helpfully into certain well-marked periods, corresponding with, and dependent upon, the great constitutional changes in the central government. He differentiates the period of the great baronial sheriff of the Norman kings from the period of central control under Henry I, when, after Tinchebrai, the barons in office were largely replaced by the king's 'new men,' and machinery was introduced to make the sheriff a responsible officer. He shows the continued existence of the institution under Stephen, not accepting Stubbs's interpretation of the anarchy of that reign. He describes the period of 'institutional absolutism,' culminating under John, of which the sheriff was

chief local agent; and shows finally how the office was, in the last period he discusses, gradually subordinated to the fixed rules of Exchequer, Chancery, judiciary, and other governmental organs. Under each of these periods in turn he gives an account of the functions of the sheriff, judicial, fiscal, military, and general, a method which sometimes entails a little confusion and repetition. He reserves, however, a full account of the sheriff's duties as they were about 1300 for the chapters at the end of the book, chapters which, in their careful enumeration of the amazing number of activities in which the sheriff was engaged, are perhaps the most valuable in the book. A little more classification of material would sometimes guide the reader more clearly through the intricacies of the subject.

The student of early English institutions will perhaps be a little disappointed, if disappointment be not ungracious where there is so much that is valuable and helpful, that Mr Morris has confined himself so rigorously to material dealing directly with the sheriff, that he has gone so little afield into the legal and economic sources that would necessarily throw light on some of the very interesting and important subjects on which he touches. One would wish, for example, for a fuller discussion, based in part on local records, of the very living question of the relation of the sheriff and the local courts to the maintenance of ancient custom on one hand, and, on the other, to the newer rules of the common law as enforced by the king's justices and king's courts. One wonders whether a study of economic material would quite justify the restriction of *redditus assisae* to survivals of the ancient *feorm*, and whether the subject of the local payments made to the sheriff is adequately treated. Sometimes the larger constitutional aspects are a little lost to view in the great mass of detail — ill as any of it could be spared — which Mr Morris has collected. It must be recognized, however, that a work which covers so long a period of time, and touches on so many and so various constitutional problems, must necessarily have as its object not so much new interpretations, or the collection of material entirely new, as the orderly presentation of facts, references to which lie scattered in many miscellaneous and difficult places, in material printed and unprinted. It is this object which Mr Morris has achieved with admirable accuracy and carefulness. One wishes, however, that to a work of reference of this kind a fuller index had been added.

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H. A. L. Fisher, *Paul Vinogradoff, A Memoir.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

It is not often that one field of knowledge can claim within a half century three such mighty and attractive figures as Stubbs, Maitland, and Vinogradoff. "There were giants in the earth in those days." To those who

loved and revered Sir Paul Vinogradoff Mr Fisher's distinguished memoir will bring satisfaction. It is written with much sympathetic understanding and evident appreciation of the power and extraordinary gifts of the great scholar with whom it deals, and presents admirably many sides of a many-sided nature. The account of Sir Paul's life in Russia is perhaps especially interesting to those who knew him only in his adopted country, but could estimate somewhat the darkness of the shadow that the outcome of the revolution cast over his later years. Mr Fisher describes excellently his boyhood, the years of patient and continuous research, the work for popular education, the crowded lecture room, and the final break from the University of Moscow —"the departing of a great teacher, who, though long the chief intellectual glory of the university, was now compelled to lay down his office and to go into exile as a protest against the humiliations which his University was compelled to undergo at the hands of an unintelligent despotism." In sharp contrast with the intensity of his feeling for Russia was Sir Paul's citizenship of the world, his ease of intercourse with men of all countries. His biographer likens him to "one of the great mediaeval doctors, the fame of whose teaching went through the civilized world," quoting the statement of a distinguished Belgian that he was "the best known figure in the learned world of the continent."

To Sir Paul's work in early English legal history Mr Fisher gives due honor, and most students of the period will agree with his dictum that the greatest of the great trilogy of volumes produced in this field is *Villainage in England* — the book which in its completeness and suggestiveness is at once our despair and our admiration. The works in comparative law were interrupted by his death. While there is an amazing number of articles and addresses, and two great volumes completed of the *Historical Jurisprudence*, nothing can console mediaevalists, or compensate them, for the loss of almost all the volume on mediaeval feudal society and the relations of church and state. A bibliography compiled by Lady Vinogradoff will some time give us the complete list of all that he wrote in the many languages he had made his own.

Another phase of his work mentioned by Mr Fisher, his encouragement of others and the school of research which he established, can be appreciated best by those who were fortunate enough to be his students, to whom his passing means the loss of a great inspiration. Power was probably, as Mr Fisher says, the dominant impression he conveyed, but to those who knew him well the "serious, sledge hammer" aspect of power of which the writer of the memoir speaks was modified essentially by the quick turn in human intercourse, the generous sympathy, the appreciation, based on deep knowledge, of the æsthetic values in art, music, and literature. We may well apply to him the words of his own beautiful memorial

to Maitland: "King Death has touched with his wand one of the most . . . profound thinkers of our time, and stores of patiently accumulated knowledge, marvellous designs of a creative intellect, have disappeared forever from this world of ours."

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Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927. Pp. xxviii, 292.

In her study of the Vagantes Miss Waddell develops little more than a scaffolding of her subject. The book was begun as an introduction to a book of translations from Mediaeval Latin lyric soon to be published, and outgrew her original intention without outgrowing its limitations. For example, the historical interest of the Vagantes as an earliest disintegrating force in the mediaeval church is left on one side; with it, their place in literary history, in the development of satire and the secularization of the stage remains untouched. Miss Waddell has studied her scholars only as the inheritors of pagan learning, that classical tradition which came to its wild flowering in the rhyming Latin lyric of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

If we judge the author's work, then, only as a prelude to a forthcoming book of English verse renderings, we must pay it the highest praise possible and dub it a more brilliant performance than the famous essay of John Addington Symonds, or than any of the twenty essays which interpret and render mediaeval Latin student songs in the French, German, and Italian manner. For Miss Waddell knows her Latin impeccably and in her best moods transmutes it into English verse with an astonishing regard for color shades and tonal values; what is more, on occasion she can talk with the abandon of a depressed Swinburne or a stimulated Savage Landor. Up to this point her enraptured reader hopes that at least ten thousand amateurs shall be born to welcome future editions of this impishly engaging work, whose verve and charm thrust forth from every page.

But alack and alas! with all winds blowing fair for her and with none to deny her highest claim to distinction in her chosen task, Miss Waddell deliberately marks down her genial writing for review in Speculum by according it scholastic dress, by interlarding it with grave remarks about places and people, that are not consonant with modern knowledge, and by devoting well on toward half the total space of her book to inapposite footnotes, illustrations, appendices, and bibliography. And therefore she must be reminded that the most delightful chatter, the most gorgeous guesswork, are not scholarship; that the very genius of her writing negates its appealing to a crowd of specialists interested in the sane adjudgment of the relationship that Mediaeval Latin poetry bears to the vernaculars.

In almost every paragraph of the *Wandering Scholars* Miss Waddell roams the world over for analogues and allusive coincidences in theme. She plunders the field of a dozen dialects, and nose-dives through the centuries in her search for associative material with which to decorate her simple picture; joining together what the god of reticence has thus far decreed should be kept asunder. And, worst of all crimes to your scholarly person, she has jazzed the Middle Ages. I cannot apologize for this phrase — it is purely descriptive; for evidence I cite the book, *passim*. How else than by using 'jazz' can I characterize Prudentius's Luxuria being made 'the hot whore' of Marlowe? How indicate dismay at the identification of Ausonius with 'half-a-dozen provincial Chinese governors'? How explain my yawn at the fitting together of the Archpoet's lines with *Don Juan*, *I Pagliacci*, and *Iolanthe*, and at his being called Gilbert and Sullivan rolled into one? How otherwise object to the frenchification of Roswitha, an author on whose gnarled lines Winterfeld sensed but the spray of the North Sea? Saxophones for a thousand years of Latin poetry. The history of Latin song punctuated by syncopation, blue-notes, and the wistful wailing of barber-shop harmonies. This is comparative literature with a vengeance, in the very best manner of George Saintsbury, W. P. Ker, and Gregory Smith.

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Sir H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England*, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926. Pp. ix, 460. 18 shillings.

Those of us who are interested in mediaeval England have welcomed the appearance year after year of the volumes of calendars of the letters and writs issued under the Great Seal. These calendars were begun in 1891, under the direction of the writer of the present volume, Sir Henry C. Maxwell-Lyte, then the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. After many years of service, he resigned his office toward the close of the year 1926, and at about the same time his *Notes on the Use of the Great Seal* appeared. The book bears witness to his long and intimate acquaintance with the records of the Chancery.

The volume contains an ample and, for the most part, very clear description of the stages in Chancery procedure that resulted ultimately in the issuance of various types of instruments sealed with the Great Seal. In the preface the author disclaims any intention of writing a 'constitutional history' of the Chancery. Since he has taken as his special province the methods of the 'administrative Chancery,' there is no discussion of the Chancery as a court or of the Chancellor as a judicial official. Within the

limits thus described there is a full account of procedure illustrated by means of numerous quotations from documents. It may be well to add that the *Notes* cover the modern as well as the mediaeval Chancery, though the latter, as laying a foundation for the former, receives the greater amount of attention. The author's known interest in the Middle Ages may not be overlooked in the same connection.

The solution of the problem of handling an intricate subject is excellent, though it does involve a certain amount of overlapping. Ignore the conventional division into ten chapters, and four parts stand out clearly. The first, in chapter I, contains a description of the staff of the Chancery and of the places where it met. It is all too brief. Part two is covered by chapters II to VIII inclusive. In it there is a full discussion of the warrants upon the basis of which letters under the Great Seal were issued and also of the antecedents of such warrants. The third part is found in chapter IX, which is a detailed exposition of Chancery practice in the drafting, dating, engrossing, sealing, and enrolment of instruments issued under the Great Seal. In this chapter is an interesting discussion of fees. The fourth part, chapter X, contains a brief discussion of the records of the Chancery. Two appendices and two indices, that of subjects being rather unsatisfactory, bring to a close a noteworthy volume and one that opens up a field neglected in the past.

There are many points in the book that will be of interest to all who use the calendars of letters sent out by the Chancery and to those who are working with Chancery warrants. One point of great importance is the fact that not all Letters Patent and Close were enrolled on the Patent and Close Rolls by the Chancery officers. A number of examples of such omissions are given on pages 363 and following. I am able to verify this by personal experience, for, having proceeded on the assumption that all royal letters of importance relating to taxes were entered on the Chancery Rolls, I discovered to my dismay that many such letters which appeared on the Memoranda Rolls were not so entered.

Another disquieting fact brought out by the author is that the indications of time and place in Letters Patent and Close, from the early fourteenth century to the end of the year 1439, are not what they seem to be. The date at the end of writs of the Privy Seal used as warrants for letters under the Great Seal, during the period noted, 'usually governed the date of the final instrument to be issued under the Great Seal' (p. 71; compare pages 243, 251). There are even exceptions to this general rule (p. 249). The indications of place in the Chancery letters are even more unreliable. Such information, therefore, may not be used for the reconstruction of the itinerary of either a fourteenth-century king or his household. The tables of the itineraries of the royal household, Privy Seal and Chancery in 1333,

given in Appendix A, will deter anyone from using this material on the Chancery Rolls without the greatest care.

There is much information of an illuminating character in the volume, and it is consequently a very valuable piece of work. That it is at times difficult reading is a minor fault, for the subject-matter does not lend itself to sprightly discussion. I wish, however, that the author had given an explanation of mediaeval usage with respect to the terms letter and writ. On pages 304–305 the two seem to be distinguished on the basis that Letters Close were writs and Letters Patent were letters. Yet on page 329 there are quotations from the accounts of the Keeper of the Hanaper showing that he did not observe this distinction; and the author refers to 'the familiar classification of instruments issued out of the Chancery as Writs, Letters Close, Letters Patent or Charters.' In the records with which I am most familiar, those of the Exchequer, Letters Close were normally writs and Letters Patent were letters.

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Nardus Groen, *Lexicon Anthimeum.* University of Amsterdam diss., Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1926. Pp. 103.

After a brief discussion of the editions of Anthimus and the place of the language of his treatise in the development of Latin, there follows an outline of the method of the compiler of the lexicon. In general, the method of Merguet and Gerber and Graef is followed; certain constantly recurring words are omitted. The orthography of Rose's edition (Leipzig, 1877) is used. There is a list of the known MSS, which includes one not known to the reviewer in his edition and commentary (Brill: Leyden, 1924).

The compiler makes no effort to define the words, but simply quotes the passages. The work has been carefully done, is handsomely printed, and writer and printer alike are to be complimented on their excellent proofreading. It will prove a useful adjunct to scholars who are making similar studies in Vulgar, or Mediaeval Latin, if it does no more than to point out to them what phenomena to look for.

Shirley H. Weber,
Princeton University.

Austin Hedley Birch, *A Comparison of the Styles of Gaudentius of Brescia, the De Sacramentis, and the Didascalia Apostolorum or Fragmenta Veronensia.* University of London diss., Risca, Monmouthshire: Yendall & Co., 1924. Pp. 180.

Mr Birch has made a study of the style and language of three works which emanated from the district between Milan and Verona during the first half of the fifth century, namely twenty-one sermons of Gaudentius, the *De Sacramentis*, formerly ascribed to St Ambrose, and the Verona fragment deciphered some twenty years ago by E. Hauler, the *Didascalia Aposto-*

lorum. A careful search has been made for affinities and differences in the styles of the three writings — just why, is not quite clear, for there is little doubt as to their place of origin, and no question of a common authorship. During a painstaking investigation the writer has brought out, by implication rather than by direct statement, that the education of Gaudentius was superior to that of the other writers. The use of the term 'vulgar Latin' which involves a perilous distinction at this period, has been carefully avoided; however, a comparison with the language of the so-called *Mulomedicina Chironis* (Leipzig: Oder, 1901) would have shown that the author of the *Didascalia* follows ignorant usage rather than that of the Church Latin which from time to time raised itself above the common speech by harking back to the classical tongue in the writings of the more educated Church Fathers.

As it stands, the dissertation points out differences of style and grammar, but avoids drawing conclusions, and thus some of its value is lost. But the peculiarities which are brought to light are interesting, and of great value to the student of mediaeval latinity. Acceptable to the student of the pre-Hieronymian version of the Scriptures is the section in which the passages quoted by the three writers are set off in columns against the corresponding passages in the Vulgate. In view of the great number of passages that differ, it seems to the reviewer pertinent to note whether any passages are quoted directly from the Vulgate, and, if possible, to determine to what extent the Vulgate circulated in that part of Italy at this time. Apparently the introduction and circulation of the translation were slow.

The commentary on peculiar words and usages is stimulating to the student of language. A valuable addition to the work would be a demonstration of the foreshadowing of Romance words and constructions; e.g., the nouns in *–or* mentioned on page 160 have undoubtedly given rise to the great preference for nouns and adjectives in *–eur* in French, and in *–ore* in Italian; the Romance future is clearly foreshadowed in *venire habes* and *videre habes* quoted on page 160. These are excellent illustrations; for the verb and auxiliary are taking the word-order that is to remain fixed (*viendras*, *verras*, etc.) in Romance.

In passing, the writer establishes the authorship of Tractate xxi by showing that it contains many of the peculiarities of Gaudentius's other writings.

Though marred by typographical errors and inconsistencies, the work is on the whole a valuable contribution to our fund of knowledge of the Latin of the transitional period of the language, and contains points of interest that will stir other students to similar inquiries.

Shirley H. Weber,
Princeton University.

WALTER CLYDE CURRY, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1926. Pp. xxii, 267.

PROFESSOR CURRY'S book presents in a single attractive volume a series of essays which have already appeared at intervals during the past eight years in several different journals. Professed Chaucerians, who already know these important discussions, will be glad to have them in a collected edition; and this new form should insure for them a much wider audience among those who are interested in things mediaeval. The essays stand substantially as they have previously appeared, except that the author has wisely translated or paraphrased into English most of his frequent citations from the Latin writings of mediaeval scientists, and has drawn figures of the heaven to illustrate the horoscopes. Mr Curry has also modified some of his earlier opinions as to the way in which Chaucer's extensive acquaintance with the mediaeval sciences enters into the creative processes of the poetic artist. He no longer maintains, for example, that the Wife of Bath was created from her horoscope, recognizing that such a method would have produced an ingenious mechanical dummy rather than a complex and vivid human being. The only portion of the book which is new is a brief introduction.

By his explorations, much more extensive and systematic than any which have been made before, into the scientific lore of Chaucer's writings, Mr Curry has rendered a valuable service to Chaucerian scholarship, and has furthered the cause, dear to the readers of SPECULUM, of making clearer the intellectual life of the Middle Ages. No one after reading this book can fail to recognize the extent of Chaucer's scientific interest, and his accurate and detailed mastery of the best opinion of his day in astronomy and astrology, in the theory of dreams, in physiology and therapeutics. He was not, like Shakespeare, content with such knowledge as an eager mind could gather in from the hearsay of conversation and desultory reading; he is instead a 'learned' poet, in the same kind, if not to the same degree, as Dante and Milton.

And Mr Curry has shown himself a learned commentator. His task has been a difficult one, which has required not only patience but insight. The writer of this review has had occasion to meddle with the art of astrology sufficiently to know how baffling are its intricacies, and with what difficulty they can be unraveled from out the jargon of strange terms used with scant explication by writers who were addressing themselves to readers already initiate to the mystery.

That in a book of this sort there should be some errors is inevitable; and it is the ungracious duty of the reviewer to point out those which he happens to be able to correct. Mr Curry has not always controlled the

bibliography of obscure writers with whom he has had to deal. The name of an Arabian philosopher which appears as 'Rhazes' on p. 7 is thereafter given the preferable form 'Rasis.' Julius Firmicus Maternus is regularly referred to as 'Maternus' rather than by the more usual 'Firmicus.' Bartholomaeus Anglicus is so designated on p. 60; but on pp. 39, 42 he appears as Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla, a designation formerly given to him by error. The date of his *De Proprietatibus Rerum* is not 1366 (p. 150) but some hundred and fifty years earlier. On p. 151 the author has confused Batman's commentary on Bartholomaeus (published 1582) with John of Trevisa's translation of 1398.

One of Mr Curry's best achievements is his interpretation of the astrological data given in the *Man of Law's Tale*, a passage on which Skeat's notes are insufficient and in several details mistaken. But I cannot understand why this horoscope, which gives the planetary positions at the time when Constance begins her unhappy travels, is treated by Mr Curry as that of the heroine's nativity. It is plainly not a 'nativity' but an 'election.' It is quite true, as he says, that for the full interpretation of an 'election', the astrologer should study it in relation to the subject's 'nativity'; but there is no reason why the configuration of the heavens which existed at the time of Constance's journey should have resembled closely that which marked her birth. Nor does Chaucer say anything which can be interpreted into such an assertion. It is, as an assumption, quite a needless one; for the constellation under which Constance sets out on her journey determines her entire experience.

I think also that Mr Curry is making a needless and an unwarranted assumption when in the horoscope of the Wife of Bath he asserts a conjunction of Venus and Mars in the ascendent Taurus. The good woman herself merely says that 'Myn ascendent was Taur, and Mars thereinne.' The only basis for the assumption that Venus also was in the sign Taurus is found in the Wife's assertion that she had 'the prente of seynt Venus seel' (which need only mean that the influence of Venus has left its mark on her character) and that she is 'al Venerien in feling.' But, as Mr Curry clearly states, Taurus is the 'house' of Venus, and the ascendency of this sign is in itself sufficient to make her 'Venerien,' while the presence in this sign of the malefic Mars is enough to establish the tragic conflict of astral influences on which Mr Curry rightly insists in his discussion. If Chaucer had intended a conjunction of Venus with Mars in Taurus, he would surely have said so in plainer terms.

Particularly illuminating is the discussion of Chaucer's Doctor of Physic and his therapeutic methods; and the diagnosis of Arcite's fatal injury in the *Knight's Tale* and the part played in his death by the hostile influence of Saturn is a triumph of scholarly insight. One is less convinced

by the author's contention that the two champions, Emetreus and Lycurgus, are in their physical attributes types of the Martian and Saturnine (Mr Curry says 'Saturnalian') complections. Chaucer has given no indication of such an intention. In general, I find the discussions of physiognomy, as for example of the Reeve and the Miller, less satisfactory than the rest of the book. Mediaeval physiognomy was a much less exact science than astrology, and from it almost anything could be proved. That the physical appearance of the Miller and the Reeve is in a general way intended to be indicative of their characters as coarse churls no one will deny. But again we have the right to expect that Chaucer should have pointed the way, had he wished us to find a particular trait of character in every physical detail. The volume ends with an exposition of mediaeval dream-lore which, within its limits, is in every way admirable.

Mr Curry's book is an excellent commentary on certain important passages of the *Canterbury Tales* which without such exposition are meaningless to most modern readers. It is also a good introduction for anyone who wishes to learn how the scientific — or pseudo-scientific — thought of the Middle Ages colored the intellectual life of such a man as Geoffrey Chaucer. Its errors are not frequent, and usually do not invalidate the conclusions. We are indebted to Mr Curry for a very significant and interesting study.

Robert K. Root,
Princeton University.

Josef Balogh, *Voces Paginarum: Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens.* Leipzig: Dieterich, 1927. (Reprinted from *Philologus*, LXXXII,1 and 2). Pp. 66. Price Rm. 2.60.

All classical scholars know the importance of the living voice in ancient literature. For centuries all Greek literature was written for oral delivery of some kind; indeed, as Wilamowitz-Moellendorf insisted in his introduction to the *Hercules Furens*, the texts of the Greek tragedies were perhaps the first books to be *published* for the benefit of a reading public, and it was hardly before the Alexandrian age that the habit of reading can be said to have become general. In Roman times the custom of giving semi-public readings of new works was already in vogue before the Christian era. The influence of all this on literary style — in accentuating the tendency to rhetoric — was far-reaching, and is well known to scholars. But it was not till the publication of Norden's *Antike Kunstprosa* that scholars became familiar with the fact that the ancients even in private habitually read aloud — even to themselves (so that the 'convention' of reading letters aloud in comedy was after all based on fact). In the first edition (1898) this was illustrated by one passage only — Aug., *Conf.*, 6. 3, pointed out by

Otto Seeck. In the third edition (1915) Norden and his correspondents had increased the number of passages to about a dozen, of which the most familiar, and most striking, is *Acts* viii, 26 ff.

The present work goes into the whole matter, and illustrates it with some 30 examples (with comments), including one from the Talmud and one from the Syriac poet, Isaac of Antioch. Others are Hor., *Sat.*, i, 3, 63 ff.; i, 6, 122 ff.; ii, 5, 66 ff.; Aristaenetus i, 10 (Acontius and Cydippe); *Priap.* 68; Hdt. i, 48; Greg. Naz. *in Bas. Epitaph.* lvii, 1; *Or.* vi, 18. We also learn that in writing, too, the writer spoke the words aloud (Theodoret, *Graecar. Affect. Curatio*, i, 29): compare the interesting explanation of Luke i, 63 — in writing, Zacharias *spoke* the words: while silent prayer was considered suspicious (Mart. i, 39. 6; Mayor on Juv. 10, 289–90; S. Sudhaus in *Archiv f. Relig.-Wiss.* IX, 190 ff.). The moral of it all is that if we would truly appreciate ancient literature, we must read it aloud (the reviewer may be allowed to say that he has found this most efficacious in teaching Greek and Latin composition). It is significant to find that long before professed scholars had noticed this important phenomenon, it had been remarked on by two men of genius who happened also to be excellent classical scholars, Wieland in his translation of Lucian, *adv. Ind.* 2, and Nietzsche, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, 247.

Whether the custom of reading aloud in private continued in the Middle Ages does not appear clearly from the passages quoted by Balogh; some seem to refer to the reading of the Bible to an assembly, in church or monastery, while others which refer to the 'ear' of the reader, or the 'sound' of the written word, may well be crystallizations of ancient metaphor. But the obscure passages quoted from the lives of St Francis seem to bring us up to the twelfth century (cf. Jakob v. Vitry, *Exempla*, No. 47, ed. Greven, Heidelberg: Winter, 1914).

The reason for the discontinuance of the custom was partly that reading aloud is inconsistent with much thought, and partly its impracticability in monasteries (*Reg. Bened.* xlviii, 12). (Surely the Romans must have read silently in public libraries.) The latest passage quoted, Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, I, 16, proves that the custom still survived among the half-educated in 1670. The author concludes with modern instances of reading aloud by people with an ear for a well-turned phrase. Altogether the little book is an important contribution to our understanding of ancient literature.

W. B. Sedgwick,
Leicester, England.

B. D. Brown, *A Study of the Southern Passion*, Bryn Mawr diss., Oxford: John Johnson, 1926. Pp. 111.

Mrs Brown's monograph is the introduction to the text of the late thirteenth-century *Southern Passion*, which she is to edit for the Early English Text Society. As we have come to expect of Bryn Mawr dissertations on Middle English subjects, it is a thorough and judicious work, based on a careful study of the manuscripts. The *Southern Passion*, a poem dealing with the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, is found in numerous manuscripts of the *South English Legendary*, and was probably written to form part of that sequence of poems. Mrs Brown points out notable similarities between the style of the *Passion* and that of the *Legendary*, which make common authorship the most reasonable assumption. Though the validity of Mrs Brown's conclusions on the sources can hardly be tested until the publication of the text, she appears to make out a good case for the dependence of the *Southern Passion* on the Vulgate, Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, sometimes ascribed to St Bonaventura. It is of general interest to mediaevalists that Bonaventura's authorship of the *Meditationes*, which has been widely questioned in recent years, is likely to receive new support, if Mrs Brown's contention that it is early enough to have influenced the *Southern Passion* is accepted. The exact purpose of the compilation of the *Southern Passion* is hard to determine. Mrs Brown is inclined to think, because of the poet's attitude toward the Church and society, that the poem is the product of one of the mendicant orders, probably the Dominican.

Two important chapters are that on the relation of the manuscripts, and that on their provenience and dialect. Most dissertations that grow into books wait years for publication, and from the defects that a lapse of ten years is likely to engender Mrs Brown's monograph is not exempt. Thus in the chapter on dialect, on which much important work has been done in the last decade, the author has unfortunately based her dialectal criteria on Kaluza and Morsbach, rather than on Luick and Wyld. The statement about the development of mutated long and short OE. *y* (for which, by the way, the ambiguous designation *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ*, is used) is inexact and leads to uncertainties in the discussion of the individual manuscripts. Thus, the definite Western element in the Vernon MS. (OE *a* > *o* before nasal; OE. mutated *y* > *u*; *-u-* in unstressed final syllables) is not noted (p. 44); nor is the Eastern element (OE. *y* > *e*) in the Trinity MS. (p. 47). When Mrs Brown makes her own comparisons of dialectal characteristics, as in the case of *MS. Harley 2277* (p. 38), she is on safer ground than when she adheres to her authorities. The earliest manuscripts are Southwestern. Various bits of evidence are pointed out which indicate that the *Legendary* was originally written in Somerset rather than in Gloucester, as has been

too readily assumed. A possible objection that the *South English Legendary* is likely to have emanated from Gloucester, because of a complicated theory of its relation to Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, Mrs Brown has already anticipated by showing that Robert is the borrower from the *Life of St Kenelm* included in the *Legendary* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLI [1926], 13–23).

This introductory study, which is rich in parallels illustrative of the legendary material embodied in the *Southern Passion*, is of interest to the general student of mediaeval legend, as well as to the specialist in Middle English.

Robert J. Menner,
Yale University.

Henrik Cornell, *Biblia Pauperum*. Stockholm: Thule, 1925. Pp. xv, 372.

The complete publication of the material for the study of the *Biblia Pauperum* such as appears in this volume is indeed a boon to students of Mediaeval art and iconography. For in these bibles we find compacted for the first time the typological representations of New Testament scenes. Prior to their appearance separate scenes or groups of scenes had been represented with their typological accompaniments, but in the *Biblia Pauperum* the entire book is made up of scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin and treated in typological fashion. And they gave rise to other similar works such as the *Speculum Humanae Saluationis*, or the *Concordantiae Caritatis* of Ulrich von Lilienfeld.

The author following in general the lead of Schreiber distinguishes five general types according to the page arrangement of the scenes, prophets, and tituli, and then arranges the manuscripts into eight groups according to the choice and sequence of the scenes. He takes these eight groups up in detail and follows them with a general discussion of the use of typological scenes prior to the *Biblia Pauperum*. The development of the various types of *Biblia Pauperum* is then taken up beginning with the Bavarian group, which appears to be the oldest. He notes their influence on other typological works such as the *Speculum Humanae Saluationis*, and also shows how the latter in turn influences the later groups of the *Biblia*. The discussion of the iconographic influence of the *Biblia Pauperum* on other contemporary and later monuments is also of importance. A chapter on the style of the miniatures and a description of the separate scenes illustrated in the bibles completes the work. In an appendix he publishes the text of the German narrative type.

In his discussion of the general development of typological scenes in the early Middle Ages, the author remarks that there seems to be a hiatus in the occurrence of such scenes between the seventh and eleventh centuries, the Carolingian examples being rather sporadic. It seems to me that he has overlooked there a whole category of biblical illustration in which

typology played a very important rôle and which may be responsible for its preservation and development, at least in some degree, during that time. I mean psalter illustration. It is true that the typological representations work in the reverse direction in the psalters, that is, New Testament scenes are used to carry out or parallel the meaning of the Old Testament text. But the typological connection and purpose is there just the same. And it evidently has some connection with the later illustration of the *Biblia Pauperum*. For instance, the passage in Psalm lxxi, *descendit sicut pluuia in uellus*, is illustrated in the Psalters by a representation of the Annunciation to the Virgin. In the same psalm the passage, *reges Tharsis et insulae munera offerent*, is illustrated by the Adoration of the Magi. And in the *Biblia Pauperum*, among the four prophets which surround the scenes of the Annunciation and the Adoration is David holding a scroll upon which is written the respective text passage from Psalm lxxi, which I have cited as illustrated in the Psalters. I also wonder why, in his discussion of the prophets which accompany the New Testament scenes in the *Biblia Pauperum*, he does not mention the early occurrence of these figures in the scenes in the *Codex Rossanensis*.

These matters are, however, minor criticisms of the book which is carried out in an eminently scholarly fashion and which makes a definite contribution to the history of mediaeval illumination.

Ernest T. DeWald,
Princeton University.

V. H. Galbraith, ed., *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333 to 1381, from a MS. written at St Mary's Abbey, York, and now in the Possession of Lieut.-Col. Sir William Ingilby, Bart., Ripley Castle, Yorkshire*, Publications of the University of Manchester CLXXV, Historical Series XLV, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1927. Pp. xlix, 216.

The chronicle is published from a unique manuscript which is practically a new discovery. It was used by Stow, but appears subsequently to have passed from the knowledge of historians. Small portions of the chronicle have been published previously from transcripts preserved among Stow's papers. The part dealing with the Peasants' Revolt was printed by Professor Trevelyan (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XIII, 1898, 509–522), and English translations of extracts from the section devoted to the Good Parliament and associated events were edited by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson in the introduction to *Chronicon Angliae, 1328–1388* (London, 1874, pp. lxvii-lxxxiii). The original text corrects the erratic orthography of the former and several small errors in both transcriptions.

The work is a compilation. The manuscript, which the editor deems the original, was written by three different hands probably at two different times. It was probably completed by 1399. The sources used by the com-

piler were mainly, if not entirely, contemporary, and some of them appear to have been the work of eyewitnesses. To 1346 the narrative is based on the lost Minorite chronicle, whence the *Chronicon de Lanercost* was derived, or on some recension of that chronicle other than that of *Lanercost*. Before 1338 it adds little to what is said in the *Chronicon de Lanercost*, from 1338 to 1345 the additions are more extensive, and in 1346 the accounts of the battles of Crécy and Neville's Cross are considerably fuller. After 1346 the narrative is independent of any known chronicle. The editor thinks it probable that the compiler translated a Latin source, making small additions of his own and larger interpolations from other chronicles (p. xxxi). First and last he used several sources. Among them was probably a chronicle written abroad. In many places the information is derived directly or indirectly from news letters and official documents. The editor agrees with Mr Kriehn (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, VII, 1902, 266–267) that the vivid description of the Peasants' Revolt was probably taken from a contemporary London narrative and holds that the full record of proceedings in the Good Parliament was borrowed from the same or a similar source.

The chronicle is an important addition to the small group of contemporary narratives of the period. Its entries about internal affairs before 1376 are scant. Its more copious treatment of foreign affairs, and more particularly of the Hundred Years' War, largely supplements previously known accounts and in some measure corrects them. Beginning with 1376 internal affairs receive the chief attention of the chronicler, and the narrative becomes much more circumstantial. One-half of the chronicle and by far the most valuable part is occupied with the relation of events during the six years from 1376 to 1381. It supplies important particulars about the Good Parliament additional to those given in *Chronicon Angliae*, *Rotuli Parliamentorum* and other known sources, treats John of Gaunt with less prejudice than Knighton's *Chronicon* or *Chronicon Angliae*, adds a few facts to our knowledge of Wycliff's career, gives, as is well known, the best description of the Peasants' Revolt, and otherwise increases our detailed information of the stirring events of the period.

The editor has performed his task with ability and thoroughness. In the introduction he explains fully the paleography, provenance and history of the manuscript, the sources used by the compiler, and the value of the text as an historical source in relation to other contemporary narratives. In a long series of notes he provides an exceptionally fine critical apparatus, based on an extensive comparison with other sources. Students who use this valuable chronicle will find that the editor has done adequately much of the critical work which editors often leave readers to do for themselves.

W. E. Lunt,
Haverford College.

Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. Pp. x, 437.

It is not unlikely that in future centuries the foundation of The Mediaeval Academy of America, in 1925, will be selected as the striking and typical event marking the beginning of a new and significant era in mediaeval studies. When the modern world wearily turned in reaction from the excessive ecclesiasticism of the Middle Ages, based largely on Hebrew sources, it first of all feasted eagerly on the classical literature and art of ancient Greece and Rome. Apart from curiosity about the mediaeval church, fostered by the Reformation, the first pronounced modern interest in the Middle Ages came in the nineteenth century and was bound up with the nationalistic movement. This led to a most penetrating study of the mediaeval roots of all the modern languages. The voluminous Latin of the Middle Ages, already shrouded by the aspersions of the humanists, was now almost entirely eclipsed by the popularity of Romanic and Germanic studies.

When Mediaeval Latin language and literature shall have come into their own, this book of Professor Haskins will, in all probability, become the standard interpretation of a new intellectual movement, as was *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, by J. Burckhardt, in 1860. Professor Haskins does not attempt to sketch all aspects of the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century. He omits vernacular literature, which, although not exhausted, has been studied assiduously ever since Gaston Paris; likewise art, which has more than held its own since the days of Viollet-le-Duc. He wisely confines himself solely to the Latin side of this renaissance. Latin was the chief medium of culture in the Middle Ages. Without it the vernacular languages and literatures cannot be understood properly. The same is true of art — of everything. Latin is the foundation-stone of the Middle Ages, but thus far it has been too much neglected by those who have attempted to reconstruct that era. In their eagerness to make rapid progress, modern scholars have hitched the cart before the horse when they attempted to understand the vernaculars without a sound knowledge of mediaeval Latin. The abiding value of this new book is its firm insistance on the importance of the Latin of the Middle Ages, and its brilliant demonstration that mediaeval Latin studies can be made as interesting and as profitable as similar work in any other field.

As befits a book which strikes a new note and is destined to make a wide and lasting appeal, it is presented by the Harvard University Press in a very attractive dress and is written in a style which will charm many readers. Although there is not the slightest straining after rhetorical effects, for all the work of the author is distinguished chiefly by its *netteté*, never-

theless one often pauses to reread a beautiful sentence like that which describes Mont-Saint Michel:

> Few spots are by nature so set apart for monastic seclusion and religious meditation as this remote rock, cut off from the mainland by tide and shifting sands, and looking out past stormy Breton headlands to the pathless ocean where the sun of mortal life goes down in death.

Although written in a style and printed in a form which will attract even the general reader, the book is the result of life-long studies, not only in printed books but also in all the important manuscript collections and archives of Europe. The intricacy and the profoundness of this fundamental work upon which our book has been reared may be seen in the author's *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (2d ed., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927) and in his forthcoming *Studies in Mediaeval Culture.*

In recent years there has been frequent mention of a Twelfth-Century Renaissance, and even some controversy over the propriety of that term, but this book is the first adequate treatment of the culture of that important century. Since we are not dealing with a cut and dried subject it will not be amiss to list the chapters of the book: The Historical Background, Intellectual Centers, Books and Libraries, The Revival of the Latin Classics, The Latin Language, Latin Poetry, The Revival of Jurisprudence, Historical Writing, The Translators from Greek and Arabic, The Revival of Science, The Revival of Philosophy, The Beginnings of Universities. That we are still merely on the threshold leading to the treasures of the Middle Ages is strikingly illustrated by the fact that Professor Haskins found it necessary to introduce this array of interesting topics by the following justification of the title of his book:

> Modern research shows us the Middle Ages less dark and less static, the Renaissance less bright and less sudden, than was once supposed. The Middle Ages exhibit life and color and change, much eager search after knowledge and beauty, much creative accomplishment in art, in literature, in institutions. The Italian Renaissance was preceded by similar, if less wide-reaching movements; indeed, it came out of the Middle Ages so gradually that historians are not agreed when it began, and some would go so far as to abolish the name, and perhaps even the fact, of a renaissance in the Quattrocento.

We now no longer apologize for Gothic architecture. Such books as *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* will soon make it unnecessary to defend our interest in the Latin culture of the Middle Ages.

In my use of the volume with advanced students in mediaeval culture, I found that they sometimes lost their way, owing to the wealth of material, closely packed, and exhibiting on almost every page new names and titles which they had found in no other book. We decided that, for pur-

poses of careful study of the volume, a synopsis of each chapter would be helpful. This summary of leading facts might be inserted in the table of contents, at the head of each chapter, or in an appendix of the second edition of the book. We were much pleased with the comprehensive, although carefully sifted, critical bibliographies at the end of each chapter, and were aided at every turn by the excellent index.

L. J. Paetow.
University of California.

H. V. Routh, *God, Man, and Epic Poetry: A Study in Comparative Literature.* Volume II: Medieval. Cambridge: The University Press, 1927. Pp. xii, 283.

In the present volume, published under so distinguished auspices, Mr Routh has set himself the interesting task of training the course of epic tradition in the Middle Ages. The starting-point is *Beowulf;* the *Divine Comedy* marks the end; the *Chanson de Roland* occupies a somewhat uncertain middle position. These are, indeed, the only literary works of the period which answer to the author's definition of epic: to be an epic a poem must 'record one of man's early efforts in moral and spiritual progress, in winning peace of mind while carrying war into his neighbour's territory' (p. 1); the epic hero must face the dangers of the unknown powers of evil undaunted (pp. 21, 120); while a 'sense of triumph in achievement, and joy in the realization of human greatness' (p. 123) are among the important concomitants.

Beowulf is an epic because Beowulf, the hero, overcomes his adversary, namely, fear of the spirit-world of Germanic heathendom (pp. 20, 21; cf. p. 67 and pp. 13, 30, 164); the *Chanson de Roland* is an epic because fear of Original Sin (pp. 90 ff.) has been conquered, and worldly glory and 'assured felicity in the life to come' (p. 114) have been temporarily reconciled in Roland, 'a study of the secular warrior refined and exalted in the flame of Christianity' (p. 116). The *Chanson de Roland* is, however, a unique example of a transient type, a 'sport,' as it were; it remained for the Friars, by their preaching, to give rise to 'a new heroic ideal, a conception of human beings not only overcoming the greatest difficulties . . . but achieving that mastery of themselves, that confidence and spiritual sureness, which are the essence of true heroism' (p. 164). Although the first inkling of this new heroism appears in *Gudrun, Gawayne and the Green Knight,* and *Piers Plowman* (pp. 242 ff.), we must turn from these to the other-world visions where the 'spirit of early Christianity finds its true outlet' (pp. 228 ff.), culminating in the *Divine Comedy* of which Dante is the hero (p. 252; cf. p. 254). 'By telling how he restored and saved his own soul, [Dante] is also telling how mankind conquered Original Sin;

and as both achievements are described in the form of an adventure which proves the ultimate ennoblement of man, the poem is an epic' (p. 256).

In spite of an elaborate and often genuinely interesting argument based upon an essay at a compendious survey of many aspects of mediaeval culture and psychology, the reviewer finds it extremely difficult to accept the author's fundamental propositions: namely, a religio-sociological definition of an epic; a symbolic Müllenhoffian interpretation of *Beowulf;* and the inclusion of the *Divine Comedy* — by whatever definition — in the same literary category with *Beowulf* and the *Chanson de Roland.* Strange bed-fellows these. But the author's theories would merit greater attention and a more respectful hearing were it not for the fact that his book contains a distressing amount of out-of-date scholarship, as well as misunderstandings and half-understandings of the facts and situations discussed. By way of example, I venture to quote without comment a number of passages bearing upon literary problems, omitting all consideration of Germanic religion and Christian dogma as subjects which presumably lie outside the special field of the author, who is University Reader in English Language and Literature, Bedford College, London.

'The Anglo-Saxon lords, or their poets, . . . believed that a human being might become sufficiently great to overcome magic and monsters ten times more formidable than himself' (p. 2); 'the author of *Beowulf* has certainly made some attempt to bring his story up to date in history [reference is here given to Hygelac = Chochilaicus] (p. 16); 'It may not be altogether coincidence that *Beowulf*, whatever the spirit of its present form, is the memory of a continental plague' (p. 30); 'We can accept Prof. Chambers's contention that the Scandinavian traditions were brought over by the English settlers in the sixth century and must have been worked into an Anglian dialect soon after, and must then in the seventh century have been transposed or paraphrased into West Saxon' (pp. 78, 79).

The unconventional points of view which fill the pages may be further illustrated by the following:

'[King Alfred] was kept from monastic influences, he was not allowed to learn writing or reading till he was twelve years old. He was brought up on Old English poems till he had them by heart, and he was encouraged to make war and hunting his chief pursuits' (pp. 94, 95); the *Chanson de Roland* 'contains traces of uncivilized coarseness, beneath its chivalrous enthusiasm. Yet these touches of vulgarity may be the additions of later hands, not the relics of earlier ones, because the earliest and most reliable MS. of the *Chanson* which we possess is a hurriedly written, insignificant pocket libretto, which some one wrote out towards the end of the twelfth century, for the use of travelling minstrels' (p. 111); 'Unhappily the poem, as we have it, exists in too rough and popular a form to do full justice

to the culture of feudal Christianity. We can recognize the epic spirit, surviving even in this rather debased form' (p. 118); 'A poem which merely describes . . . the occasion and the means of one man's death and of another man's triumph, is a ballad or a lay' (p. 120); Wace and Layamon wrote 'inspired chronicles'; yet they 'do not even distantly and unconsciously share the greatness of their heroes; they are strangers to the enthusiasms at which they hint' (p. 126); Lancelot was 'not known in the twelfth century' (p. 128); besides *Lanval*, the 'poems' of Marie de France include *Graelent*, *Tiolet*, *Guingamor*, and *Tidorel* (p. 132); of the *Nibelungenlied* we are told that 'Before the beginning of the thirteenth century, many strange legends and tales, some drawn originally from Icelandic and Irish sources, had been worked together into one continuous narrative' (p. 137); 'The later romances are metrical and rhymed, as if composed to be read. Hence it is usually concluded that the medieval epic began to decay as soon as books became common. In the old days, it is argued, the minstrel was forced to seek an audience, and wherever he found one men predominated and so the story had to glorify the affairs of men. But the more modern verse-maker produced his wares to circulate in writing, and manuscripts were more readily welcomed by women than by men' (p. 142).

The origin of the Round Table is viewed in a new light: 'In the days of Beowulf, the *comitatus* provided at once the strongest impulse and the best opportunity for heroism, and it is not difficult to see how the institution grew into the idea of the Round Table' (p. 145); 'Boethius himself was undoubtedly a Christian, and to the imaginative and ill-informed historical notions of the Middle Ages his sudden fall invested him with the character of a victim, almost of a martyr' (p. 196); 'By the mid-thirteenth [century] the clergy had ceased to marry, and the . . . invectives against women, which arose in early monastic misogynism, had increased enormously' (p. 218). The hero of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is summed up as 'no epic warrior but a type of chivalry too full of edification to be real. . . . The defect of *Gawayne* is not its allegorizing tendency, but its divorce from the most urgent and intimate problems of medieval life' (pp. 226, 227); *Kundrun*, *Sir Gawain*, and *Piers Plowman* are characterized as 'disillusioned and rather disingenuous stories of life' (p. 228).

To Bishop Poore (see Index) is restored the authorship of the *Ancren Riwle;* the Kentish *Ayenbit of Inwit* is cited variously as by Dan Michel, Frère Lorens, and Laurentius Gallus (see Index); *Beowulf* is quoted (pp. 18, 23, 24) apparently from Heyne's 1863 edition; pronouncements upon the Celtic origins in romance rest on the authority of Renan (p. 134, n. 1), who is likewise cited for Averroës (p. 209, n. 4). 'Jean de Lorris' is the creator of the 'mystic garden' of the rose (p. 102); a wholly new explanation is offered for the decline of runic writing and the reduction (!) of the

futhark from 24 to 16 characters (pp. 36, 37); the discussion of Danes and Geats, their civilization, and their relation to *Beowulf* is arresting (especially pp. 7, 8).

The bibliographical indications are such as to tax the resourcefulness and ingenuity of any reader, as, for example, references to Saxo Grammaticus, where the author has apparently extracted from the margins of Holder and cited without explanation folio of the 1514 editio princeps and page of Erasmus Müller's 1839 edition (p. 10, n. 3, *et passim*).

To say that *Man, God, and Epic Poetry* needs an overhauling before receiving more serious consideration, is to state the case mildly. As it stands, it has little to offer the scholar, while to the layman it will be, far too often, extremely misleading. It is not the sort of book one has come to expect from the press whose imprint it bears.

F. P. Magoun, Jr.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1927.

P. Champion, *Louis XI*, Vol. I, *Le Dauphin*; Vol. II, *Le Roi*, Paris: Champion, 1927.

G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, Vol. II, *The Friars and the Dead Weight of Tradition*, Cambridge (England): University Press, 1927.

P. Debongnie, *Jean Mombaer de Bruxelles, Abbé de Livry, Ses Ecrits et ses Réformes*, Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1928.

A. B. Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Mediaeval Times, being the Early History of St Edmund Hall*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

J. P. Fuhrmann, O.S.B., *Irish Mediaeval Monasteries on the Continent*, Catholic University of America diss., privately printed, 1927.

Sister M. Madeleva, *Chaucer's Nuns and Other Essays*, New York: Appleton & Co., 1925.

——, *Pearl: A Study in Spiritual Dryness*, New York: Appleton & Co., 1925.

M. Manitius, ed., R. Ulich, trans., *Vagantenlieder aus der Lateinischen Dichtung des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Jena: Diederich, 1927.

A. Nelson, *Om Uppsala Universitet under Medeltiden*, Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1927.

S. R. Packard, ed., *Miscellaneous Records of the Norman Exchequer, 1199–1204*, Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XII, Northampton: Department of History of Smith College, 1927.

L. J. Paetow, ed., trans., *The Battle of the Seven Arts, a French Poem by Henry D'Andeli, Trouvère of the Thirteenth Century*, Memoirs of the University of California, Vol. 4, No. 1, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927.

——, ed., *Morale Scolariom of John of Garland (Johannes de Garlandia) a Professor in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse in the Thirteenth Century*, with an Introduction on the Life and Works of the Author, together with Facsimiles of Four Folios of the Bruges Manuscript, Memoirs of the University of California, Vol. 4, No. 2, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927.

H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.

R. F. Seybolt, trans., *Renaissance Student Life, the Paedologia of Petrus Mosellanus*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1927.

J.-Th. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la Littérature Religieuse et Didactique du Moyen Age*, Paris: Occitania, 1927.

——, ed., *Thesaurus Exemplorum*, Fasc. III, *La Tabula Exemplorum Secundum Ordinem Alphabetae: Recueil d'Exempla compilé en France à la Fin du XIII^e Siècle*, Paris: Occitania, 1926.

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

LATIN LITERATURE UNDER FREDERICK II

By CHARLES HOMER HASKINS

THE personality and influence of the Emperor Frederick II have long constituted a fascinating problem for the historian.[1] *Stupor mundi* to his contemporaries, to Nietzsche he is still a *Rätselmensch*, along with Alcibiades, Caesar, and Leonardo da Vinci, 'the first of Europeans according to my taste' [2] — one of the interesting men who will be absent from the Christian Heaven.[3] Poet, philosopher, zoölogist, observer, experimenter, sportsman, enlightened legislator yet persecutor of heretics, intimate friend of Jews and Mohammedans, master of many tongues and devotee of all sorts of learning, he seemed a universal genius, *universale in tutte le cose*. 'Had he but loved God and his church and his own soul,' says his contemporary Salimbene,[4] 'he would have had few equals.' Early, too, he became the theme of legend, identified with Antichrist by ecclesiastical writers, so that even Dante finds him burning in Hell with the Epicurean heretics, while in popular tradition he forms the nucleus of the German *Kaisersage*, as he sleeps in his enchanted cavern in the mountains awaiting the fateful day when he and his

[1] See the excellent sketch of Karl Hampe, *Kaiser Friedrich II. in der Auffassung der Nachwelt* (Stuttgart, 1925). There has since appeared the stout volume of E. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (Berlin, 1927), stimulating but highly systematic and as yet giving no evidence for its assertions.

[2] *Beyond Good and Evil*, tr. Helen Zimmern (New York, 1923), c. 200.

[3] *Werke* (Leipzig, 1885–1926), XVI, 291; cf. VIII, 310; XIII, 327, 335, 337; XV, 22.

[4] Ed. O. Holder-Egger, in *M. G. H., SS.*, XXXII, 349.

knights shall come down to restore the Empire and deliver the oppressed. This many-sided figure has been variously judged from the different points of view of Empire or Papacy, Germany or Italy, scepticism or belief, politics or culture. Scholars still discuss whether he belongs to the Middle Ages or the Renaissance, to the beginning or end of an epoch, to his own time or to all time, ageless and universal.

On the whole, understanding of Frederick has grown with understanding of the Middle Ages, especially as we see him in the light of the Sicilian tradition of his grandfather, Roger II, in his relations with the Arabic culture of his own epoch, and against the background of thirteenth-century Italy.[1] In attempting to fill in something more of this Italian background, we must be careful not to regard the Emperor as a merely Italian phenomenon, even as others have misunderstood him by judging him only as a German ruler. By the very fact of his Sicilian inheritance Frederick was born into the centre of Mediterranean politics and civilization, while the imperial dignity and the German kingship gave him a European position beyond the Alps as well. So cosmopolitan a personage inevitably left his impress in many languages. Thus Frederick is a clear figure in the Arabic writers of his time, as well as in his own scientific and diplomatic correspondence with Mohammedan sovereigns. The Jewish translator, Jacob Anatoli, praises Frederick as a 'friend of wisdom and its votaries,' and hopes the Messiah may come in his reign.[2] A king whose laws had to be issued in a Greek version for the benefit of his Greek-speaking subjects might well expect to be eulogized by Greek poets of Southern Italy such as John of Otranto and George of Gallipoli,[3] while his passing is mourned for Eastern Greeks in a funeral oration by Theodore Lascaris.[4] In the Western vernaculars, he is celebrated by Provençal troubadours and German minnesinger and reflected in the Sicilian verse of his own

[1] See, in general, H. Niese, 'Zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens am Hofe Kaiser Friedrichs II.,' *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII (1912), 473–540; and for palace life, A. Haseloff, *Die Bauten der Hohenstaufen in Unteritalien* (Leipzig, 1920 ff.).

[2] See my *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1927), pp. 251–253.

[3] K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (2d ed., Munich, 1897), p. 769.

[4] J. B. Pappadopoulos, *Théodore II Lascaris* (Paris, 1908), pp. 183–189; Βυζαντίς, II (1912), 404–413.

Magna Curia, some of which apparently bears his own name.[1] Nevertheless, in Frederick's time Latin was still predominantly the language of history and law, of education and learning, and even of much imaginative writing, and it is in the Latin literature of his age that we may look to find the fullest reflection of this many-sided personality. Something of this was directly called forth or encouraged by Frederick himself, on the part of members of his court or others; something he occasioned indirectly as the object of attacks from his enemies; while still more treated him but incidentally as one of the prominent men of his generation. We shall try to bring together some facts concerning the literature to which he gave positive encouragement, particularly in his southern kingdom, with some reference to that which was produced by way of hostile reaction, in the hope of understanding somewhat better the condition of Latin literature in the Italy of the thirteenth century, in relation to the age which followed as well as to Frederick himself.

To speak of Frederick II as a patron of literature and learning may easily give rise to a false impression, as if he represented the common type of Maecenas which satisfies its intellectual interests vicariously, by hiring writers and scholars rather than by personal effort. Whatever Frederick did, he did with his might, and his own initiative and participation are as apparent in discussion and experiment [2] as they are in war and sport. His autocratic government and large revenues gave him resources for pursuing his inquiries, but they did not set him apart from his helpers and associates. Everything points to Frederick as the most active force of the court as well as its superior intelligence.

[1] References on the vernacular writers of Frederick's time are conveniently brought together by E. H. Wilkins, 'The Origin of the Canzone,' in *Modern Philology*, XII (1915), 135–166; for Provençal relations, cf. G. Bertoni, *I trovatori d'Italia* (Modena, 1915), pp. 25–27; O. Schultz-Gora, *Ein Sirventes von Guilhem Figueira gegen Friedrich II.* (Halle, 1902), pp. 33–38. The latest account of the Sicilian school is G. A. Cesareo, *Le origini della poesia lirica* (2d ed., Milan, 1924). For a critical edition and discussion of the poems ascribed to Frederick himself, see H. H. Thornton, in Speculum, I (1926), 87–100; II (1927), 463–469.

[2] For an illustration, see the questions addressed by the Emperor to Michael Scot, published and translated in my *Mediaeval Science*, pp. 266–267, 292–294; reprinted and discussed, with a German version, by Hampe, in *Festgabe für W. Goetz* (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 53–66, who proposes to date them 1227. Cf. E. F. Jacob, in *History*, XI (1926), 243; and Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, pp. 323 ff.

Accordingly, we must remember at the outset that Frederick was himself a Latin author, quite apart from whatever Latin writings he may have directed or inspired. Latin style was probably one of the subjects in which as a youth he received instruction from Willelmus Francisius,[1] and we later hear of Latin orations [2] as well as Latin writings from his pen. How far he was himself affected by the baroque Latin of the South it is impossible to say, for the pompous language of his legislation doubtless owes less to the Emperor than to his jurists and secretaries, nor can we safely seek his personal touch in what the Pope called the *dictatoris facunditas* [3] of the correspondence which emanated from his chancery. In the one work which is clearly Frederick's, the treatise on falconry (*De arte venandi cum avibus*),[4] the treatment is matter-of-fact, the style simple and unadorned, with some looseness and repetition and much evident influence of the vernacular, for whose technical terms he has difficulty in finding Latin equivalents. Such glimpses of the real Frederick do not, however, suffice to prove that he may not have indulged in fine writing on other occasions or that he looked with disfavor upon the Latin which his legislation borrowed from the *Code* of Justinian. Indeed an autocrat who cut off the thumb of a notary for misspelling his name [5] is not likely to have tolerated a style foreign to his taste. Save in the *De arte*, we cannot distinguish the imperial Latin from that of Piero della Vigna and the other jurists and notaries of the court.

Respecting Frederick's encouragement of learning, the chronicler who passes by the name of Nicholas of Iamsilla, and who was perhaps a notary of Manfred,[6] tells us that at Frederick's accession there were few or no scholars in the Sicilian kingdom, and that it was his task by liberal rewards to attract masters from various parts

[1] Hampe, in *Mittheilungen des Instituts für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXII (1901), 575–599; and in *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXIII (1899), 8–12.

[2] Niese, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII, 532.

[3] Bull of Gregory IX, 15 July, 1233. J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi* (Paris, 1852–61), IV, 444.

[4] See *Mediaeval Science*, ch. 14, and the forthcoming edition of J. Strohl.

[5] Salimbene, p. 350.

[6] L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* (Milan, 1723–38), VIII, 495–496. Cf. A. Karst, in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XIX (1898), 1–28.

of the earth. Concerning literature the classical passage is one in Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*[1] which celebrates Frederick and his son Manfred — in intellectual history the two reigns belong together — as the illustrious heroes who, while fortune permitted, disdained lower occupations and followed humane pursuits, 'wherefore those of noble heart and gracious endowment tried to follow their majesties, so that whatever in their time the excellent minds of the Latins strove to produce, first saw the light in the court of these rulers.' Dante, however, is speaking from the point of view of vernacular letters, and the glory of the *Magna Curia* as the cradle of Italian poetry is sufficiently attested by the long list of Sicilian poets who held office under Frederick, not to mention his specific aid to German and Provençal versifiers. On the Latin side Frederick's court is less well known, but it must form the starting-point of our inquiry. Let us begin with a rough list of the Latin works known to have been dedicated to the Emperor or written by members of his court:[2]

1. Michael Scot, court philosopher from ca. 1227 to his death shortly before 1236, dedicated to Frederick (a) *Abbreviatio Avicenne de animalibus*, before 1232; and, after 1228, his three treatises on astrology and related matters: (b) *Liber introductorius*, (c) *Liber particularis*, and (d) *Physionomia*. See my *Studies in Mediæval Science*, ch. 13; 'Michael Scot in Spain,' in *Homenaje A. Bonilla y San Martín* (Madrid, 1927); 'The Alchemy Ascribed to Michael Scot,' in *Isis*, X (1928).

2. Theodore of Antioch, court philosopher and Arabic secretary probably succeeding Scot, and mentioned from 1238 till his death in or just before 1250, prepared for the Emperor's benefit (a) a treatise on hygiene extracted from the *Secretum secretorum* of the Pseudo-Aristotle, and (b) a translation of Moamyn, *De scientia venandi per aves*, corrected by the Emperor in 1240–41. See my *Mediæval Science*, pp. 246–248, 313 f.

3. Piero della Vigna, judge of the *Magna Curia* (1225–47), logothete and protonotary (1247–49). More or less doubtful letters addressed to the Emperor, including a eulogy (*Epp.*, III, 44). See Huillard-Bréholles, *Vie et correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne* (Paris, 1865), and the literature cited below.

[1] i, c. 12.

[2] Cf. the longer list which I have drawn up for Henry II of England, *Europe Preserved* (*Thomas Frederick Tout*) (Manchester, 1925), pp. 71–77, to which may be added the medical treatise of Daniel Churche, E. Faral in *Romania*, XLVI (1920), 247–254.

4. Terrisio di Atina, professor of rhetoric at the University of Naples. Poem addressed to the Emperor requesting a reform of judicial abuses. Edited in part by E. Winkelmann, *De regni Siculi administratione* (Berlin, 1859), pp. 55–56; completely by G. Paolucci, 'Documenti inediti sulle relazioni tra chiesa e stato nel tempo Svevo,' pp. 21–23, in *Atti* of the Palermo Academy, 3d ser., V (1900), and by F. Torraca, 'Maestro Terrisio di Atina,' in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XXXVI (1911), 251–253.

5. Petrus de Ebulo, court poet of Henry VI, to whom he dedicated the *Liber ad honorem Augusti* (see E. Rota's edition in the new edition of Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, XXXI, and G. B. Siragusa's in *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, XXXIX), and probably the 'magister Petrus versificator' whom Frederick mentions as dead by 1220; addresses to Frederick, 'Sol mundi,' 1211–20, a poem on the baths of Pozzuoli. A lost history, *mira Federici gesta*, to which he refers, seems to have dealt with Frederick Barbarossa. See R. Ries, *Mitteilungen des Instituts*, XXXII (1911), 576–593, 733, and the works there cited.

6. Adam, chanter of Cremona, *Tractatus de regimine iter agentium vel perigrinantium*. With preface dedicated to Frederick *ca.* 1227. Ed. Fritz Hönger, *Aerztliche Verhaltungsmassregeln auf dem Heerzug ins Heilige Land für Kaiser Friedrich II. geschrieben von Adam von Cremona* (Leipzig diss., 1913).

7. Leonard of Pisa, *Liber quadratorum*, dedicated to Frederick in 1225(?), besides other mathematical works discussed with the Emperor and members of his court. See *Mediaeval Science*, p. 249.

8. Henry of Avranches, three fulsome eulogies, in hexameters, addressed to Frederick *ca.* 1235–36. Ed. E. Winkelmann, *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XVIII (1878), 482–492. On Henry as an international poet, see the unpublished Harvard thesis of J. C. Russell and his summary in Speculum, III (1928), 34–63.

9. Richard, judge of Venosa, *De Paulino et Polla*, comedy dedicated to Frederick in the governorship of Raynaldus, 1228–29:

> Hoc acceptet opus Fredericus Cesar, et illud
> Maiestate iuvet atque favore suo!
> Cuius ad intuitum Venusine gentis alumnus
> Iudex Ricardus tale peregit opus.

Edited by E. Du Méril, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge* (Paris, 1854), pp. 374–416. To the six MSS there mentioned, two have been added by R. Peiper, *Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte*, V (1875), 540; and there is another in the

Vallicelliana at Rome, *MS. C. 91*, foll. 45r–67v. For the contents and date, see W. Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, I (Halle, 1890), 94–96, 157–159; W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (2d ed., Halle, 1911-23), I, 35–37.

10. Orfinus of Lodi, judge, *De regimine et sapientia potestatis*, a poem of *ca.* 1600 lines on the podestà, written under the patronage of Frederick of Antioch after 1244, and beginning with a laudation of Frederick II and his court. Ed. A. Ceruti, in *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, VII (1869), 27–94; cf. F. Hertter, *Die Podestàliteratur Italiens im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 75–79, and V. Franchini, *Saggio di ricerche su l'instituto del podestà nei comuni medievali* (Bologna, 1912), p. 255.

11. Giordano Ruffo of Calabria, a marshal of the Emperor, prepared under Frederick's direction and completed after his death a treatise on the diseases of horses; the first mediaeval work on its subject in Latin, this was widely copied, translated, and imitated. Edited by H. Molin (Padua, 1818); see *Mediaeval Science*, p. 256, and the works there cited.

12(?). 'Guicennas'(?), a German knight, 'master of all kinds of hunting, especially by the testimony of Emperor Frederick's huntsmen,' *De arte bersandi*. Unpublished. See *Mediaeval Science*, p. 256; Speculum, II (1927), 246.

13(?). Petrus Hispanus (later Pope John XXI), if we accept the doubtful ascription in *Harleian MS. 5218*, fol. 1r: *Epistola magistri Petri Hyspani missa ad imperatorem Fridericum super regimen sanitatis*. See L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923), II, 489.

14(?). Friar Elias of Cortona, who went over to the imperial party after his deposition from the generalship of the Franciscans in 1239; certain of the doubtful alchemical works ascribed to him purport to be dedicated to Frederick. See *Mediaeval Science*, p. 260; Thorndike, *op. cit.*, II, 308, 335; G. Carbonelli, *Sulle fonti storiche della chimica e dell' alchimia in Italia* (Rome, 1925); and the concluding note to my article on 'The Alchemy Ascribed to Michael Scot,' in *Isis*, X (1928).

15(?). Vididenus (?), *Liber septem experimentorum ad imperatorem Fridericum*. See Thorndike, *op. cit.*, II, 803.

16(?). *Epistola domini Castri dicti Goet de accidentibus senectutis, missa ad Fridericum imperatorem*. An unidentified treatise which is no. 49 in a list of manuscripts copied at the direction of Ivo I, abbot of Cluni

(1256–75). L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Fonds de Cluni* (Paris, 1884), p. 379.[1]

Such a list must in the nature of the case be far from a complete enumeration of the writers who can claim Frederick as their patron, but it is none the less significant and, to a certain extent, typical, both for what it contains and for what it omits. That most of these works should treat of science, or what then passed for science, is of course consonant with all that we know of the Emperor's tastes and experimental habit of mind, as revealed more fully in his own treatise on falconry and his scientific correspondence and questionnaires. Similarly the books on falconry and hunting are indicative of his well known love of sport. Neither of these aspects of his intellectual interests need detain us here, for they have been already studied elsewhere.[2] So we are prepared to find translations of scientific and philosophical writings, indeed Frederick's reputation as a promoter of translation from the Arabic would lead us to expect more of such versions than can actually be traced to his influence, even if we add to the versions of Michael Scot and Jacob Anatoli the pseudo-Aristotelian and astrological writings turned into Latin in Sicily at the command of King Manfred. The importance of Frederick's court as a centre of translation has plainly been exaggerated.[3]

On the other hand, the absence of any books of history is surprising. Recent investigation will have it that an important Ghibelline source for this reign has been lost in the work of Bishop Mainardino da Imola, who stood in close relations to Frederick and his court, and there may be other such losses to mourn.[4] There is, however, no evidence that Frederick II encouraged an official historiography

[1] Cf. the various works which purport to have been translated into French for Frederick: *Mediaeval Science*, p. 254; Ch.-V. Langlois, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde* (Paris, 1927), pp. 198–208.

[2] *Mediaeval Science*, chs. 12–14; 'The Latin Literature of Sport,' Speculum, II (1927), 235–252.

[3] *Mediaeval Science*, pp. xiv, 260–261, 269–270.

[4] P. Scheffer-Boichorst, *Zur Geschichte des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 275–283; F. Güterbock, 'Eine zeitgenössische Biographie Kaiser Friedrichs II.,' in *Neues Archiv*, XXX (1905), 35–83; Hampe, *Kaiser Friedrich II. in der Auffassung der Nachwelt*, pp. 7, 60.

in any sense parallel to that which flourished under Frederick Barbarossa, and to the paucity of Ghibelline histories we owe not only the predominantly hostile tone of the sources toward Frederick but also the scantiness of the record for many important phases of his reign. Frederick not only had a poor press among his contemporaries, there were times when he had no press at all. His light went out suddenly in the midst of his career, and, as we see from the unfinished state in which he left his own work on falconry, there was no period of peaceful repose at the end when an account of his reign might have been rounded out with the Emperor's approval. Nor did the next generation labor to fill this gap, for Frederick's line came to a swift end with Manfred and Corradino, and their Angevin enemies and successors had no desire to brighten its posthumous renown. For all succeeding generations Frederick's reputation was to suffer from the lack of any official biography. Furthermore, as Hampe has pointed out,[1] the ecclesiastical opponents of Frederick remained in possession of the historical field, and shaped the record in the great Guelfic compilations of the Franciscans and Dominicans, in which the whole life of the Emperor gets its color from the bitter controversies of his later years, when he took on the semblance of Lucifer and Antichrist. The influence of Frederick on the writing of history was mainly the stimulus of opposition, and the phrases of the historians go back to the fulminations of Gregory IX and Innocent IV and the pamphleteers of their time.[2]

The answer to these, so far as there was an answer, lies in Frederick's own state papers, as drafted in large measure by his judge and secretary, Piero della Vigna.[3] The well known characterization of Dante, who makes Piero hold the keys to Frederick's heart, locking and unlocking it at his pleasure,[4] is matched by an earlier Latin

[1] Hampe, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–13.

[2] Friedrich Graefe, *Die Publizistik in der letzten Epoche Kaiser Friedrichs II.* (Heidelberg, 1909).

[3] See, besides the old editions of S. Schard (Basel, 1566) and J. R. Iselius (Basel, 1740), Huillard-Bréholles, *Vie et correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne* (Paris, 1865), who describes 82 MSS.; and cf. G. Hanauer, in *Mittheilungen des Instituts*, XXI (1900), 527–536; and H. Kantorowicz, *ibid.*, XXX (1909), 651–654. On Piero's family, see the document recently published by Mattei Cerasoli, in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XLIX (1924), 321–330.

[4] *Inferno*, xiii, 58 ff.

eulogy by Piero's friend Nicola della Rocca.[1] What Piero closes, he says, 'none can open, and what he opens none can close.' He is another Moses who brought back the law from the Mount, another Joseph to whom the Emperor commits the government of the round earth, another Peter, a rock of security who has not denied his Lord. The letters of Piero are naturally a prime source for Frederick's reign on the intellectual no less than on the political side, indeed their preservation, as they were copied and recopied for two centuries as models of Latin style, is due mainly to literary reasons. These collections, of which perhaps one hundred and fifty manuscripts are known, still await a comprehensive and critical edition. They differ widely in content and arrangement, containing many personal letters and exercises of Piero as well as a mass of official correspondence in the Emperor's name, not to mention some letters of Piero's friends and some pieces which are obviously posterior to his death in 1249.

Whether literary or legal in content, these letters bear the impress of Piero's style, which also appears in the body of the Emperor's constitutions. 'Piero,' says Odofredus, 'spoke obscurely and in the grand manner,' [2] using as he did so the artificial and overladen rhetoric of the Capuan school. The importance of this Capuan group in furnishing secretaries and other officials for the Hohenstaufen court has been made clear by the researches of Hampe and others, but its literary history has still to be written.[3] When it is written, there can be little doubt that Piero will be the most important member, by reason of his individual position and his influence on his own and succeeding generations. Kantorowicz goes so far as to call him the greatest Latin stylist of the Middle Ages and the last creator in the Latin tongue; [4] at least his style was much admired by contemporaries and retained a hold upon letter-writing until it was driven out by the Ciceronians. In any case Piero is the

[1] In Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

[2] *Mittheilungen des Instituts*, XXX, 653, note 1.

[3] Cf. Hampe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der letzten Staufer: Heinrich von Isernia* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 34.

[4] *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, pp. 275, 276.

central figure in the Latin literature of Frederick's reign, when 'he made the chancery a school of formal style.' [1]

Two of Piero's associates represent the same style and school. One of these, Nicola della Rocca, author of more than a score of letters in the collection, including the eulogy of Piero from which we have already quoted, is in relations with various high officials, and himself solicits an appointment as notary at the *curia*.[2] He also requests permission to give a public course on the *ars dictaminis*, perhaps at Naples. The other, Master Terrisio of Atina, is connected not only with the Emperor but with Naples and its new university by various compositions which range from a eulogy of Master Arnold the Catalan, late professor of philosophy, to a letter suggesting that the students appease this 'terror' (Terrisius) of the schools by suitable presents in Lent:

> Est honestum et est bonum
> Ut magistro fiat donum
> In hoc carniprivio.[3]

Certain of these epistolary collections of the Capuan school fall too early [4] or too late [5] for our purpose, but others illustrate various aspects of Frederick's time. If Cardinal Thomas of Capua (d. 1239) belongs rather to the papal than to the imperial party, his much copied letters are still of considerable importance for the age in general.[6] Much fresh material for Frederick's early years has been found by Hampe in a Capuan letter-writer preserved at Paris,[7] in-

[1] Niese, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII, 526.

[2] Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, nos. 73–97, pp. 368–394.

[3] Torraca, 'Maestro Terrisio di Atina,' *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XXXVI (1911), 231–253.

[4] P. Kehr, 'Das Briefbuch des Thomas von Gaeta,' *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven*, VIII (1905), 1–76.

[5] Hampe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der letzten Staufer: Heinrich von Isernia* (Leipzig, 1910); K. Rieder, 'Das sizilianische Formel- und Aemterbuch des Bartholomäus von Capua,' *Römische Quartalschrift*, XX (1906), 2, pp. 3–26.

[6] The elaborate Heidelberg dissertation of Frau Emmy Heller (1927) remains unpublished. On Thomas as the probable author of the earliest formulary of the papal penitentiary (ed. H. C. Lea, Philadelphia, 1892), see my discussion in the *American Journal of Theology*, IX (1905), 429–433; and in the *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* (Rome, 1924), IV, 275–296.

[7] *Sitzungsberichte* of the Heidelberg Academy, phil.-hist. Kl., 1910, nos. 8, 13; 1911, no. 5; 1912, no. 14; 1924, no. 10; *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, IV (1901), 161–194; VII (1904), 473–487; VIII (1905), 509–535; *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, n.s., XX (1905), 8–18.

cluding a description of the young king about the age of thirteen, 'in appearance already a man and in character a ruler.' [1] There is another collection at Rheims which has been studied by various scholars,[2] and still another at Pommersfeld.[3]

Another collection of letters from the South in this period, preserved in a manuscript of *ca.* 1400 at Lübeck, still awaits detailed study, although it was described by Wattenbach in 1853.[4] The letters belong to the time of Frederick II and Gregory IX and centre about Naples, Ischia, and Gaeta, while the name of Iohannes de Argussa, *notarius et curialis* of Ischia, occurs with sufficient frequency to suggest that he had a hand in the making of the collection. We also meet with a certain R., professor of grammar at Naples and teacher of *dictamen tam metricum quam prosaicum*,[5] a training which Iohannes seeks for his sons as a preliminary to the study of 'physical science' with his brother R. Pictus: [6]

Meritissimo d[o]ctori carissimo fratri suo plurimumque ad omnia diligendo R. Picto egregio magistro studii fisicalis magister Iohannes de Argussa eius frater valde devotus salutem et videndi desiderium. Si personarum absencia et diversorum locorum distancia nos sequestrant, mens eadem viget in nobis et dilectio permanet illibata. Licet enim pro variis et diversis negociis desiderabilem personam vestram videre non possim, in sompnis et vigiliis ymaginando vos video et intrinsecus affectibus intuemur. Unum tamen semper et incessanter expecto, de salute vestra et iocundis successibus rectati, ut autem mei status integritas vos letos efficiat et iocundos. Noveritis me divini muneris gratia, a quo bona cuncta procedunt, iocunda corporis alacritate potiri et optatis eventibus iocundari,

[1] *Mittheilungen des Instituts*, XXII (1901), 598.

[2] *MS. 1275.* See C. Rodenberg, in *Neues Archiv*, XVIII (1893), 179–205; W. Wattenbach, *ibid.*, 493–526; Hampe, in Heidelberg *Sitzungsberichte*, 1913, no. 1; 1917, no. 6; *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXI (1924), 76–79; and in *Festgabe Friedrich von Bezold* (Bonn, 1921), pp. 142–149.

[3] Hampe, in Heidelberg *Sitzungsberichte*, 1923, no. 8.

[4] 'Iter Austriacum 1853,' in *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen*, XIV (1855), 33, 52–55. Cf. now Hampe, in Heidelberg *Sitzungsberichte*, 1917, no. 6; 1923, no. 8. The MS., which is quite corrupt, is no. 152 at Lübeck, from which I have specimen photographs through the kindness of the Director of the Stadtbibliothek.

[5] Wattenbach, *loc. cit.*, p. 33.

[6] Lübeck, *MS. 152*, fol. 165. On fol. 166, the sons write home for money. Cf. the letter of condolence on fol. 163 beginning: 'Fratribus suis carissimis Ber. et A. et ceteris consanguineis plurimum diligendis Iohannes de Ar. dictus magister insula Ice magister et publicus notarius constitutus.'

quod de vobis semper prestolor et expecto. Verum quia R. et N. filii mei, quos litterali scientie proposui penitus exhibendos, sine vestro auxilio ad optatum nequeunt pervenire effectum, dilectionem vestram, de qua plenam gero fiduciam, attentius deprecor et exoro quatinus inveniatis eis, si placet, magistrum ydoneum qui eos promoveat in grammatica et rethorica, quibus sufficienter indictis ad fisicalem scientiam eos inducere valeatis.

The fictitious nature of much of this collection is enhanced by bits of pure fancy, on themes which often go back to the Orleanese *dictatores* of the twelfth century.[1] Thus we here find exchanges between Life and Death, Soul and Body, the Universe and the Creator,[2] while a more satiric turn appears in the salutation *fornicacioni vestre* in place of the regular *fraternitati vestre* in a letter of Gregory IX to his prelates.[3] One example will illustrate the literary style as well as the general manner of these epistles; the use of the *ubi sunt* motif may be noted:[4]

Corpus separatum scribit anime

Corpus miserum omni solacio destitutum anime olim sue consocie et sorori pro salute tristiciam et merorem. Pene terribiles et tormenta varia me cohercent, bonis omnibus exuor, et humo glaciali frigore contremisco dum me video nudum terre humatum quam dum modo floreneam(?) conculcavi. Heu me, ubi est gloria mea? Ubi est dies nativitatis mee valde iocunda? Ubi sunt dulcissima matris ubera que sugebam et basia patris mei in puericia dulciter explorata? Ubi sunt iocunda parentum gaudia in meis nupciis feliciter dedicata, in quibus diversi cantus exierant et varia genera musicorum? Ubi est uxor pulcherrima velud stella cum qua cottidie lecto florido amplexibus et basiis delectabar? Ubi sunt equi arma et indumenta serica deaurata quibus cum militibus decorus cottidie apparebam? Ubi sunt varia fercula et vina gratissima quibus cottidie dulciter epulabar? Nunc autem me video miserum putridum sub terra iacentem variis plenum vermibus et fetentem. Sufficit ergo mihi ingens tribulacio mea. Dimitte me, rogo, ut paululum requiescam, nam cum in die iudicii te suscepero pene mi sufficient et tormenta. Si quid enim malum me memini commisisse, te operante et te duce nequiter adimplevi.

[1] E.g., Bibliothèque Nationale, *MS. Lat. 1093*, foll. 68–69; Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 142–145.

[2] Lübeck, *MS. 152*, foll. 162v–163r; Wattenbach, 'Iter,' pp. 54–55.

[3] Lübeck, *MS. 152*, fol. 164r; Wattenbach, p. 55, where the text should read: 'ut in Cena Domini nostro vos conspectui presentetis.'

[4] Lübeck, *MS. 152*, fol. 163r.

Such products of the imagination also meet us among the letters ascribed to Piero della Vigna and Terrisio di Atina: the wild beasts of Apulia celebrate a closed season proclaimed by the Emperor; [1] the courtesans of Naples complain to the university professors of their neglect by the students; [2] Rome writes to her daughter, Florence; [3] the qualities of an ideal horse are described; [4] writers debate the relative merits of birth and character, the rose and the violet.[5] The following satire on the power of money takes the form of parody of an imperial letter: [6]

Epistola notabilis de pecunia

Pecunia Romanorum imperatrix et totius mundi semper augusta dilectis suis filiis et procuratoribus universis salutem et rore celi et terre pi[n]guedine [7] habundare. Ego in altissimis habito,[8] in plateis do vocem meam,[9] girum celi circuivi sola,[10] feci surdos audire et mutos loqui.[11] Amen dico vobis, antequam Abraham fieret ego sum[12] in vestitu deaurato circumdata varietatibus.[13] Ego, inquam, sum illa preeminens imperatrix per quam genus humanum respirat ad gloriam, per quam multiplicata bonorum fecunditas exhibetur. Esurientes implevi bonis,[14] suscitans a terra inopem et de stercore erigens pauperem.[15] O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est honor sicut honor meus; [16] michi enim supplicant omnes reges terre et omnes populi, michi Romana curia famulatur. Ibi est requies mea in seculum seculi, hic habitabo quoniam preelegi eam.[17] Que maior leticia michi posset accidere quam ut cardinales michi colla subiciant et currant in odorem unguentorum meorum?[18] Levate in circuitu oculos vestros et videte [19] quia sacrorum verba pontificum (fol. 43v) sedium suarum per me posuit asti,[20] per me tremit, per me vacillat, per me concutitur orbis

[1] Edited by Wattenbach, 'Über erfundene Briefe in Handschriften des Mittelalters,' in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1892, pp. 91–123.

[2] Ed. G. Paolucci, pp. 46–47, in *Atti* of the Palermo Academy, 3d ser., IV (1897); *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XXXVI, 248–250.

[3] *MS. Vat. Lat. 4957*, fol. 96v.

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 42r.

[5] Huillard-Bréholles, *Pierre de la Vigne*, pp. 319, 336.

[6] *MS. Vat. Lat. 4957*, fol. 43r–43v.

[7] Genesis, xxvii, 39.

[8] Ecclesiasticus, xxiv, 7.

[9] Proverbs, i, 20.

[10] Ecclesiasticus, xxiv, 8.

[11] Mark, vii, 37.

[12] John, viii, 58.

[13] Psalms, xliv, 10.

[14] Luke, i, 53.

[15] Psalms, cxii, 7.

[16] Lamentations, i, 12.

[17] Psalms, cxxxi, 14.

[18] Canticles, iv, 10.

[19] Isaiah, lx, 4.

[20] Text corrupt.

terrarum et universi qui habitant in eo.[1] Et quis enarrabit potencias meas? [2] Michi gremium suum non claudit ecclesia, michi summus pontifex aperit sinus suos et quotiens ad eum accedere voluero totiens in sinu suo colliget [3] et dextera illius amplexabitur me.[4] Transite igitur ad me omnes qui diligitis nomen meum et beatitudinibus meis implemini. Transite igitur, dico, ne sitis obprobrium homini et abiectio plebis,[5] non sequentes eos qui Christi vestigia sunt secuti, argentum suum expendebant non in panibus, laborem suum non in saturitate.[6] Accedite,[7] filii mei, et illuminemini et facies vestre non confundentur. Ego enim sum lux illa que illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum,[8] et vos quidem non estis hospites et advene sed estis cives sanctorum, vel nummorum, et domestici mei,[9] quos diu diligere didicistis. Iam non plura loquor vobiscum,[10] sed tamen concludo dum explicit sermo meus quia sinam vos. Dabo vobis de rore celi et de pi[n]guedine terre habundanciam[11] quam vobis conservare dignetur nostra nutrix dulcissima, scilicet avaricia, rerum timidissima dispensatrix.

Heavy with scriptural quotation, this letter suggests that earlier masterpiece of anti-clerical satire, the *Gospel according to Marks of Silver*,[12] to which it is, however, much inferior. The following, on the other hand, is strongly anti-imperial:

Fr[idericus] XXXVIIII., divina ingratitudine Remalorum depilator et semper angustus, Ierusalem et Sicilie reus, universis fidelibus suis presentes apices generaliter inspecturis illam quam lupus capre salutem. . . .[13]

The letters of Master Terrisio and John of Argussa remind us that the Southern rhetoricians were in relations with the University of Naples as well as with the *Magna Curia*, indeed it was part of the Emperor's purpose that his new university should train men for

[1] Psalms, xxiii, 1. [2] Job, xxxviii, 37; Psalms, cv, 2. [3] MS. *colligat.*
[4] Canticles, ii, 6; viii, 3. [5] Psalms, xxi, 7.
[6] MS. *santitate.* Isaiah, lv, 2. [7] MS. *attendite.* Psalms, xxxiii, 6.
[8] John, i, 9. [9] Ephesians, ii, 19.
[10] John, xiv, 30. [11] Genesis, xxvii, 39.

[12] Ed. P. Lehmann, *Parodistische Texte* (Munich, 1923), no. 1 a; for a translation, see Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 185–186.

[13] Printed in full by Hampe in *Neues Archiv*, XXII (1897), 619–620, from *Add. MS. 19906*, fol. 79v, of the British Museum, where it is followed by developments of similar themes, in the course of which we find 'non Fidericus sed fide rarus.'

an official career.[1] Established in 1224, and renewed in 1234 and 1239, the University of Naples was designed by Frederick to offer such facilities for study to his own subjects as would obviate the necessity of any resort to the Guelfic *studia* of the North, from which they were commanded to return. While the new university theoretically comprised all the studies which were then current, its strength lay in law and rhetorical composition, the very subjects in which Bologna excelled. To this end the importation of Bolognese masters like the jurist Roffredo of Benevento was almost a necessity; Piero della Vigna is himself said to have studied at Bologna,[2] with whose masters he was in correspondence; and Terrisio writes a letter of condolence on the death of the Bolognese professor Bene, who may have been his own teacher.[3] As Niese has pointed out,[4] the Latin culture of Frederick's kingdom was in large measure dependent on Northern sources.

A clear example of the transplantation of learning from Bologna to Naples meets us in the field of grammar in the person of Master Walter of Ascoli, author of an etymological dictionary bearing the title *Dedignomium*, *Summa derivationum*, or *Speculum artis grammatice*.[5] One of the four surviving manuscripts says that 'this work was begun at Bologna when the army of the Pope entered the Terra di Lavoro, when Frederick was Emperor and sojourned in Syria, and was afterward completed at Naples,' so that we clearly have the date 1229. Walter of Ascoli is probably to be identified with the Master G. (Guaterus in one manuscript), professor of grammar at Naples, whose death is commemorated in a highly

[1] Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica*, II, 450; IV, 497; V, 493–496; H. Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1885), I, 452–456; Hampe, 'Zur Gründungsgeschichte der Universität Neapel,' in Heidelberg *Sitzungsberichte*, 1924, no. 10; F. Torraca *et al.*, *Storia della Università di Napoli* (Naples, 1924), ch. 1.

[2] See Guido Bonatti in Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 200.

[3] Huillard-Bréholles, *Pierre de la Vigne*, pp. 300–302; *Archivio storico nap.*, XXXVI, 243–244. For Frederick's invitation of Bene to his court, see R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz* (Berlin, 1896–), I, 813.

[4] *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII, 513 ff. Cf. E. Monaci, 'Da Bologna a Palermo,' in L. Morandi, *Antologia della nostra critica letteraria moderna* (8th ed., Città di Castello, 1893), pp. 227–244.

[5] See my paper on 'Magister Gualterius Esculanus,' in the *Mélanges Ferdinand Lot* (Paris, 1925), pp. 245–257.

eulogistic letter of Piero della Vigna to the master's late colleagues. The Laon manuscript of the *Derivations* (*ca.* 1300) also contains syntactical notes of another Southern grammarian, Master Agnellus de Gaeta, who apparently belongs to the same period.

The Latin poetry of the South in this reign is less abundant and less known than its prose, indeed the whole subject of Latin poetry in thirteenth-century Italy still awaits detailed investigation. If we miss the more ambitious treatises of the close of the preceding century like the *Pantheon* of Geoffrey of Viterbo, the *Liber ad honorem Augusti* of Peter of Eboli, and the *Elegies* of Henry of Settimello,[1] there is still much evidence of interest in Latin verse. Readers of Salimbene will recall his frequent poetical quotations, whether from the Goliardic rhymes of the Primate or from the more serious compositions of his own master Henry of Pisa and others.[2] The habit of poetical quotation is also found in writers of a more sober turn, such as the jurist Roffredo of Benevento [3] and the chronicler Richard of San Germano,[4] a serious-minded notary who even drops into verse of his own. So the Southern *dictatores* pass easily into poetical *dictamen*, as we see in various pieces interspersed among the letters of Piero della Vigna and Terrisio of Atina.[5] Piero also has his traditional place in the Sicilian school of vernacular poets, though, as Monaci has pointed out,[6] the parallelism of theme in Latin is rather to be sought in certain of the imaginative debates in prose to which we have alluded.[7] On the other hand, the moral maxims of another Southern poet, Schiavo di Bari, were turned into Latin by Jacopo da Benevento, as the contemporary moral treatises

[1] Cf. the recent edition of A. Marigo (Padua, 1926).

[2] Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 32, 34, 35, 43, 51, 72, 77, 78, 84–87, 99, 132–133, 135, 137, 144, 157, 182–184, 202, 219, 221, 227, 233, 241, 247–249, 255, 271, 292, 331, 340, 353, 361–362, 418, 430–432, 435, 437, 442–444, 474, 492–494, 512, 514, 539–542, 567, 572–573, 578, 590, 600–603, 605, 628, 644, 647, 651.

[3] *Studi medievali*, III (1909), 237.

[4] Ed. A. Gaudenzi (Naples, 1888), pp. 64, 68, 95, 104–107, 135, 147, 148, 151; *M. G. H., SS.*, XIX, 324, 329, 338, 341, 343, 357, 373, 374, 378, 385.

[5] Huillard-Bréholles, *Pierre de la Vigne*, pp. 302, 402–424; *Neues Archiv*, XVII, 507; *Archivio storico nap.*, XXXVI, 244, 250–253; 'Documenti inediti del tempo Svevo,' pp. 43, 46, in *Atti* of the Palermo Academy, 3d ser., IV.

[6] *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 5th ser., V (1896), 45–51.

[7] *Supra*, p. 142.

of Albertano of Brescia were soon turned into Tuscan.[1] In this fluid period both themes and forms pass readily back and forth between Latin and vernacular and from one vernacular to another.

Now that the didactic poems of Schiavo di Bari, printed in the fifteenth century,[2] have been definitely placed in Frederick's reign[3] (before 1235), we are probably justified in assigning to the same period their translator, Iacobus de Benevento. In any event, the existence of thirteenth-century copies of the Latin version, or rather adaptation, places Iacobus of Benevento before 1300, and thus distinguishes him from a Dominican friar of the same name who meets us *ca.* 1360.[4] His relation to Schiavo is made clear in the heading and colophon:

> Incipiunt Sclavi de Baro consona dicta
> A Beneventano Iacobo per carmina ficta.
> . . . . . .
> Expliciunt Sclavi huius proverbia Bari
> Que Beneventanus composuit Iacobus.[5]

The poems themselves, in the form of a dialogue between father and son, begin and end thus:[6]

> Surexisse patet viciorum viscera flammas
> Urentes hominum que male corda fovent.
> Errant in morum nonnulli cale salubri,
> Sectantes miseri perditionis iter.
> . . . . . .

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[1] G. Bertoni, *Il Duecento* (Milan, [1911]), pp. 228, 290–291. On the Latin works of Albertano, see especially A. Checchini, in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, LXXI (1912), 1423–95.

[2] See the account of older editions in the Bologna edition of 1865 (G. Romagnoli, *Scelta di curiosità letterarie*, XI).

[3] By P. Rajna, in *Biblioteca delle scuole italiane*, 3d ser., anno X, no. 18 (1904). Cf. M. Pelaez, in K. Vollmöller's *Jahresbericht*, VIII (1904), 2, pp. 98 f.; G. Bertoni, *Il duecento*, pp. 185, 282.

[4] J. Quétif and J. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Paris, 1719–21), I, 648. The earlier Iacobus is also cited with Richard of Venosa by Geremia di Montagnone *ca.* 1290–1300: J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum* (Venice, 1868–73), IV, 187; and for the date, Rajna in *Studi di filologia romanza*, V (1891), 193–204.

[5] Vatican, *MS. Vat. Lat. 2868*, foll. 67r, 77v (*ca.* 1300). I have also used the Vatican *MS. Reg. Lat. 1596*, foll. 21r–36v (*ca.* 1300), and *Add. MS. 10415*, foll. 1r–17r, of the British Museum (dated 1399), both of which lack the heading and read *cuius* in the first line of the colophon.

[6] Text based upon *MS. Reg. Lat. 1596*, foll. 21r, 36v. Further extracts, from the defective *MS. Gadd. LXXI. inf. 13*, are given by A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* (Florence, 1776), III, 718.

Tu solus rex es nutu qui cuncta gubernas,
Cuncta creas verbo, gloria lausque Tibi,
Ergo Tibi virtus regnum decus atque potestas
Imperiumque salus gloria lausque Tibi.

Iacobus of Benevento is perhaps to be identified with the Iacobus who is the author of an unpublished elegiac comedy of 416 lines *De cerdone*, preserved in certain Italian manuscripts of which the oldest is of the thirteenth century.[1] Like most such compositions in the Middle Ages, this is in the tradition of Plautus, or rather of the later Pseudo-Plautus, but the setting is mediaeval, though not localized — the priest who seeks through a procuress the beautiful young wife of the workingman (*cerdo*) and outwits the greedy husband who had hoped to extort money by a surprise *flagrante delicto*. It is not clear that Iacobus does more than put a familiar theme into Latin verse — *istud opus metrice descripsit*. His poem is chiefly dialogue, after the opening description of the lady's charms:

Uxor erat quedam cerdonis pauperis olim
Pulchra nimis, nunquam pulchrior ulla fuit.
Huius erat facies solis splendentis ad instar.
Fulgebant oculi sidera clara velut.
. . . . . .

Time and place are more certain in the case of the better known comedy *De Paulino et Polla* which Richard, judge of Venosa, dedicates to the Emperor *ca.* 1228–29.[2] This is a much longer piece of 1132 lines, and the principal theme, the marriage of the two aged Venosans, Paulinus and Polla, is interrupted by moral disquisitions, and by much amusing by-play in the adventures of the judge Fulco,

[1] The oldest MS., not later than 1300, is *MS. Aldini 42* of the University of Pavia, foll. 1r–5v, of which I have photographs through the kindness of the Director, Signore Pastorello; the faint and illegible portions of the manuscript have been filled in by a modern hand. I have also used *MS. E. 43 sup.*, foll. 105r–114r, and *MS. O. 63*, foll. 194r–202r, of the Ambrosian (both *saec.* xv), apparently those cited by Muratori, *Antiquitates*, III (1740), 916. There is a copy of the fifteenth century at Munich, *Cod. Lat. 443*, foll. 152r–159r, made by Hartmann Schedel in Italy: W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (2d ed., Halle, 1911–23), I, 37. The colophon reads:

Iacobus istud opus metrice descripsit ut omnis
Qui leget hic discat spernere vile lucrum.
Deo gratias Amen.

[2] See the list above, p. 134, no. 9.

who serves as intermediary in the marriage negotiations only to lose his dinner to a cat, to be set upon by dogs, and to be stoned in a ditch where he has fallen. Still, like all these elegiac pieces, this does not seem to have been designed to be acted, though its popularity is indicated by the survival of at least nine manuscripts besides extracts in quotation.

Frederick also had his place in the large body of prophecy and vision which, in both prose and verse, circulated widely in the Italy of the thirteenth century, under the cover of such names as Merlin, the Sibyls, Abbot Joachim of Fiore, Master John of Toledo, and his own astrologer Michael Scot.[1] In some of these the Emperor is the great beast of the apocalyptic visions in which the Joachite friars foretold the beginning of the new dispensation of the Holy Spirit in 1260, predictions which claimed to have been dedicated to his father Henry VI [2] but whose failure in the case of Frederick was a disappointment and a disillusion to the good Salimbene. Others are of astrological origin, going back to the planetary conjunction of 1186 and reappearing for the year 1229.[3] Still others, wise after the event, predict specific occurrences of Frederick's reign, like the fate of the Lombard cities after 1236 and the capture of the cardinals in the great sea fight of 1241. So Pope and Emperor, soon after 1245, are represented as exchanging predictions such as the following:[4]

Imperator ad papam

Fata monent stelleque docent aviumque volatus:
Totius subito malleus orbis ero.
Roma diu titubans, variis erroribus acta,
Concidet et mundi desinet esse caput.

Papa ad imperatorem

Fama refert, scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur
Quod tibi vita brevis, pena perhennis erit.

[1] O. Holder-Egger, 'Italienische Prophetieen des 13. Jahrhunderts,' in *Neues Archiv*, XV (1890), 141–178; XXX (1905), 321–386, 714 f.; XXXIII (1908), 95–187; H. Grauert, 'Meister Johann von Toledo,' in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy, phil.-hist. Cl., 1901, pp. 111–325; and Hampe, in Heidelberg *Sitzungsberichte*, 1917, no. 6; 1923, no. 8.

[2] Salimbene, p. 360.

[3] Grauert, pp. 165 ff.

[4] For the many forms of these verses, see *Neues Archiv*, XXX, 335–349, 364, 714; XXXIII, 106–107; Salimbene, p. 362; and for other verses on Innocent IV and Frederick II, *Neues Archiv*, XXXII, 559–604.

Guelf and Ghibelline alike made use of these prophetic materials; under the name of Cardinal John of Toledo they appear in relation to Manfred in 1256,[1] nor do they cease with the Hohenstaufen line.

Finally — to end on a Ghibelline note — Frederick was for a time patron of the international court-poet Henry of Avranches. Eulogist of Pope and Emperor, of the kings of England and France, and of prelates and lay lords in many parts of Christendom, recipient of grants from the English Exchequer which suggest those of the later poets laureate, the career of Henry as a Latin poet is already known to readers of SPECULUM.[2] In the three poems addressed to Frederick [3] he speaks as the supreme poet approaching the supreme king,[4]

> Simque poesis ego supremus in orbe professor.

Nor does he hesitate[5] to liken Frederick, master of Sicily, Rome, Acre, and Aachen, to Guiscard, Caesar, David, and Charlemagne, as he urges the Emperor to codify the civil law as the canon law has just been codified by Gregory IX. Preëminent as a peaceful ruler (*Frithe-rich*), Frederick would spare no expense to have the greatest masters at his court, be it an Orpheus or a Plato, a Euclid or a Ptolemy.[6] The Emperor himself has no superior in any art, liberal or mechanical; not satisfied with the art of ruling, he seeks the secrets of knowledge, and that not orally but by reading books for himself:[7]

> Ingenioque tuo non sufficit ars moderandi
> Imperium: quin ipsa scias archana sophie,
> Consultis oculo libris, non aure magistris.
> Nullus in orbe fuit dominans et in arte magister:
> In te percipitur instancia.

The purpose of this survey has been to suggest, not to exhaust, yet enough has been said to show a many-sided literary activity in Latin in the South during Frederick's reign. In all this, poetry has

[1] Grauert, pp. 144–146, 319–321.

[2] See the article of my pupil, J. C. Russell, 'Master Henry of Avranches as an International Poet,' in SPECULUM, III (1928), 34–63.

[3] Ed. E. Winkelmann, *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XVIII (1878), 482–492.

[4] P. 490, line 103.

[5] P. 491, lines 50 ff.

[6] P. 488, lines 35 ff.

[7] P. 485, lines 34–38.

its place as well as prose, products of the imagination as well as the exact sciences, literature as well as law and administration, Latin as well as the vernacular. While local centres appear, especially at Naples, the most active seat of culture seems to have been the *Magna Curia*, where none seems to have been more active than the Emperor himself. Especially at the court must we beware of isolating one kind of writing from another as if we were dealing with a period of intellectual specialization into separate compartments. Many poets of the Sicilian school appear also as notaries, judges, or falconers; Theodore of Antioch cast horoscopes besides drafting Arabic letters; and Piero della Vigna had his part in law as well as in literature. The connection was particularly close between law and letters, and any study of the Latinity of the period must give due attention to the legal sources. Not only was much of this Latin literature written by lawyers, but the style of Frederick's legislation and official correspondence was deliberately literary. Much of the phraseology was also deliberately Roman, as when the Constitutions of 1231 are issued in the name of *Imperator Fredericus II Romanorum Cesar semper augustus Italicus Siculus Hierosolymitanus Arelatensis felix victor ac triumphator*. How far such titles represented a real attempt on Frederick's part to revive the Roman tradition, it is impossible to say, at least until the matter has been more thoroughly investigated. It is always easy to argue from phraseology,[1] and always unsafe, most of all when we are dealing with so realistic a mind as Frederick's. One thing seems fairly clear, and that brings us back to our special theme, there was no concerted attempt to revive the Latin classics. Naturally the Latinists of the Emperor's court were not ignorant of their Roman predecessors, such as Ovid, but there was as yet no systematic cultivation and imitation of the ancients such as we find in Petrarch and Salutati. Whatever one may think of his style, Piero della Vigna was no Ciceronian, nor would the Ciceronians have claimed him.

Nevertheless this Latin culture of the thirteenth century has its place as a connecting link between the renaissance of the twelfth

[1] Kantorowicz seems to me to exaggerate the importance of such Roman phrases and concepts.

century and the Italian Renaissance. If the continuity is most apparent in the transmission of science and philosophy from the Greek and Arabic, it is also true that the *ars dictaminis* and the fictitious letters, the Goliardic verse and, especially, the Goliardic themes in prose, the elegiac comedy and anti-clerical satire, continued the tradition of the preceding age when these had declined north of the Alps, while the preoccupation with rhetoric and grammar foreshadows the humanism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In any investigation of the antecedents of the Quattrocento, account must be taken of the continuity of Latin studies in the South.

Finally, it should be noted that, from whatever point of view the matter be approached, one of the marked features of this literature of Frederick's kingdom is its sharply secular character. It is concerned with the world that is, not with the world to come. The absence of works of edification or ecclesiastical history from our list is striking, even if we make full allowance for loss and omission; and the exception proves the rule when the court poet Henry of Avranches writes saints' lives, for he takes such wares to another market. The secularization of literature under Frederick runs parallel to his secularization of the state, and in this respect his court prefigures the intellectual temper as well as the statecraft of the Quattrocento.

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THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF 499 AND THE DATE OF THE PRAYERS *COMMUNICANTES* AND *NOBIS QUOQUE* IN THE CANON OF THE MASS

PHILIP BARROWS WHITEHEAD

IN the year 499 there was convened at Rome, under Pope Symmachus, a council composed of the bishops of Italy and the presbyters and deacons of Rome. The Acts of this council [1] are an historical source of great importance to the student of mediaeval Rome, because they contain the oldest complete list of the *tituli*, that is to say, of the ancient parish churches of the city. The names of the *tituli* are found at the end of the document in the signatures of the Roman presbyters, each of whom, in signing the Acts of the Council, added to his own name that of the church which he served, using a formula of which there are two varieties exemplified in the following signatures: 'Petrus presbyter tituli Clementis subscripsi.' 'Servusdei presbyter tituli sancti Clementis subscripsi.'

Of the sixty-seven presbyters who signed the Acts of the Council of 499, there were only seven who used the second and, at that time, comparatively new variety of the formula in which the word *sancti* is prefixed to the name of the church. It has generally been supposed that this variation in the form of the signature was due to the caprice of the signer, or to errors of the scribes who copied the manuscripts in which the document has been preserved. The purpose of the following study is to show that the use of the word *sancti* in the signatures of some of the presbyters is not accidental and that it is a fact which has an important bearing upon the date of the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*.

I. THE ROMAN *TITULI* [2]

Before attempting to discuss the relation of the signatures of 499 to the date of the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*, it

[1] Ed. Th. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, A. A.*, xii (Berlin, 1894), 393 ff.

[2] L. Duchesne, 'Notes sur la Topographie de Rome au Moyen-Age. Les Titres Presbytéraux et les Diaconies,' in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome*

will be necessary to give a brief outline of the origin and history of the Roman *tituli*, with especial reference to several of these churches which will be of particular importance in the course of the following discussion.

During the greater part of the first three centuries of the history of the Roman church, the only places within the walls of the city where Christian worship was held were private houses. The houses in which congregations were accustomed to meet became in time the centers of the parish organization of the city. Some of these houses were, at a very early date, given over entirely to the Church and became to all intents and purposes ecclesiastical property. When the Church emerged from the era of persecution, and was free to erect church buildings that were better adapted to the elaborate ritual of Christian worship which had by that time developed, these private houses were one by one torn down and replaced by stately basilicas. The names of the original owners of the property continued, however, to be used as the names of the churches which took the place of the earlier private houses.

The designation *titulus* which is applied to these early churches has been variously explained. The most reasonable supposition, however, is that it came into Christian usage as a legal term denoting ownership. The name of the *titulus Clementis* in the signature quoted above probably goes back to a time when the property on which the church stands was owned by some one who bore the name of Clement. By the year 499, the word *titulus* had become an ecclesiastical term, which was used to designate the twenty-five parish churches of the city, and to distinguish them from the suburban churches erected over the graves of the martyrs, as well as from the churches within the walls which possessed a different status. To the latter class belonged, first of all, the Lateran basilica,— the cathedral of Rome,— and at a later time the diaconal churches and the numerous churches and chapels erected in honor of the saints,

VII (1887), 217–243. J. P. Kirsch, *Die Römischen Titelkirchen im Altertum*, Paderborn, 1918, and 'Origine e carattere primitivo delle stazioni liturgiche di Roma,' in *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* III (1925), 123–141. Dom G. Morin, 'Liturgie et Basiliques de Rome au Milieu du vii^{e} Siècle d'après les Listes d'Evangiles de Würzburg,' in *Revue Bénédictine* XXVIII (1911), 296–330.

of which the earliest and most important was Santa Maria Maggiore, erected by Sixtus III (432–440).

In the fifth and sixth centuries the custom of dedicating churches to saints became universal. During this period the original names of the *tituli* were changed to those of the saints to whom they are now dedicated. In some cases, popular imagination created picturesque legends to account for the names of these ancient churches. In these legends the persons whose names the *tituli* had preserved, but about whom everything else had been forgotten, were converted into saints and martyrs. Some of these legends doubtless contain a nucleus of historical fact. The founders of the *titulus Clementis* and of the *titulus Caeciliae*, for example, were identified with St Clement and St Caecilia, both of whom were historical Roman martyrs, and may actually have been, as tradition records, the owners of the houses in which originated the churches that bear their names. When the name of a *titulus* was, as in these instances, the same as that of a celebrated martyr, the primitive name of the church was retained, but the title 'Saint' was added to that of the founder. Thus the *titulus Clementis* became the *titulus sancti Clementis*. Sometimes, however, the founder of the church was entirely forgotten, and the original name of the *titulus* was replaced by that of a popular saint. Thus the ancient *titulus Lucinae*, which had been founded by a pious matron named Lucina, was rebuilt and dedicated to St Lawrence by Sixtus III.[1] In the signatures to the Acts of the Council of 499, this church is referred to both by its primitive name *titulus Lucinae*, and also by the name *titulus sancti Laurenti*.

In some instances there were introduced into Rome the cults of foreign saints whose names happened to be the same as those of existing *tituli*. The cult of a new saint was naturally located in the church, whenever there happened to be one, which already bore the same name. The actual names of three of the *tituli* which are to be discussed below arose in this way. The churches of St Anastasia, St Chrisogono, and St Sabina were originally *titulus Anastasiae*, *titulus Chrysogoni*, and *titulus Sabinae*. These names had undoubtedly been derived from the founders of the churches in question,

[1] Santi Pesarini, 'San Lorenzo fuori le mura,' in *Studi Romani* I (1913), 43.

and continued to be used without the addition of the title 'Saint' until the cults of the eastern saints, Anastasia and Chrysogonus, and of the Umbrian saint, Sabina, had been brought to Rome.

In the year 499 the custom of adding the title 'Saint' to the names of the ancient parish churches of Rome was just beginning to prevail. In the two signatures quoted above, one priest wrote the name of his church *titulus sancti Clementis*, while another, more conservative, clung to the ancient usage, and wrote simply *titulus Clementis*. In the signatures to the Acts of the Council of 499 the word *sancti* (*sanctae*) is used before the names of only five churches. That the use of the title 'Saint' in these instances is not due to mere caprice of the signers or to errors of the manuscripts will be shown by the fact that, in each case where it is found, the name of the *titulus* to which it is added is the same as that of a saint whose name was at that time included in the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*.

II. THE PRAYERS *COMMUNICANTES* AND *NOBIS QUOQUE*

Since the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque* must be discussed in detail, it will be convenient to quote them here in the form in which they are now found in the Roman missal.

Communicantes, et memoriam venerantes, in primis gloriosae semper Virginis Mariae, genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi: sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum, Petri et Pauli, Andreae, Jacobi, Joannis, Thomae, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomaei, Matthaei, Simonis et Thaddaei: Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Joannis et Pauli, Cosmae et Damiani, et omnium sanctorum tuorum: quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris, cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus: cum Joanne, Stephano, Mathia, Barnaba Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Caecilia, Anastasia, et omnibus sanctis tuis: intra quorum nos consortium, non aestimator meriti, sed veniae, quaesumus, largitor, admitte.

The lists of saints found in these prayers have a long history.[1] From a very early date it was customary to recite during the celebration of the Eucharist a list of saints whose prayers were invoked.[2] These lists were not everywhere the same. Each local church, perhaps even each parish, had its own list, in which from time to time were inserted the names of new saints whose cults became popular. In what part of the eucharistic service these lists were recited, by what words they were introduced, or what names they originally contained, are questions which cannot now be answered with any degree of certainty. The prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*, as they now stand in the Roman missal, are a late addition to the canon. This is shown by the fact that they interrupt the logical continuity of the eucharistic prayer, that the *Communicantes* is grammatically incomplete, and that both prayers contain the names of saints who were unknown in Rome at a time when the canon of the mass was in other respects practically what it is to-day. A close scrutiny of the lists of saints now found in these prayers shows that they grew up by the successive addition of names of saints, among which are some whose cults were introduced into Rome as late as the sixth century. We cannot be certain that these lists were definitely closed before the reform and codification of the liturgy by Gregory the Great. Even after that date, considerable liberty was taken in the addition to these prayers of the names of local saints by the churches to which the Gregorian mass was carried by Roman missionaries. Indeed, the prayer *Communicantes* never attained the quality of immutability which belongs to the other portions of the canon. There are even now in the Roman missal variant forms of this prayer which are used on the great festivals.

A distinguished authority on Catholic liturgy, Mgr Batiffol,[3] has recently brought together a considerable amount of evidence from which he draws the conclusion that the prayers *Communicantes* and

[1] Cabrol et Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne* IV, 1, 1045–1094 (*DIPTYQUES*) and II, 11, 1847–1905 (*CANON ROMAIN*). Fortesq, *Cath. Encyc.*, III, 262, 265. For individual saints the articles signed by J. P. Kirsch in the *Cath. Encyc.* may be referred to.

[2] Augustine, *Serm.* 84, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, XXXV, 1847: 'ad mensam (domini) . . . (martyres) commemoramus . . . ut ipsi (orent) pro nobis.'

[3] P. Batiffol, *Leçons sur la Messe* (8th ed., Paris, Lecoffre, 1923), pp. 226–229.

Nobis quoque in their present form were introduced into the canon of the mass by Pope Symmachus (498–514). Mgr Batiffol finds that a number of the Roman churches dedicated to saints whose names occur in these prayers are mentioned for the first time in documents which can be referred to the pontificate of Symmachus. Some of these documents will be discussed in the present article. It is not, however, my purpose to examine all the evidence which might be brought to bear upon the question of the date of the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*, but only to state as fully as possible the evidence which is found in the signatures to the Acts of the Council of 499.

(*a*) The Prayer *Communicantes*

In his discussion of the prayer *Communicantes*, Batiffol quotes a passage from the life of Symmachus in the *Liber Pontificalis*, in which the ancient *titulus Pammachi* is for the first time referred to as the church of Sts John and Paul,[1] and another passage from the same source which mentions the erection of a chapel by Symmachus in honor of Sts Cosmas and Damian.[2] He also cites the signatures to the Acts of the Council of 499 as containing the earliest reference to the basilica of St Chrysogonus. 'De ces synchronismes,' he argues, 'on conclura que le *Communicantes* reçu ne peut être antérieur au vi^e^ siècle et est selon toute apparence du pape Symmaque.'

These synchronisms, when examined, are found to be even less convincing than at first appears. The passage in which the *titulus Pammachi* is first called the church of Sts John and Paul is found only in the second edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, which was written long after the time of Symmachus and is therefore irrelevant. The passage which records the construction of an *oratorium* in honor of Sts Cosmas and Damian merely shows that their cult had been introduced into Rome before the death of Symmachus. The reference to the church of St Chrysogonus in the signatures of 499 will, after a more attentive study of the prayer *Communicantes*, lead to quite a different conclusion from that which is drawn by Batiffol.

[1] L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis* (Paris, 1886, 1892), I, 262: 'Ad beatum Johannem et Paulum fecit grados post absidam.'

[2] Duchesne, *loc. cit.*: 'Ad sanctam Mariam oratorium sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani a fundamento construxit.'

The list of saints in the prayer *Communicantes* begins with the name of the Mother of our Lord, who is invoked in language that recalls the decisions of the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431). There follow the names of the Apostles, with St Peter and St Paul in the place of honor. Then come the names of five martyred Popes in chronological order, the latest of whom is Cornelius (251–253). To these are joined the names of St Cyprian and St Lawrence, the two most renowned martyrs of the Roman and African churches. St Cyprian was venerated at Rome as early as the fourth century. His festival falls on the same day as that of Cornelius, and both were celebrated together at the catacombs of Calixtus. This list of saints up to and including St Lawrence is characteristically Roman, and includes no saints who may not have been venerated at Rome in the fourth century. It is worth noticing that in this, which I believe to be the original form of the list, the names of the twelve Apostles are followed by the names of seven martyrs, who take the place of the seven deacons of the Apostolic church.

If the prayer were punctuated according to historical logic, there would be a colon after the name of St Lawrence, for the following names, by which the list of martyrs is brought up to twelve, belong to a different category. Chrysogonus and the two martyr physicians Cosmas and Damian were eastern saints, whose cults could not have been brought to Rome much before the year 500. It is not likely that the names of Cosmas and Damian were introduced into the canon of the mass before Felix IV (526–530) dedicated to them the celebrated church of SS Cosma e Damiano on the Sacra Via.[1] John and Paul, although they are Roman saints, are of very doubtful historicity.[2] There is no evidence that their cult was recognized before the end of the sixth century.

The list of saints found in the prayer *Communicantes* up to and including the name of St Lawrence may be as old as the early part of the fifth century and might have been composed about the time of the Council of Ephesus (431), which, for the first time, formally

[1] P. B. Whitehead, 'The Church of SS Cosma e Damiano in Rome,' *American Journal of Archaeology* XXXI (1927), 1–18.

[2] Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, 'Nuove Note Agiografiche,' *Studi e Testi* IX (1912), 55–65.

defined the meaning of the doctrine that the Virgin Mary was, in the words of this prayer, *genetrix Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi.* That the last five names cannot have been added till after the year 499, and that they probably were not added till much later, is shown by the use of the title 'Saint' in the signatures to the Acts of the Council of 499.

Among the names of the *tituli* in the signatures of 499 there are four which are also the names of saints found in the prayer *Communicantes* — Matthew, Clement, Lawrence, and Chrysogonus. The first of these occurs once in the signatures as *titulus sancti Matthaei.* The second occurs three times in the signatures, twice as *titulus sancti Clementis* and once as *titulus Clementis,* where the word *sancti* is found in some of the manuscripts.[1] The name of Chrysogonus, on the other hand, is found three times in the signatures and always without the title 'Saint.' We may, therefore, conclude that in the year 499 the cult of St Chrysogonus, and presumably the cults of the saints whose names follow that of Chrysogonus in the prayer *Communicantes,* had not been officially recognized by the Roman church, and that therefore the prayer in its present form could not at that time have been in use. The weight of this evidence will be greatly increased by an examination of the prayer *Nobis quoque.*

[1] The manuscript authority for the reading *sancti* (*sanctae*) as given in the critical apparatus of Mommsen's edition may be summarized as follows:

8	Sanctae Sabinae	A	B	F	T	E	C	H	G	D	M
24	Sancti Clementis	A	B	F	T	E	C	H	G	D	M
67	Sancti Laurenti	A	B	F	T	E	C	H	G	D	M
3	Sanctae Caeciliae	A		F	T	E	C		G	D	M
23	Sancti Matthaei	A		F	T			H	G	D	M
59	[Sancti Laurenti]	A				E		H	G	D	M
6	Sancti Clementis		B	F	T	E		H	G	D	M
5	[Sancti] Clementis					E	C	H	G	D	M
7	[Sancti] Iuli		B	F	T						

The MS. *D* alone in nine other places and the MS. *C* alone in two other places add *sancti* (*sanctae*).

In Mommsen's edition the word *sancti* (*sanctae*) is admitted to the text only when found in the Vatican manuscript, *A* (*Cod. Vat. Reg., 1997*). In the case of No. 6, however, the evidence for the reading *sancti Clementis* seems to me convincing. No. 59, *Laurentius presbyter tituli Laurenti,* is undoubtedly an error of transcription (see Duchesne, *op. cit.*). In only one other case, No. 5, can there be any serious question as to whether the word *sancti* should be admitted to the text; if in this case it is an interpolation, it is at least an early one.

(*b*) The Prayer *Nobis quoque*

The list of saints in the prayer *Nobis quoque* begins with the two great martyrs St John the Baptist and St Stephen, followed by the two surrogate apostles, Matthias and Barnabas. Then comes the name of St Ignatius, who probably owes his place in the Roman mass both to the fact that he was the most illustrious successor of St Peter in the see of Antioch, and to the fact that he suffered martyrdom at Rome. His name in this prayer thus balances the names of the Popes in the *Communicantes*. After St Ignatius come Alexander, Marcellinus and Peter, all of whom are historical Roman martyrs whose memorials were venerated in the catacombs.

Up to this point the list of saints in the prayer *Nobis quoque* shares with the original list in the prayer *Communicantes* the characteristic of containing no names which may not have been invoked during the Roman mass from a very early date. The list of female saints which follows — quite aside from the fact that they are women — is of so different a character as to suggest that it is a late addition to the prayer. Of the female saints, three only are Roman martyrs — Agnes, Caecilia, and Felicitas; two are Sicilian — Agatha and Lucia; one is an African martyr — Perpetua; the last, Anastasia, is an eastern saint. The composition of this list is such as to lend credibility to the tradition that it was added to the prayer by Gregory the Great.

Whatever the date of the actual prayer *Nobis quoque*, it is possible to reconstruct several stages in the history of the list of saints that it contains and to determine the names that were included in it in the year 499.

The earliest known text of the Roman canon of the mass is found in the seventh-century Bobbio missal.[1] In this manuscript the list of female saints in the prayer *Nobis quoque* is: *Perpetuae, Agne, Caecilia, Felicitate, Anastasia, Agathe, Lucia, Eogeniae.* With the exception of Eugenia, which the scribe of the Bobbio missal misspelled Eogenia, the names included in this list are those found in the prayer *Nobis quoque* as it now stands in the Roman missal.

[1] E. A. Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal* (text, 1920); phototype reproduction published also by the *Henry Bradshaw Society*, Vol. LIII, London, 1917.

The popularity of Eugenia in the Roman church was shortlived. Her cult ultimately fell into oblivion, probably because her festival happened to fall on the 25th of December and was crowded out by the celebration of Christmas.

The most striking fact in regard to the list of names just quoted from the Bobbio missal is the variation in case-endings. The list appears to have been compiled from different sources by someone who was ignorant of Latin grammar. What these sources were will be evident at a glance to anyone who is familiar with the documents of early Christian history. The names in the genitive case, *Perpetuae* and *Eogeniae*, must have been transcribed from a martyrology. All the remaining names are in the ablative case,[1]— as they should be,— and must have been taken from an earlier recension of the prayer *Nobis quoque*. Striking off the names of Perpetua and Eugenia, we have therefore the list as it stood in a recension of the prayer which antedates the Bobbio missal:

Agne, Caecilia, Felicitate, Anastasia, Agathe, Lucia.

In regard to the list which we now have before us, two very important facts appear. The names of the Sicilian saints, Agatha and Lucia, occur together at the end; and if they be disregarded, the remaining four names stand in the order in which their festivals are found in the calendar.[2]

If this list — Agnes, Caecilia, Felicitas, Anastasia — be compared with the signatures to the Acts of the Council of 499, it will be found that Caecilia and Anastasia are also the names of churches which are represented in the signatures. There was one priest who signed as *presbyter tituli Caeciliae* and one who signed as *presbyter tituli sanctae Caeciliae*. From this we may conclude that in the year 499 the cult of Caecilia had been officially recognized, and that her name was included in the list which was recited during the celebration of the mass. The *titulus Anastasiae* on the other hand was represented in the council by three priests, each of whom signed

[1] *Agne* is the correct form, and not *Agnete*, the form now found in the Roman missal.

[2] The dates of the festivals of the female saints in the list given by the Bobbio missal are: Perpetua (*Cal. Philocal*), 7 March; Agnes (*ibid.*), 21 January; Caecilia (*Mart. Hieron.*), 16 September; Felicitas (*ibid.*), 23 November; Anastasia (*ibid.*), 25 December; Agatha (*ibid.*), 5 February; Lucia (*ibid.*), 13 December; Eugenia (*Sacr. Leon.*), 25 December.

simply *presbyter tituli Anastasiae*. The name of Anastasia was therefore not in the prayer *Nobis quoque* in the year 499. We may strike off her name from the list as given in the Bobbio missal. There remain the names of three of the most celebrated martyrs of the Roman church: Agnes, Caecilia, Felicitas.[1]

It is now possible to reconstruct the original form of the list of saints in the prayer *Nobis quoque*. When this list is compared with the original list in the prayer *Communicantes*, the similarity of the plan on which the two prayers are constructed is too obvious to require elucidation:

Communicantes	*Nobis Quoque*
The Blessed Virgin	St John the Baptist
The Twelve Apostles	Stephen Matthias Barnabas
Seven martyrs	Seven martyrs
Linus	Ignatius
Cletus	Alexander
Clement	Marcellinus
Xystus	Peter
Cornelius	Agnes
Cyprian	Caecilia
Lawrence	Felicitas

This reconstruction of the original list of saints in the prayer *Nobis quoque* may be confirmed, if it needs confirmation, by comparing it with the list found in the same prayer in the so-called Ambrosian rite. The canon of the mass in the liturgy of the church of Milan is derived from a recension of the Roman canon, which is older than that preserved in any known manuscript.[2] In the Ambrosian *Nobis quoque* the list of female saints begins, as in the original Roman prayer, *Agne Caecilia Felicitate*. Also, in the celebrated mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, in which the list of female saints represented is obviously based upon an early recension of the prayer *Nobis quoque*, the names of Agnes, Caecilia, and Felicitas, although they do not follow in immediate sequence, occur in

[1] O. Marucchi, *Le Catacombe Romane* (Rome, Desclée, Lefebvre, 1905); pp. 154 ff., *Regione dei Papi e di S. Cecilia;* pp. 347 ff., *Cimitero di S. Agnese;* pp. 388 ff., *Cimitero di S. Felicita.*

[2] Fedele Savio, 'I dittici del canone ambrosiano e del canone romano,' in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, III[a] serie, XI (*XLII della Raccolta*, Torino, 1906), pp. 209–223.

the same relative order in the first half of the list and before the name of Anastasia.[1]

With one exception, the title 'Saint' is found in the signatures of 499 only before names which occur in the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*. The exception is St Sabina. There were two priests who signed the Acts of the Council as *presbyter tituli Sabinae* and one who signed as *presbyter tituli sanctae Sabinae*. Since the name of Sabina is not now found in the canon of the mass, the theory set forth above would be untenable were it not for the fact that there is sufficient evidence to prove that the name of this Umbrian martyr was once included in the Roman canon. The proof of this fact is found in the prayer *Nobis quoque* of the Ambrosian rite, in which is found, in addition to the names of a number of local saints of the church of Milan which were obviously introduced after the Roman mass had been brought there, the name *Savina*.[2] This is clearly a misspelling of *Sabina*, the confusion of *b* and *v* being common in late Latin.[3] There is, however, no trace of an authentic Milanese saint of this name. The only mention of St Sabina which I have found in which she is associated with Milan is in a postscript to the late and spurious Acts of Sts Nabor and Felix.[4] The presence of her name in the Ambrosian canon of the mass can, therefore, be explained only on the supposition that it was in the Roman canon at the time when the Roman mass was introduced into Milan.[5]

If the name of Sabina had been added to the prayer *Nobis quoque* in 499, then the original prayer, as I have reconstructed it, must have been still older. I should be inclined to assign the original *Nobis quoque* to the same date as the original *Communicantes*, and to attribute them both to Sixtus III.

In the prayer *Nobis quoque*, as it now stands in the Roman missal, the list of saints has been arranged according to a very different plan from that of the original prayer. The name of St John the Baptist, it is true, still stands at the head of the list, in the place which cor-

[1] J. Kurth, *Die Wandmosaiken von Ravenna* (Munich, 1913), p. 184.

[2] Fedele Savio, *op. cit.*

[3] Cf. C. H. Grandgent, *From Latin to Italian* (Cambridge, 1927), § 103, p. 86.

[4] A. S., July III., p. 294.

[5] Sabina is also one of the saints represented in the mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. Cf. Delehaye, *Les Origines du Culte des Martyrs* (Brussels, 1912), pp. 360, 372.

responds to that of the Virgin Mary in the prayer *Communicantes*. Then come the names of seven men, followed by the names of seven women. The names of the female saints have been rearranged to suit the fancy of the ultimate redactor, but traces of the older redactions are still apparent. The names of the Sicilian saints, Agatha and Lucia, and the names of Agnes, Caecilia, and Anastasia, are still kept together. The displacement of the name of Felicitas is probably due to the fact that it is the same as that of the African martyr whose festival was celebrated on the same day as that of Perpetua [1] and with whom, apparently, she was confused by the redactor. This, together with the fact that foreign saints have been placed ahead of the authentic Roman martyrs, indicates that the final redaction occurred at a very late date, surely not until after the continuity of Roman tradition had been broken by the frightful catastrophe of the Gothic wars in the middle of the sixth century, and probably not until after the time of Gregory the Great.

CONCLUSION

The facts regarding the use of the word *sancti* (*sanctae*) before the names of the *tituli* in the Acts of the Council of 499 may be summarized as follows. All the names of *tituli* before which the word *sancti* (*sanctae*) is used in the signatures of 499 are the names of saints which were at that time included in the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*. On the other hand, the names of Chrysogonus and Anastasia, which occur at or near the end of these prayers and so were presumably among the last to be added, are each found three times in the signatures without the title 'Saint.' Both of these are eastern saints whose cults became popular in Rome during the Byzantine period. The relics of St Chrysogonus were brought to Rome from Aquilea and placed in the *titulus Chrysogoni*, which thereafter was called the *titulus sancti Chrysogoni*.[2] The relics of St Anastasia had been carried from Sirmium to Constantinople between 458 and 471. She became one of the most highly venerated

[1] *Cal. Philocal., non Martias. Perpetuae et Felicitatis Africae.*

[2] The first occurrence of *titulus sancti Chrysogoni* is in an inscription of the year 521. De Rossi, *Insc. Chr.*, I, no. 975. Cf. A. Dufourcq, *Etude sur les Gesta Martyrum* (Paris, 1900), p. 121.

saints of the Byzantine church, whence her cult was introduced into Rome and located in the *titulus Anastasiae* which became, from that time on, the *titulus* or *basilica sanctae Anastasiae*.[1] In view of the great veneration in which both St Chrysogonus and St Anastasia were held from the time when their cults were introduced into Rome, a veneration which caused their names to be added to the lists of Apostles and authentic Roman martyrs who are invoked during the mass, it is most unlikely that the title 'Saint' would have been omitted by the six presbyters of the *titulus Chrysogoni* and the *titulus Anastasiae* who signed the Acts of the Council of 499, if at that date their cults had been introduced into Rome and their relics placed in the churches which bear their names.

The addition of the word *sancti* (*sanctae*) to the names of some of the *tituli* cannot have been fortuitous. In signing an important official document a priest would hardly have added the title 'Saint' to the name of his church, unless it were the name of a saint whose cult was formally recognized by ecclesiastical authority. Saints Matthew, Lawrence, Clement, and Caecilia had long been venerated in Rome by the year 499. Their names are found in the older and authentically Roman parts of the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque* and, with that of Sabina, whose name must at that time have been included in the prayer *Nobis quoque*, are the only ones to which the title 'Saint' is added in the signatures of 499. The analysis of the prayers has shown that they did not originally contain the names of Chrysogonus and Anastasia. The signatures of 499 establish a *terminus post quem* for the introduction of these two names into the canon of the mass. The force of the facts here presented is to weaken the argument of Batiffol for assigning the prayers *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque* in their present form to the time of Symmachus. It would seem more probable that the lists of saints which they contain were not completed before the time of Gregory the Great, and that they were not arranged in their present order until the seventh century.

[1] P. B. Whitehead, 'The Church of S. Anastasia in Rome,' *American Journal of Archaeology* XXXI (1927), 405–420.

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COMMON LAW IN THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH ROYAL FOREST

ELIZABETH COX WRIGHT

IN England during the thirteenth century many large districts were set aside by law and called the King's Forest. Possibly one fourth of the country was so designated.[1] Readers of Ordericus Vitalis and later chroniclers are told that the Norman kings in extending their forests laid waste great tracts of inhabited land, William especially, in creating the New Forest, calling down the Lord's 'displeasure that consecrated churches had been ruined to make a shelter for wild beasts.' [2] Was a quarter of England made and kept deliberately waste by English kings during the Middle Ages? Modern scholars know that it was not. They know that although called 'forest' and subject to forest law, at least a part was inhabited and cultivated like the rest of the kingdom. Every forest had within its limits tracts of waste; but forest jurisdiction with its courts, and its officers, the justices, wardens, verderers, and foresters, extended far beyond, the nucleus frequently being called the 'covert' and affording especial protection to the beasts, but in no other way a distinct and separate part of the whole.

The inhabitants throughout were subject to the many restrictions of forest law. They could neither kill nor hunt the beasts of the forest, they could not keep large dogs unexpeditated, or carry bows and arrows set in readiness for use, or make ditches or enclosures or buildings to the detriment of the forest. Special permission could be enjoyed, by inheritance, purchase, or gift from the king, to break these regulations, but the penalties of living *infra foresta* could rarely be forgotten.[3]

[1] See map prepared by M. L. Bazeley for her article, 'The Extent of the Thirteenth Century Royal Forest,' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1921), p. 140. The author explains that all afforested districts taken together were spoken of as 'The Forest.'

[2] Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, trans. by T. Forester, iii, 260.

[3] See introduction by G. J. Turner, *Select Pleas of the Forest*, Selden Society Publications XIII (London, 1899).

A considerable number of the king's subjects were thus aware of the forests. Likewise contemporary records are full of their complaints. Forest grievances, chiefly the questions of boundaries and attendance at forest courts, were brought up at all constitutional crises; Magna Carta contained forest provisions, the Forest Charter of 1217 extended these; Henry III's coming of age continued the struggle concerning boundaries; at the Oxford Parliament the Barons complained of reafforestation; and finally, in 1299, when Edward I, in need of money, agreed to his subjects' demands, he confirmed anew not only the Great Charter but the Forest Charter as well.

So much is well known. Let us go deeper. We find that afforested regions were administered under a law which dealt only with the protection of the trees and beasts, the vert and the venison. How then was the ordinary peace of the district kept? Did the unjust landlord, the recalcitrant tenant, the ordinary malefactor, and the felon commit their misdemeanors and crimes without danger of pursuit or punishment? In speaking of the jurisdiction of the forest, Manwood, the sixteenth-century authority on forest laws, says: 'There can be no trespas committed by any offendour in the Forrest, but the same must be in one of these three points, that is to say, a hurt to the Forrest, to the Vert, or to the Venison.' [1] In the rolls of the forest courts we find no evidence of disputes of inheritance, disseisin, debt, ordinary trespass, or robbery. Assaults are brought up and punished only when they are connected with offences against the beasts and trees, or against forest officials. Neither do cases of slaying occur on the rolls, except when poachers are the slayers or the slain. Are we then to understand Manwood's statement to mean that no crimes were ever committed in the forests? Records as well as tradition tell us quite the contrary. Even without direct evidence we might postulate that crime did not stop at the borders of the forest, that men did not cease to be litigious in a litigious age when fate cast their lot within the boundaries of a forest; and further, that the ordinary law of the land punished crimes and settled disputes therein as well and as ill as anywhere else.

[1] John Manwood, *Treatise of the Forrest Lawes* (1st ed., London), 1598, chap. i, 7.

If this were not the case, not only would social conditions within afforested regions have been chaotic beyond bearing, but, further, the thirteenth-century struggles for disafforestment would take on an aspect of great constitutional significance. Forest law was king-made law, only partially held in bounds by the Forest Charter and its confirmations, a law rigorously enforced by royally appointed officials. Its restrictions were imposed upon that considerable portion of England called 'forest.' If throughout this great extent of at least partially inhabited land only an arbitrary law existed for the protection of forest dwellers, we are forced to the conclusion that in the thirteenth century the king was autocrat indeed. Great nobles and churchmen as well as humble villeins were brought to judgment in summary fashion, and frequently heavily fined, by forest officials.[1] Throughout the rest of England a law was growing up, which, at least in disputes concerning land, bound king and subject alike. If this law did not hold in the forest, then the barons, instead of demanding merely that some of their lands be released from forest law, fought for the extension of common law over lands hitherto withdrawn from it. Such is the interpretation of M. Petit-Dutaillis. In *The Forest*, he says: 'From a legal and political standpoint, the forests were an anomaly. They were withdrawn from the operation of the common law and of the custom of the realm, and governed by rules laid down in special assizes and ordinances. . . . The forest was the stronghold of arbitrary power.'[2] Consequently, he reasons, when the forest areas were considerably restricted under pressure, the king's great power was appreciably lessened.

But was this the case? The weight of opinion, to be sure, agrees with M. Petit-Dutaillis. Blackstone in the *Commentaries*, Lewis, a pioneer in the study of forest law, and Stubbs in his *Constitutional History*, state positively the opinion that, through the application of special laws made to protect the king's game and timber, the

[1] Such great men as the Earls of Derby, Arundel, Warwick, and Gloucester, John Crakehall, the King's Treasurer, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells, were forced to appear at forest courts during the century. Others were imprisoned and fined to the extent of two hundred pounds. See the forest rolls, *passim*, and the articles on 'Forestry' in the Victoria County Histories.

[2] Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History:* II, *The Forest* (Manchester, 1914), p. 165.

afforested areas of mediaeval England were exempt from common law. Many writers, authorities on mediaeval law like Maitland and Holdsworth, and students of forest customs like Turner and Bazeley, give the matter small space and attention. From their writings it is evident that they have not considered the question. Only Inderwick, in *The King's Peace*, a short popular account of early law courts, is in direct disagreement. 'If a . . . *transgressio* . . . were committed in the forest,' he writes, 'the common law judges had the trial of it and it accordingly went to the County Court, or the justices of the assize.' [1]

It is, indeed, reasonable to suppose that afforested areas were subject to the two laws — forest law protecting the vert and venison, common law adjusting relations among men. They had functions which did not overlap; each was adequate only for its own purposes. But the question is not so simple of solution. The difficulties in the way are many, and not the least interesting aspect of the situation is that in actual practice the two laws did overlap, to the confusion of thirteenth-century lawyers as well as modern students.

To put our supposition on a sounder basis than its reasonableness, we must, first, ascertain what places were certainly subject to forest law within specific dates, and second, find evidence of the working of common law in those places within the same dates. Some of the difficulties are these. In the first place, thirteenth-century legal documents, although abundant, are not complete. It is frequently impossible to find mention of any place in different records dated with any degree of contemporaneity. In the second place, the bounds of the forest underwent many changes during the century. The Forest Charter, and every subsequent confirmation, was the occasion for new perambulations and attempts at settlement. In the third place, many lands within legally determined bounds were released by ancient custom from forest law. Thus it may be seen that the bounds of every forest under discussion must be ascertained accurately, conflicting evidence, of which there is much, weighed, and the dates kept carefully, that the status of every place must be separately considered in the light of all evidence, before it can be called afforested at any particular time.

[1] F. A. Inderwick, *The King's Peace* (London, 1895), p. 153.

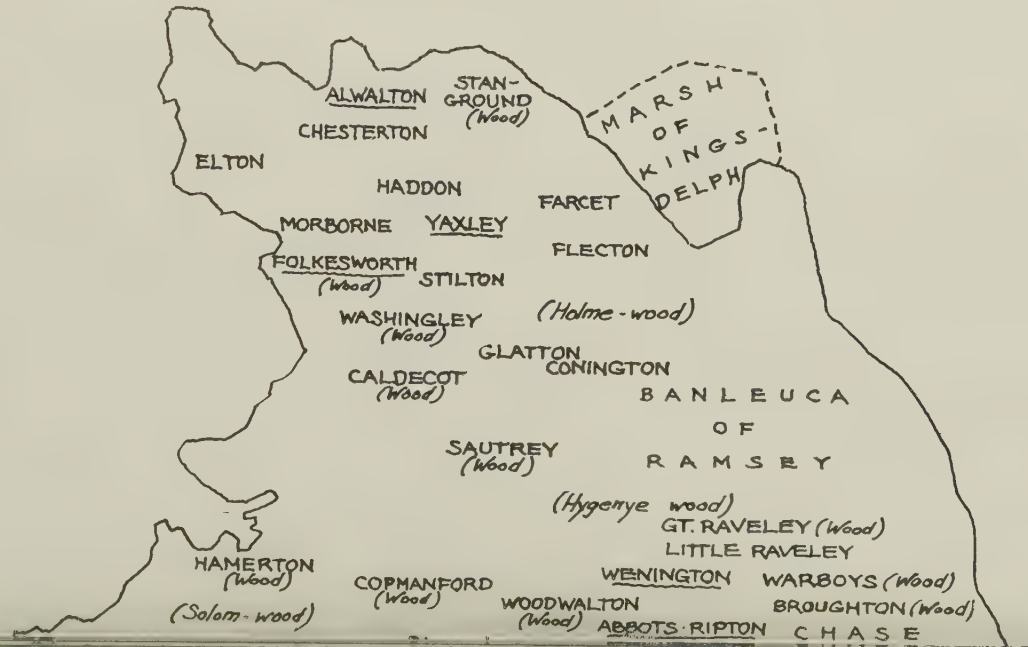
This is the yardstick which has been used in the following pages. If any place was within forest limits as set forth in black and white, signed, and sealed with the seals of those concerned; if the inhabitants of that place were called to forest eyres corporately as witnesses; if an offence against the forest was proved to have been committed within that place; and if no record has been found telling of a liberty enjoyed by the lord or tenants of that place, then that place has been considered properly afforested and subject to forest law. If there was, at approximately the same date, a manor court there; or if its inhabitants sued or were sued in any common law court, local or central; if any dweller therein was called to a common law court for an offence committed therein, then that place was certainly subject also to common law. Many doubtful cases have been discarded, but nevertheless, county by county, the evidence piles up; afforested land, subject to all the restrictions of forest law, was as much a part of the ordinary system of courts as any other land.

A word must be said to explain the use of the term 'common law' in this study. To-day, 'common law' implies a contrast to statute law. Earlier, common law was contrasted with civil, Roman, or canon law. In the twelfth century, however, the term was used in making a distinction between the ordinary law of the land, as administered in manorial, hundred, country, or king's courts, and any other special law, forest law, canon law, law merchant, or what not. Such a distinction was drawn by the author of *Dialogus de Scaccario*, as Maitland points out. Concerning the term *ius commune* as used in this discourse on the Exchequer, Maitland explains, 'The forest laws which are the outcome of the King's mere will and pleasure are contrasted with the common law of the realm.' [1] In the following pages, therefore, the phrase denotes the law and the legal machinery which took care of the usual crimes, misdemeanors, trespasses, and other disputes which occurred throughout England.

To begin with Huntingdonshire. It is a county of especial interest because during most of our period the Forest of Huntingdon extended to the county limits. The metes as given in the perambula-

[1] Pollock and Maitland, *History of the English Law* I (2d ed.), 176, 177.

SKETCH·MAP·OF·THE FOREST·OF·HUNTINGDON



KEY TO LETTERING

ALWALTON - Township responsible at eyres of 1255 and 1286 and also scene of breach of forest law.

ELTON - Township responsible at eyres of 1255 and 1286

Stangate - Scene of breach of forest laws

St. Ives (1). stated in rolls to be afforested

Huntingdon (2). within metes but not found in rolls.

(Holme - wood) - stated in perambulation of 1300 to have been afforested by Henry II and wrongfully kept within forest during 13th century.

(Wood). as *(Holme - wood)* above.

MARSH OF KINGSDELPH - legally afforested by Henry III but in dispute.

BANLEUCA OF RAMSEY and CHASE OF SOMERSHAM - withdrawn from forest.

Metes of forest as defined in 1244 and 1286 coincide with county line.

SCALE OF MILES

0 5 10 15

tions may be followed on a modern map; they correspond with accuracy to the county boundaries. From the beginning of the century to 1218, from 1227 to 1298, they held as the legal limits of the forest.[1] From the records of the forest eyres and from other scattered sources, we get evidence from time to time that specifically named places, usually manors or townships, suffered from forest law.[2] Only such places are cited below, and evidence of common law in those places is used only if nearly contemporaneous with forest documents.

That there were manors in Huntingdonshire is suggested by the terms used in the records of the forest eyres. We read of open fields, common of pasture, and the reaper. Further, non-forest records frequently mention them, and with the manor went the manor court, quite as regularly in forest manors as anywhere else in England. There are numerous entries in our various records concerning these courts. 'Richard, who holds in Yaxley, does suit to the Abbot's court in Yaxley, three weeks to three weeks.'[3] 'Geoffrey le Moyne holds Little Paxton and does suit to the court of Lord Robert.'[4] 'Philip Aleote holds a messuage with sixteen acres in Offord Cluny, and does suit to the court of the Lord three weeks to three weeks.'[5] The Abbot of Ramsey held courts in King's Ripton, Little Stukely, and Elton, of which rolls for the third quarter of the century are printed.[6] In Southoe also there was a court held three weeks to three weeks,[7] and in Brampton John de Hastinges had a court.[8]

[1] The following are the dates of the extant perambulations: 2 Henry III. P. R. O., *Exch., T. of R., For. Proc.*, Roll 38, mm. 1 and 2d; 3 Henry III, *ibid.*, Roll 38; 9 Henry III, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ii, 209; 28 Henry III, *Exch., T. of R., For. Proc.*, Roll 38, m. 3, and also printed in *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, 3v., Rolls Series, London, 1884, i, 209; 14 Ed. I, *Exch., T. of R., For. Proc.*, Roll 43, and also printed in *Cart. Rams.*, i, 211; 28 Ed. I, *Cart. Rams.*, ii, 299.

[2] There are two full eyre rolls for this county from which the necessary information has been gathered: 39 Henry III, *Exch., T. of R., For. Proc.*, Roll 41, and 14 Ed. I., *ibid.*, Rolls 44, 45, 46. The former is printed in *Select Pleas of the Forest*, pp. 11 et seq.

[3] *Rotuli Hundredorum* (2vols, Record Commission, London, 1812), II, 640.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 672.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 683.

[6] F. W. Maitland, *Select Pleas in Manorial and other Seignorial Courts*, i, Selden Society Publications II, London, 1889.

[7] *R. H.*, II, 659.

[8] *Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasterensi asservatorum Abbreviatio*, Record Commission, London, 1811, p. 228.

Suit was owed from the free tenants of Hemingford Abbas and of Elton to the court of the Abbot of Ramsey at Broughton.[1] The business of these courts was the same as the business of other manorial courts. According to the Hundred Rolls, view of frankpledge was claimed in Ellington, Brampton, Alconbury, Dillington, Doddington, Yaxley, Elton, Offord Cluny, Waresley, Molesworth, Hamerton, Washingley, the Hemingfords, Stanton, Gransden, Southoe, and Stoughton.[2] Assize of bread and ale was claimed in Ellington, Wooley, Brampton, Alconbury, Elton, Alwalton, Flecton, Stanground, and Chesterton; and gallows in Glatton, Molesworth, Ellington, Wooley, Hamerton, Brampton, and Alconbury.[3] The Lords of Alwalton and Flecton claimed the right of hanging thieves and excluding the coroners from their lands.[4] The jurisdictional franchises of forest manors did not differ, therefore, from those of other manors.

The above evidence only heads the list of courts to which afforested land in Huntingdonshire owed suit. There are many notices among the records of the county court of Huntingdon, and of the four hundred courts, Leyttonston and Toseland in the hands of the king, Hirstingston and Normancros in the hands of the abbots of Ramsey and Thorney, respectively.[5] Suit to these courts will be mentioned only from those lands which were, so far as we can tell, not relieved from the forest law. In Bracton's *Notebook* is recorded a case between the church of Sulinguy of Stanton, and Walter Morel, concerning half a virgate and seven acres, which was pleaded in the county court of Huntingdon.[6] A certain Reginald, a holder in Yaxley, owed suit, we are told in the Hundred Rolls, to the county court.[7] Another holder in Yaxley owed suit to the Hundred of Normancros.[8]

[1] *R. H.*, II, 680, 656.

[2] Ell., *ibid.*, I, 197. Elt., *ibid.*, II, 656. Hem., *ibid*, II, 666.
Bram., *ibid.*, I, 197. Off. C., *ibid.*, II, 666. Stant., *ibid.*, II, 666.
Alc., *ibid.*, I, 197. Wares., *ibid.*, II, 666. Grans., *ibid.*, II, 666.
Dill., *ibid.*, II, 666. Moles., *ibid.*, II, 633. Southoe, *ibid.*, II, 666.
Dod., *ibid.*, II, 666. Ham., *ibid.*, II, 633. Stough, *ibid*, II, 666.
Yax., *ibid*, I, 196. Wash., *ibid.*, I, 196.

[3] *R. H.*, I, 196, 197; II, 633.

[4] *R. H.*, I, 196.

[5] *R. H.*, II, 633.

[6] F. W. Maitland, ed., *Bracton's Notebook* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1887), II, 265, case 316.

[7] *R. H.*, II, 640.

[8] *Ibid.*

A certain tenement in Morborne owed suit to the same Hundred.[1] From Doddington and Hemingford Abbas, suit was owed to the Hundred of Toseland.[2] From Hemingford Abbas, Washingley, Haddon, Stanground, Farcet, and Elton, suit was owed to both county and hundred.[3] Washingley, Molesworth, Hamerton, Brampton, Wooley, Folkesworth, Doddington, and Hemingford Abbas owed suit to the Sheriff's tourn.[4] From Stilton, suit was owed to county, hundred, and Sheriff's tourn.[5]

But not local justice alone was done according to common law in the forest county of Huntingdon. King's justices on assize, sitting at Westminster, or following the king, administered the law in Huntingdonshire as it was administered in other counties. In 1230, Alan of Bassingbourn and Geoffrey Cinee were appointed justices for the delivery of the jail at Huntingdon.[6] In 1286, itinerant justices sat at Huntingdon, to hear pleas at common law,[7] in the same year that a great forest eyre was held in the same town. The rolls are full of similar entries for all dates, none of which suggest that the application of the forest law in the county had anything to do with the usual working of the common law.[8] Most easily traced is the process of the law in respect to pleas in the court *de banco*. All the place-names marked on the map as being certainly subject to forest law appear in the rolls of the king's courts. For instance, at Westminster, in Hilary term, 10 Richard I, but one year before the opening of the century, 'An assize comes to see if Thomas, son of Thomas . . . was seised in demesne of four and a half acres of pasture and apurtenances in Brampton when he died.' [9] In 1227, Simon de Hal and Ernald de Buketon made Roger Marievelain their attorney

[1] *R. H.*, I, 196.
[2] Doddington, *R. H.*, II, 685; Hemingford Abbas, *ibid.*, II, 680.
[3] Heming., *ibid.*, II, 680. Haddon, *ibid.*, II, 644. Farc., *ibid.*, II, 645.
Wash., *ibid.*, II, 635; I, 196. Stan., *ibid.*, II, 645. Elton, *ibid.*, II, 656.
[4] Wash., *ibid.*, I, 196. Bramp., *ibid.*, I, 197. Dod., *ibid.*, II, 685.
Molesworth, *ibid.*, II, 633. Wooley, *ibid.*, I, 197. Heming., *ibid.*, II, 680.
Hamerton, *ibid.*, II, 633. Folkes, *ibid.*, I, 196.
[5] *R. H.*, I, 196.
[6] *Close Rolls, 1227–1231*, p. 398.
[7] *Placit. Abrev.*, p. 212.
[8] *Close Rolls, passim, e. g., 1237–1242*, p. 449, etc.
[9] *Curia Regis Rolls*, I, 80.

against Alice de Amundeville concerning land at Stilton.[1] In 1229, an assize came to see if 'Hugo, Abbot of Ramsey, unjustly and without right disseised Richard de Ripton of pasture in Ripton which pertained to his free tenement in the same vill.'[2] In 1235, 'Sanicula . . . pled against Petronilla . . . for a third part of twenty-nine acres of wood with appurtenances in Bichamstead that pertains to her free tenement which she holds as dower from Juliano de la Haye in the same vill.'[3] In 1235, Stephen de Segrave made Richard de Welint' his attorney in his place against the king in a plea of land in Alconbury and Weston.[4] In 1236, Walter de Deneford and Sarah, his wife, made Thomas de Deneford their attorney against Ivo le Moyne and William de Cuweye and Felicia, his wife, their tenants, concerning a third part of two carucates of land with appurtenances in Grafham and Hemingford.[5] Among the rolls of the *Curia Regis* we find that 'Peter, son of John, pleas against the attorney of the Abbot of Cluny for four virgates of land with appurtenances in Offord and asks a view of the land. A day is given, etc., . . . and in the meanwhile, let the view be made.'[6] Other pleas heard *de banco* are cited by Bracton concerning land in Stoughton, Chesterton, Hamerton, Washingley, and Stanton.[7] Contrary to later practice, some of the civil pleas to be found in Bracton's *Notebook* were held in the court *coram rege*. Of these, pleas concerning land in Alconbury and Dillington, and a plea concerning a trespass at Offord, apply to the present study.[8] Other civil pleas come from scattered sources. We find recorded that the Burgesses of Northampton claimed that the Abbot of Thorney unjustly took from them toll and customs in his fair at Yaxley.[9] From the *Placitorum Abbreviatio* we learn that pleas were heard in the court *de banco* concerning Chesterton, Folkes-

[1] *Close Rolls, 1227–1231*, p. 87.

[2] *Bracton's Notebook*, II, 298, case 360.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 431, case 558.

[4] *Close Rolls, 1234–1237*, p. 196.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 343.

[6] *Curia Regis Rolls*, I, 455. (2 John).

[7] *Bracton's Notebook*, case 629 (Michaelmas, 1231); case 269 (Hilary and Easter, 1228); case 681 (Easter, 1232); case 1079 (Easter, 1225); case 316 (Hilary, 1229).

[8] *Ibid.*, case 1124 (18–19 Henry III); case 1261 (23 Henry III); case 1201 (21 Henry III).

[9] Wm. Paley Baildon, ed., *Select Civil Pleas*, i, Selden Society Publications III (London, 1890), p. 11.

worth, Hamerton, King's Ripton, Little Paxton, Stanground, and Haddon.[1] Of the records of the feet of fines, or final concords, made in the King's Court at Westminster, there is a calendar volume printed. From this volume we learn that land cases were settled concerning Folkesworth, Paxton, Little Paxton, Stukely, Dillington, Ellington, Lymage, Caldecot, Beachampstead, Doddington, Warboys, Abbot's Ripton, the two Offords, Brampton, Perry, Alconbury, Buckworth, Yaxley, Stilton, and Grafham.[2]

That proceedings against felons followed the order for pleas of the crown in common law courts throughout afforested Huntingdonshire, we have somewhat scanty evidence. There is sufficient proof, however, that there were coroners in the county.[3] The jurors of the Hundred Roll inquisitions 'say that Phillip, the coroner of Ripton, took from the township of Paxton' twelve pence for concealing the fact that they had spoken with a thief.[4] The lord of Alwalton claimed the right to exclude coroners from his land.[5] There was a special inquisition

taken before the coroners in full county of Huntingdon in the presence of the Sheriff: Andrew Bukstan killed Richard de Freskeneye, his man, by misadventure. On Saturday, after Low Sunday, 42 Henry III, Andrew had come from the fair at St Ives where he had bought a new sword, which he carried with him to his home at Huntend' and he tried it upon a trestle whether it were stiff or not; the trestle fell and the sword glanced off it and struck Richard, who was sitting too near, in the side; by which misadventure Richard died.[6]

Besides the coroners' inquest, we find another inquisition according to common law, held concerning an assault, after the usual hue and cry, at Weston, Alconbury, the day of St Thomas the Apostle, 18 Edward I.

Reymund de Solerettis, merchant of Figeac, was passing over Brouneswold with his harness and men and was met by certain evildoers . . . who

[1] *Placit. Abbrev.*, pp. 31, 32, 184, 195, 209, 155, 257.

[2] G. J. Turner, ed., *A Calendar of Feet of Fines relating to County Huntingdon, 1194–1603*, Cambridge, 1913; dates from 1229 to 1294; pages as follows: 17, 12, 43, 45, 40, 19, 20, 20, 40, 39, 37, 40–43, 46, 24, 14, 29, 20.

[3] *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1272–1307*, p. 154 (1281).

[4] *R. H.*, I, 198.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 196.

[6] *Cal. Misc. Inq.*, I, 563 (1258).

attacked him and his men and robbed them of a sum of money about the ninth hour. . . . The said merchant in a dazed state long after the ninth hour came to the towns of Copmansford and Opton, alleging that he had been robbed; the men of those towns followed the said evildoers to the wood of Albrichelee, whither the merchant stated they fled, but could find not them, because he did not immediately raise hue and cry. He raised the hue and cry about mid-day, but it was not pursued beyond the said wood, because it was so dark that it was almost impossible to see.[1]

Afterward the robbers were captured and hanged at Lincoln. In the volumes of Letters Close there are a few examples to show that appeals for killing were made in afforested Huntingdonshire. In 1241, a mandate was sent by the king to the Sheriff of Huntingdon ordering him to let Walter, son of Thomas, and John, son of Alice of Molesworth, out of the prison at Huntingdon on security.[2] They had been appealed by Alice for the death of her husband. In 1242, Walter the Forester, held in the same prison after having been appealed by Matillis for the death of her husband, Walter of Winwick, was to be released on bail until the coming of the justices.[3] Neither of these cases is conclusive evidence of the working of common law in an afforested area, because there is no mention of where the crimes were actually committed. However, in *Placitorum Abbreviatio* there are two cases recording this information. Among the pleas of 43 Henry III is the following: 'Brother John de Pypwell, lay brother of Sautry, taken for the death of Simon of Warden, killed at the Abbey of Sautry.'[4] He refused to answer because he was *uir religiosus*. Also, at the same date, we find that John, son of William de Lake, and Walter Caperun of Huntingdon, were accused of the death of Robert, son of the parson of Houghton, killed at Paxton, and of the burning of the house of the same Robert.[5] In *Bracton's Notebook* there are several full rolls of pleas in the King's Court, *coram rege*, but none of those applicable strictly to those places determined as certainly subject to the full force of forest law are pleas of the crown. At the period from which the cases in the *Notebook*

[1] *Cal. Misc. Inq.*, I, 419, 420 (18 Edward I).
[2] *Close Rolls, 1237–1242*, p. 382.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 449 (1242).
[4] *Placit. Abbrev.*, p. 148.
[5] *Ibid.*

are taken, the jurisdiction of the two courts, *de banco* and *coram rege*, was not strictly divided between civil and criminal pleas. It so happens, therefore, that the *Notebook* yields no information concerning pleas of the crown in Huntingdonshire, although many cases heard *coram rege* are cited. It is to other counties, therefore, particularly to Staffordshire and Somersetshire, that we must turn for full evidence that in districts subject to forest law, criminal cases were heard in common law courts according to the procedure of pleas of the crown.

The forests of Staffordshire were three: Cannock, called Cannock Chase, Kinver or Kinfare, and Needwood. The latter will not be discussed here owing to lack of material. Cannock and Kinver, for convenience, will not be distinguished in what follows. After determining their bounds at different dates, and examining the forest pleas, a number of townships and manors were found to have been subject to forest law during the greater part of the thirteenth century.[1] As was the case in Huntingdonshire, common law also operated in these places.

Mention of open fields, meadow, and reaper, in the forest pleas, and some little information in the Hundred Rolls, which are, however, incomplete for Staffordshire, show beyond doubt that the manor was the agricultural unit in these two districts, although they were called forests. And with the manor went the manor court and private franchises, as elsewhere. The following are some of the jurisdictional franchises exercised by lords of certain forest manors. The Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield claimed a view of frankpledge at which Little Wirley appeared yearly.[2] Robert de Somerville, lord of the manor of Alrewas, claimed and was allowed gallows, assize of bread and ale, pleas of the crown, infangenthef, and two free courts yearly, in which he heard the pleas of the Sheriff in his tourn.[3]

[1] The perambulations and eyre rolls for Staffordshire have been edited by G. Wrottesley, *Staffordshire Pleas of the Forest*, in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, William Salt Archeological Society, V, i (1884). The following perambulations are given: 1286, *ibid.*, p. 166; 1300, *ibid.*, p. 176. The forest pleas are those of 1262, 1271, and 1286, printed on pages 136 f., 140 f., 157 f.

[2] G. Wrottesley, ed., *Extracts from the Plea Rolls, Coll. Hist. Staff.*, Wm. Salt Arch. Soc., VI, i (1885), 244.

[3] *Ibid.*, *Extracts from the Plea Rolls, 1272–1294*, as above, VI, i, 247, 270, 285.

Further, Alrewas had a regular manor court that met 'three weeks to three weeks,' or actually, anywhere from every three weeks to once in six weeks, records of which have been printed.[1] The business of this court is regular manorial business, with certain slight exceptions to be discussed later. Thomas Corbet, lord of the manor of Bromley Regis, claimed gallows, assize of bread and ale, and view of frankpledge.[2] Ralph de Grendon claimed gallows and two free courts yearly in which he heard the pleas of the Sheriff in his tourn, at Swynfen.[3] The Dean and Chapter of Penkridge claimed view of frankpledge, assize of bread and ale, and infangenthef in Penkridge.[4] Hugh le Blunt, who held two thirds of the same manor, claimed gallows and infangenthef.[5] There was a free court in Arley, we learn from the Hundred Rolls, and Hugh de Audeley and his wife, who held the manor, claimed to have gallows and assize of bread and ale.[6] Richard de Loges had a court at Rodbaston.[7] John de Tresel was summoned in the same year to show his title to hold pleas of the crown in his manor of Tresel.[8] At that time also John de Herunville claimed assize of bread and ale in his manor of Wednesbury.[9]

We find also ample evidence that suit from forest lands was owed to county and hundred. The Hundred Rolls show that the vill of Essington, holders in Rodbaston, in Bobbington, in Evenefield, Lutteley, Nether Penn, Pendeford, Moseley, Tresel, Womburne, and Overton either do suit, or should do suit, at county and hundred in 38–39 Henry III.[10] It is further evident that the local machinery for the administration of justice was the same in afforested Staffordshire as in non-forest districts. Appeals were prosecuted from county court to county court, as in the case of a woman kidnapped from the

[1] W. N. Landor, ed., *Alrewas Court Rolls*, 1259–1261, 1268–1269, 1272–1273; *Coll. Hist. Staff.*, N. S., X, i, 1907, and volume for 1910.

[2] *Extracts from the Plea Rolls, 1294–1307*, *Coll. Hist. Staff.*, VI, i, 284.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

[4] *Ibid.*, VII, 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, VI, i, 246.

[6] *Ibid.*, V, i, 114; *Extracts from Plea Rolls, ibid.*, VI, i, 261.

[7] *Ibid.*, IV, 209.

[8] *Ibid.*, VI, i, 248.

[9] *Ibid.*, VI, i, 270.

[10] *R. H.*, II, 114, 115; *Staffordshire Hundred Rolls, Hist. Coll. Staff.*, V, i, 110–113.

vill of Rodbaston.[1] Forest manors, such as Penkridge, Arley, Bromley Regis, Alrewas, and Bushbury, appeared by juries at the Assizes at Wolverhampton and Lichfield.[2] Two of the Staffordshire coroners of 1293 came from vills within the forest, Alrewas and Bushbury.[3] In a case of suicide, the vill of Rushall was cited as not coming in full to the coroners' inquest.[4] In a case of slaying expressly stated to have been committed within the forest of Cannock, the record runs, 'no Englishry, therefore murder on the Hundred of Pirehill.'[5] Dwellers within these forest limits, then, owed suit to manor, hundred, and county courts, appeared at the assizes on juries, served as coroners, and on coroners' inquests, and were responsible in their hundreds for murder.

Furthermore, assizes sat at Lichfield, Penkridge, and Bobbington, within the metes, and at Wolverhampton and Stafford on the boundaries, for jail delivery, *novel disseisin*, *mort dancestor*, *quo warranto* pleas, and other causes relating to land or persons within the forest.[6] These pleas were both civil and criminal. Among the civil pleas, land cases were the most common. 'An assize came to see if Ralph de Bushbury had unjustly disseised' certain named persons 'of common of pasture in Bushbury.'[7] Among many others, we find land in the following forest vills or manors disputed: Swynfen, Rushall, Tresel, Pendeford, Wednesbury, Womburne, Tresel and Seysdon, Shelfield, Rodbaston, Little Sardon, Heiley and Swyndon, Hatherdene, Coven, Bloxwich, Bonehill, and Huntingdon.[8] Other kinds of pleas heard in the assizes were as follows: 'The King by Attorney sued Philip de Montgomery for withholding from the Exchequer ten marks annually from the four bailiwicks in the hays of Alrewas, Hopewas, Oggley, and Gauley.'[9] William de Boeles

[1] *Plea Rolls, Henry III, ibid.*, IV, 209.

[2] *Extracts from Plea Rolls, ibid.*, VI, i, 259; V, i, 114; VI, i, 257, 256.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 55, 154, 161, 176, and VII, 27, etc. Lichfield was within the metes, but is never mentioned in the pleas.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 297, 231, 291, 217, 270; IV, 191, 203, VI, i, 147; IV, 209, and VI, i, 55; VI, i, 238; IV, 195; VI, i, 232, 237, 233, 214; IV, 209.

[9] *Ibid.*, VI, i, 251.

appeared against the rider of Philip de Montgomery for taking away the implements and tools of his workmen working near his *curia* of Rushall, the defendants stating that they had found the men of William working in a mine within the King's Forest without a warrant.[1] We read further of trespasses on the lands of John, son of William, son of William de Bentley, at Bentley, of theft of the produce of the land of Alexander de Cotun in Hopewas, of the appeal of Alice de Wodegrave who was kidnapped by Richard de Loges from the vill of Rodbaston, of the theft by the same Richard of six oxen and a bull from the manor of Penkridge and of a horse from Ralph, Canon of Penkridge, and of the above-mentioned slaying in the 'forest of Cannock.'[2]

Not only did the king's justices of the common law go to Staffordshire to hear pleas relating to men and land in Cannock and Kinver; they also heard them at Westminster. In none of these cases is there evidence of irregularity of procedure. Apparently the justices had no thought that from the point of view of common law these afforested districts were in any way distinct from the rest of Staffordshire. The cases heard *de banco* and *coram rege* are the same in nature as those heard at the assizes or eyres held in Staffordshire. The same place-names crop up again and again. Among them are the following, those cited being only those not mentioned in the previous group except when there is an especially interesting point. Suits were heard concerning land at Amelecote, Bermundescote, Essington, Moseley, Newebrugge, Shenstone, Wednesbury, Whitmor, Stonall, Shareshill, and Darlaston.[3] Specimens of criminal cases are these: 'Matilda, the wife of William le Paumer, sued Robert le Paumer and others for ill-treating and imprisoning her for a day and a night at King's Bromley.'[4] 'William de Mundeville, essoiner of Michael . . . appeared against Walter de Kokesey and others in a plea that they had come to the houses of the said Michael in Bobbington . . . and carried away hay and corn *ui et armis* to the value of a hundred shillings and beat and ill-treated his men.'[5] 'Simon

[1] *Extracts from Plea Rolls, ibid.*, VI, i, 251.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 252; IV, 209; VI, i, 273.

[3] *Extracts from Plea Rolls, Coll. Hist. Staff.*, IV 180; VI, i, 58, 59, 98, 61, 165, 67, 61, 119; IV, 185.

[4] *Ibid.*, VI, i, 87.

[5] *Ibid.*, IV, 163.

Mautravers, the parson of Shareshill, appeared against Robert le Fleming for entering his house at Sarneshill *ui et armis*, killing two pigs, and cutting down and carrying away his trees, and committing damage altogether to the amount of sixty shillings.' [1] 'Robert the son of Tancre fled for the death of Helie, cleric, and he was in the frankpledge of Adam Fisher of Alrewas; judgment, murder.' [2]

The foregoing evidence adds considerably to the argument that forest law and common law existed side by side in afforested regions of thirteenth-century England. There is little room for doubt that in Cannock and Kinver forests two laws prevailed: one the forest law, enforced by king's officers, ostensibly for the protection of the beasts and trees of the district; the other the common law, administered as common law was coming to be administered throughout England, by manorial, hundred, and county courts, by itinerant justices, and by justices at Westminster and before the king. We have found in the Staffordshire material more evidence than was disclosed by the Huntingdonshire records, that pleas of the crown were heard in afforested districts in the regular manner in the usual courts, and no evidence at all that any part of the forest was excluded from the protection of common law.

The chief contribution of the Somersetshire material to this study is the large number of examples of robbery, rape, theft, and slaying committed in the afforested manors or vills, and tried in common law courts. Evidence of civil pleas will be subordinated to that of criminal cases, since, as has been seen, in the other counties the latter class of evidence was more difficult to find. The afforested areas of the county were Mendip and Cheddar together, Selwood, Exmoor, Petherton, and Neroche, and the warren, Somerton, which possibly was restricted by forest law, contrary to the custom in warrens. Petherton was usually called a park, although forest pleas were heard concerning trespasses within it.[3] From the eyre roll for the forest pleas held at Ilchester, 42 Henry III, and from perambu-

[1] *Plea Rolls, Henry III, Hist. Coll. Staff.*, IV, 169.

[2] *Ibid.*, III, 96. This case is early — 5 John.

[3] W. H. P. Greswell, *The Forests and Deerparks of the County of Somerset* (Taunton, 1905), pp. 86, 87.

lations and pleas printed in various forms, we find evidence of the working of forest law in the manors and townships cited below as being also subject to common law.[1]

Passing by the local common law courts in the forests of Somerset, although the material gives ample evidence of their existence, we find many pleas from afforested lands heard in the King's Courts, either on eyre or assize, in Westminster or elsewhere, following the king. A few examples only of civil pleas will be listed although there is an abundance of evidence. Land cases were heard at the assizes at Kilmersdon, Ilchester, Frome, and other places or at general eyres, concerning tenements in the following afforested manors: Ashway, Axbridge, Bossington, Burrington, Charleton, Cheddar, Doverhay, Draycote, Dulverton, Frome, Horton, South Petherton, Winscombe, and Winsford.[2] It may be noticed that these cases all occurred about the middle of the century, a period when there was little or no meddling with the bounds of the forests, and close to the time when these same places appeared at the forest pleas as subject to forest law.

Very impressive is the number of crimes noted among the pleas as having been committed within the forest limits, and tried at common law. In 1242, the tithings of Almsworthy and Exford were amerced because a man in the first was suspected of harboring thieves who were in the second.[3] In 1244, the borough of Axbridge came by twelve to the eyre and numbered the harboring of thieves among their presentments.[4] Somewhat earlier, Richard de Krues, a villein of Blagdon, killed Herman Dreng of Blagdon and fled. He was in the frankpledge of the vill of Blagdon, and therefore it was in mercy.[5] Elyas Cute and Walter de Stoke entered the house of Edith de Draycote by night, and carried off the chattels they

[1] See *Patent Rolls and Close Rolls*, as printed in full or calendar, *passim*, *Exch., T. of R., For. Proc.*, rolls 152 and 153; M. L. Bazeley, *The Extent of the Thirteenth Century Royal Forest*; G. J. Turner, *Select Pleas of the Forest*; W. H. P. Greswell, *The Forests and Deerparks of the County of Somerset*; E. J. Rawle, *Annals of the Forest of Exmoor* (Taunton, 1893); and John Collinson, *A History of Somerset*, 3 vols., 1791.

[2] C. E. H. C. Healey and L. Landon, edd., *Somersetshire Pleas before Itinerant Justices*, Rich. I — 41 Henry III, and 41 Henry III to end of reign, Somersetshire Record Society, XI (1897) and XXXVI (1921): XI, 405, 166, 426; XXXVI, 8; XI, 140, 286, 147, 417, 428; XXXVI, 128; XI, 122; XXXVI, 67, 82; XI, 392.

[3] *Ibid.*, XI, 302. [4] *Ibid.*, XI, 237. [5] *Ibid.*, XI, 35, 95.

found there. Afterwards the thieves were taken at Draycote, and hanged by judgment of the hundred court of Cheddar.[1] The Hundred of Cheddar came by twelve and swore that Walter Harald was wounded in his house at Cheddar by unknown malefactors.[2] Certain malefactors robbed the house of the chaplain of Cloford, and because the township of Cloford did not make pursuit, it was amerced.[3] William, the shepherd of Dene, who abode in the vill of Cumpton, killed Geoffrey Doggesem and fled. The vill was amerced because William was not in a frankpledge.[4] Walter Clome was found killed in the forest of Netherham, and two men, sons of Fromund of Duneyet, were suspected and fled. They were of the tithing of Dunyet. Walter was buried without view of the coroners, and therefore the vill was amerced.[5] The manor of Newton came by six and presented that William de Bikebir' was found drowned in the fishpond of Newton. Englishry was not presented, therefore it was murder.[6] The Hundred of North Petherton came by twelve and presented that Walter Bragge, Robert Hode, William the little Miller, and Margery, his wife, beat Jordan Heywulf so that he died. William and Margery fled to the church of Petherton, and abjured the realm. William was in the tithing of the Hospital of Petherton, therefore it was amerced. The Sheriff had to answer for his chattels, worth three shillings. Walter and Robert had fled, therefore they were ordered exacted and outlawed. They had no chattels.[7] Godfrey de Mora and Henry de Fernagu were accused of larceny, fled, and were suspected. Godfrey was in the tithing of Walter the tithingman of North Petherton.[8] Ranulph Cyssor of la Sute of Winscumbe was found killed in the Suete of Winscumbe. No Englishry, therefore it was murder. The vill of Cumpton did not make pursuit, for which it was amerced.[9] Robert Cory was found dead in the tithing of Wythecumbe. Englishry was not presented, and therefore murder.[10] The manor of Winsford came by six to the 1242–1243 eyre.[11]

[1] *Somersetshire Pleas*, XI, 236 (1243).
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 235 (1243).
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 286 (1242–1243).
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 49 (1224–1225).
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 310 (1242–1243).
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 296 (1243).
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 298 (1243).
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 301 (1243).
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 233 (1242–1243).
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 302 (1242–1243).
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 322 (1242–1243).

Here at last is abundant evidence that common law crimes committed in afforested areas were tried according to the usual process for pleas of the crown, in common law courts. The Somersetshire material, so far as it has been examined, presents no exception in procedure when the crime was committed in the covert of the forest.

Enough detail has now been presented to prove that in Huntingdonshire, Staffordshire, and Somersetshire, afforested areas were subject, during the thirteenth century, to both forest and common law, and to make clear the method used in arriving at this conclusion. This method has been applied in full to Rockingham Forest in Northamptonshire, and to the Forest of Dean in Gloucestershire, with similar results; and with less detail, but with equal care to other afforested regions.[1] The evidence for some forests has been fragmentary; all care has been taken, however, to avoid error, those places determined as subject to both laws being taken from forest plea rolls and tested wherever possible by other documents.[2] Evidence from Buckinghamshire, Cumberland, Derby, Dorset, Essex, Nottinghamshire, Hampshire, Rutland, Shropshire, Surrey, and Worcestershire, confirms the opinion that forest law did not exclude common law from the afforested regions of those counties.[3] Thus the principal forests of thirteenth-century England are brought within the scope of the argument. In the remaining counties there were either no forests at all, as, for instance, in Lincolnshire, Dur-

[1] Material used in the study of Rockingham Forests is as follows: Patent and Close Rolls, *passim;* Turner, *Select Pleas of the Forest*, for eyre roll, 1255; *Exch., T. of R., For. Proc.*, Roll 74; Bazeley, *Extent of the Forest.* Forest of Dean: *Journals of the House of Commons*, XLIII, 586 f., for perambulations; J. Maclean, *Perambulations of the Forest of Dean*, Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc., 1890; M. L. Bazeley, *The Forest of Dean in its Relation to the Crown*, Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc., XXXIII; H. G. Nichols, *Forest of Dean*, London, 1858, Victoria County History, *Gloucestershire*, II, article on 'Forestry.' A variation from the usual procedure, to be discussed below, is found in the *Forest of Dean.*

[2] The plea rolls used were as follows: *Exch., T. of R., For. Proc.*, Bucks, roll 2; Cumberland, roll 5; Derby, roll 8; Dorset, roll 10; Essex, roll 12; Hants, roll 158; Northants, roll 74 (roll 68 printed in *Select Pleas of the Forest*); Notts, roll 127; Oxon, roll 137; Rutland, roll 139; Surrey, roll 194.

[3] References already cited; various calendars of inquisitions; *Journals of House of Commons*, XLIV, 574; perambulation of Hampshire forests, *ibid.*, XLVII, 154; perambulation Bucks forests; Victoria County Histories; W. R. Fisher, *Forest of Essex*, London, 1888; J. H. Round, 'Forest of Essex,' *Journal of British Archaeological Assn.*, New Ser., III; perambulations of forests in Rutland and Nottinghamshire, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, II, 207, 208.

ham, Cornwall, Kent, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex, or forests the boundaries of which are disputed, or for which determination has proved to be impossible without much further study, such as in Berkshire, Lancashire, Leicestershire Devon, Wiltshire, Westmorland, Northumberland, Sussex, Cheshire, Herefordshire, Warwickshire, Bedfordshire, and Yorkshire.[1]

Our sources exhibited a monotony of agreement with our reasonable supposition that forest law and common law existed side by side in afforested regions, each taking cognisance of the crimes and misdemeanors recognized by it. Here and there, however, interesting local variations appeared, and also in a few instances the working of the laws became confused. Their provinces were occasionally allowed to overlap, or procedure according to one law was practised in the courts of another, or, failed by one law, men tried other means. We will now examine these cases and see that, as in other realms of mediaeval practice, theory sometimes tripped over fact.

It is interesting to notice, however, before taking them up, that forest law officials enjoyed exemption from certain duties required by common law. We read among the letters close: 'The King to the Sheriff of Wiltshire, greeting. Because our verderers and foresters are used to be quit of suit to county and hundred . . . we order that you make Philip de Lya, our forester, quit of suit to county and hundred in his bailiwick.' [2] And further we find that the Sheriff of Hampshire is ordered not to place Thomas Croc, a verderer in the forest of the Lord King in Hampshire, on assize as juror or recognitor, because verderers and foresters following the custom of the forest should not be placed on such assizes.[3]

John Manwood, the sixteenth-century student of forest laws, is very explicit about the precise duties of the courts. He says, 'All offences and trespasses of the Forrest must be tried before the officers of the Forrest.' [4] Nevertheless, a manor court in Cannock Chase considered and punished two men who had offended against

[1] References cited above, especially Bazeley, *Extent of the Forest.*

[2] *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, 560 (7 Henry III).

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 94 (10 Henry III).

[4] John Manwood, *Treatise of the Forrest Lawes* (1st ed., 1598), chap. i, 7.

forest law. Thomas was amerced 'because he withheld pannage in the forensic wood of Alrewas,' and Roger Cocus (later pardoned), 'because he received malefactors in the hay.' [1] On the rolls of the King's Courts also there is occasional record of the hearing of cases which concern breaches of forest law. For instance, Laurence of Preston, lord of Gretwood, having cut down certain woods of his in Rockingham Forest without view of foresters or verderers, the seneschal of the forest wished to stop the wagon loads, but Laurence's men hindred him. After an inquisition at forest law, the case appeared before the king, and Laurence was evidently convicted, although the record is slightly ambiguous.[2] There were also a number of complaints heard in the King's common law courts concerning the malfeasance of forest officials, a sort of thing that came up more regularly and very frequently at the forest eyres.[3]

Bracton, in his *Notebook*, recorded a plea which shows the two laws running into one another. The tenement around which the dispute centered was in Dillington, Huntingdonshire, and was afforested at the time. The assize came to recognize whether Richard de Boeles and others had disseised Peter Scissor of his free tenement in Dillington. Richard came to say that he and the co-defendants claimed only common of pasture, and that it was the foresters and not he who knocked down (*prostrata*) the ditch (*fossata*) and by consideration of the verderers.[4] That is, the foresters under forest law had destroyed a ditch illegally constructed, and the injured party, Peter de Scissor, tried to bring Richard de Boeles and others, who apparently were interested in the matter only because they claimed common of pasture there and had nothing to do with the destruction, to justice under the common law.

On one of the Staffordshire assize rolls there is a case again showing confusion in the minds of men concerning forest and common law. Philip de Montgomery and three others were accused of unjustly disseising Robert le Champyon of twenty acres of land and thirty acres of heath in Otherton and Hatherden. Philip pleaded

[1] W. N. Landor, *Alrewas Court Rolls, Coll. Hist. Staff.*, vol. for 1910, pp. 109, 106.

[2] *Placit. Abbrev.*, p. 278 (13 Edw. I). Other cases, *ibid.*, pp. 238, 294 (26 and 27 Edw. I).

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 265, 291 (12, 3, and 22 Edw. I).

[4] Maitland, *Bracton's Notebook* (23 Henry III), case 1261.

that, since the tenement was ancient demesne, there could be no writ except the writ of right, and that he had entered by Thedese, Dean of Wolverampton, and not by a disseisin. He brought forward also that Robert had wished to enclose the land by a fence and a ditch, although the land was within the King's Forest, between two hays. This Philip had prevented his doing by order of the Chief Justice of the Forest. The jury found in favor of Robert, ignoring the point of forest law.[1]

By far the most serious case of this type appears on a forest eyre roll, where is reflected a rather astonishing happening which took place in a common law court. At the Northamptonshire forest eyre of 1255, it was presented and proved by the foresters and verderers

> that on the Sunday next after the Invention of the Holy Cross in the thirty-fifth year Robert of Corby, Geoffrey Gos of the same town, and Robert the son of Godfrey were taken with the proceeds of their evil deeds to the venison and imprisoned at Northampton. And Robert of Corby now comes and, being convicted, is detained in prison. And the said Geoffrey and Robert, the son of Godfrey, do not come; and they were imprisoned at Northampton in the time of Robert Basset, who was then the sheriff and who is now present. He says that Robert, the son of Godfrey, and Robert Gos were convicted of theft before Geoffrey of Lewknor, a justice assigned for delivering the gaol of Northampton; and by judgment they were hanged. And the said Geoffrey is present and well acknowledges that they were convicted before him as is aforesaid. And he says that there were then present the foresters and the sheriff, who made no mention of the fact that they were imprisoned for trespass to the venison. And Robert Basset who was then sheriff can not deny this; therefore to judgment with him.[2]

This official omission of detail was costly to the malefactors who were hanged, because under the forest law they would have been released with a fine. Such was the result when, by carelessness or ignorance, a justice of the common law hanged men who were imprisoned for breach of the forest law.

We have so far found in common law records evidence that the two laws in force simultaneously in afforested districts sometimes became tangled, to the possible hurt of those concerned. There is

[1] Wrottesley, ed., *Extracts from the Plea Rolls, Hist. Coll. Staff.*, VI, i, 233.

[2] Turner, *Select Pleas of the Forest*, pp. 33, 34.

one case in the Huntingdon forest records which shows common law procedure used in a forest court. We see that this procedure works stiffly, as if rarely applied.

A certain stranger was found slain in Sapley. Richard Lenveyse, the walking forester, who was the first finder, does not come, nor was he attached, because the verderers say and witness that they made no attachment of the finder of the said man who died or was slain within the metes of the forest, to wit, within the King's demesne wood, nor were they wont at any time to make any such attachment of the finder nor of the four neighbours, nor did they present Englishry by reason of the assize of the forest. And because the law of the land concerning the death of a man ought not to be abated on account of the assize of the forest, the procedure must be according to the form of the pleas of the crown. No Englishry, therefore murder on the hundred of Hurstingstone. And because the inquisition was before insufficiently made, let inquiry be made by the verderers and four neighbouring townships . . . and also by the whole Hundred of Hurstingstone, who say upon their oath that the said Richard Lenveyse and a certain William of Cornwall are guilty of that death. And William was a stranger and unknown, and immediately after that death he went away and as yet has not returned, therefore nothing of his outlawry; and let inquiry be made concerning him. And let Richard be exacted and outlawed. His chattels are sixteen pence, whereof John of Mareham the sheriff will answer.[1]

The same action was taken against Richard Lenveyse the forester, and the stranger, William of Cornwall, as would have been taken at a general eyre, or a jail delivery. At this forest eyre, the verderers assisted at the inquisition, and the four townships had been summoned for forest law business, but otherwise the difference could have been scarcely apparent. It will be remembered that, when Geoffrey of Lewknor delivered the jail at Northampton, there were verderers in court, although not very active when the offenders under their charge were sentenced to be hanged. Evidently all the important officials appeared at all the eyres, forest or general; we have seen that they did not distinguish with exactitude between the two laws. It is possible, and it would be very interesting to suppose, that the death of the stranger found slain in Sapley was further investigated in a common law court.

[1] Turner, *Select Pleas of the Forest*, p. 19.

Elsewhere we find the conditions nearly reversed. In one of the most famous forests, one of the few which are still so-called 'forest' to-day, the Forest of Dean, pleas of the crown were regularly presented in the general eyres by means of forest officials, the verderers. This occurred, however, only in a limited portion of the forest, the covert. Throughout the greater part, common law and forest law had their separate courts, with their cases and their procedure kept according to their special forms, as has been already stated in the first part of this paper (cf. pp. 171 ff. above).

To understand the conditions, we must examine the forest more closely. The district called to-day the Forest of Dean, with the addition of a larger area stretching to the Wye on the west and toward the Severn on the east, was, during the thirteenth century, the covert of the forest. A still larger area, taking in the entire peninsula between the Wye and the Severn, stretching north to Newent, was afforested for most of the century, but under dispute when questions of forest boundaries came up between king and subjects. The forest beyond the covert was, as has been said, like other forests, subject to common and forest law, each with its separate administration. In the covert, however, appears an interesting example of the mingling of the two laws. As may be seen from the roll of the Gloucestershire eyre of 1221, procedure with regard to pleas of the crown varied from the ordinary course when the crimes were committed within the covert. According to the usual procedure at general eyres, the roll shows that juries from the various hundreds, townships, and manors presented their cases to the justices. The noticeable and unusual fact is that from the covert 'verderers in the place of coroners present pleas of the forest, because the County records that it used to be done.' [1] The *loquelas de Foresta* were not pleas of the forest in the strict sense, but pleas concerning those happenings that came within the cognisance of common law in dealing with crown pleas, as is obvious in reading the record.

The procedure concerning these pleas was not so clear to the

[1] F. W. Maitland, ed., *Pleas of the Crown for the County of Gloucester before the Abbot of Reading, 1221* (London, 1884), p. 47.

verderers or to the justices as not to need some general statement or definition of custom. Richard of Westbury, Richard of Bleisdon, Richard of Eston, William of Heliun, and Ralph of Rodley, the verderers who presented the pleas of the crown,

> say that there is no frankpledge in the Forest, and townships ought not to answer for fugitives; and the county records that a township must answer for all fugitives, and this is found in the rolls of the last eyre, to wit, concerning the township of Bicknor, which was amerced at half a mark for the flight of Gromhugelot who burned a certain house; and therefore to judgment by the verderers.[1]

The law as finally decided is this: verderers, not coroners or local juries, present the pleas of the crown to the justices from the covert; there is no frankpledge in the covert, but nevertheless part of the covert, organized into townships, must answer for fugitives. Careful study of local conditions reveals that a large part of the covert was extra-township. We find evidence of this in the nature of the presentments of crown pleas in the roll under discussion. In most cases, the names of the places from which the pleas originated, or which were responsible for crimes, are omitted, the phrase 'within the forest' being sometimes substituted. A few run as follows: 'Lovicus of Staunton killed Walter the Chaplain and fled. . . . he was staying in the town of Staunton, and therefore the township is in mercy.'[2]

We thus see that common law and forest law, existing, as we have said, 'side by side' in afforested regions, did not each keep to its seperate field of action, but occasionally became entangled. The Year Books show us at least one instance of discussion concerning the legitimate business of each. At the Staffordshire Eyre of 1293, John de M. brought an action of novel disseisin against the Earl of Warwick. He claimed that he had been disseised of a hundred acres of wood. The defendant answered that the wood was within the bounds of the King's Forest. The record continues, 'Judgment, if here we ought to answer at the common law of a thing that touches vert; inasmuch as pleas of vert belong to the Justice of the Forest in eyre.' The defendant returned that the wood was in a chase and not a forest, and therefore he had no remedy except at common

[1] Maitland, *loc. cit. supra.* [2] *Ibid.*

law. When it was brought up that the wood, although now in a chase, used to be in a forest, the plaintiff said, 'If we can not have a remedy by this writ at common law, give us a remedy.' This request the justice said was not within his power to grant, but he finally pronounced that the wood, although now a chase, was still within the bounds of a forest, and that they must await judgment if here 'we ought to answer of a thing which touches vert.' Here the case ends except for the note that the parties came to terms later.[1]

And so we must leave the matter. John de Berwick, the justice before whom the preceding case was heard, confronted by the interplay of the two laws, was forced to say, 'Await judgment.' We, who look over the records of the century, pronounce with more certainty. We have found that, in ordinary course, forest pleas were heard in forest courts, and the criminal or civil pleas which originated from the same districts were heard in common law courts. We have found, for the most part, that the exceptions to the rule — if the meagre records can be trusted — caused little difficulty, although in the Sapley murder case search for the slayer was delayed, and in the Northampton case two men were hanged by mistake.

[1] *Year Books of the Reign of Edward I* (Rolls Series, London, 1866), *Year Book, 20–21 Ed. I*, pp. 424 f.

Moylan, Pennsylvania.

SANITATION, BATHS, AND STREET-CLEANING IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE

By LYNN THORNDIKE

AMONG the many reproaches made against the Middle Ages one of the most insistent aspersions has been a three-headed slander, barking like Cerberus to this effect. First, that the streets of mediaeval towns were constantly foul-smelling and full of filth, owing to the lack of closed sewers and private or public conveniences, to the custom of throwing refuse into the street, and to the failure of the municipal authorities to clean the pavements. Second, that soap and baths were little known in those benighted days. Third, that these dirty and pestilence-breeding living conditions in the crowded towns were accompanied by a complete lack of anything resembling sanitary legislation and administration or care for public health. So far as I know, very little specific evidence has accompanied these broad charges — or, at least, one could desire a great deal more than has been adduced. One suspects that they have been largely due to prejudice against the Middle Ages and the subconscious impression produced by the survival of some such conditions into rather recent modern times. Therefore, on the assumption that everything has steadily progressed since 'the revival of learning' and the Reformation, it has been inferred that conditions must have been much worse in the Middle Ages. If Islip is still a stinking village to-day, think what it must have been when it was the birthplace of Edward the Confessor. If Villeneuve-lès-Avignon smells far from sweet now, what must Avignon itself, on the other side of the Rhone, have been like during the Babylonian Captivity? If a public urinal across the street from my hotel in Florence offended my nose in 1912, how could I have endured the streets from which Dante was exiled in 1302? But this line of reasoning can be turned in just the opposite direction. If in the same year of 1912, in one of the main streets of Troyes, I saw little boys industriously collecting the fresh horse-manure from the pavement into dust-pans and

patting it down with their bare hands into a compressed mass to make room for more (and this is exactly what I did see) — in the Middle Ages, when the townsmen were so much poorer (*sic?* well, perhaps not in Troyes, the thriving commercial centre of the fairs of Champagne) and the towns were so much more agricultural in character or, at least, in closer relation to the surrounding fields, would not a similar disposition of refuse for fertilizing purposes have been promptly negotiated?

Such logic is not infallible, and the idea of progress is a misleading guide in this connection. In England, in 1844, a royal commission found only two towns where refuse was removed at the public expense from the courts and alleys of the slums. How could mediaeval conditions have been worse than that? During the same decade of the nineteenth century, 'three hundred London sewers,' we are told, 'emptied themselves into the Thames above the lowest intake of the water companies.' But back in 1550, when Henry II of France proposed to turn some of the sewers of Paris into the Seine, the municipal authorities vetoed the suggestion on the ground of danger to the public health, since half the population of the city were dependent upon the river for water for cooking and drinking purposes.[1] Formerly sewers had drained into the river, but the municipality had learned its lesson as nineteenth-century England was to learn its. These illustrations serve to warn us against regarding as a lineal heritage from the Middle Ages bad new conditions which actually resulted from the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the negligence of early modern medicine. The modern slum has been well described by Perris [2] as a distinctive monument of nineteenth-century industrialism. Havelock Ellis, in his *The Nineteenth Century, An Utopian Retrospect* (1901), has emphasized the presence of human excrement in the life of the common people as has no work on the mediaeval towns, to my knowledge. It seems the part of common sense to hold that, as the mediaeval towns first developed out of country villages, sanitary arrange-

[1] Marcel Poëte, *Une Vie de Cité: Paris de sa Naissance à nos Jours* II (Paris: Picard, 1927), 257, 258 (*La Cité de la Renaissance*).

[2] G. H. Perris, *Industrial History of England* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1914), p. 157.

ments would remain crude and gradually become intolerable, just as they did in the new towns or newly crowded quarters of old towns in the England of the industrial revolution and early nineteenth century. That, as the towns reached their height of enterprise and prosperity and intelligence, — and they certainly were possessed of all three to a high degree, — such conditions would be vastly improved. That, as they declined again from their best period and suffered from war or pestilence or misgovernment, there might be a reversion to a less satisfactory state of affairs.

But now let us turn from *a priori* reasoning to something in the way of definite evidence. We may deal first with the third accusation against the mediaeval towns, since it is very easily disposed of. So many instances are known of mediaeval towns maintaining municipal physicians, that it is perfectly absurd to contend that there was no sanitary administration or care for public health. In Milan, for example, not only does Bonvicino de Ripa, in the thirteenth century, state the number of physicians in the city as nearly two hundred, but Galvaneus Flamma, writing in the early fourteenth century, adds that a number of them are salaried by the commune to give free medical attendance to the poor.[1] Hospitals and charitable institutions were also widespread. I have already quoted in my *History of Civilization* (p. 333) the statement of Garnier [2] that practically all the hospitals now existent in Burgundy have come down from the Middle Ages, and that for all modern philanthropic institutions may be found their mediaeval counterparts and forerunners. Similarly the reviewer in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* of the recent work of Dorothy Louise Mackay on the mediaeval hospitals of Paris [3] remarks 'the use in the public service of the sick in the Middle Ages of many of the "innovations" of our present hospitals,' and notes that the principles of hospital administration, the recruit-

[1] Galvaneus Flamma, *Chron. Extrav.* Qy. 23, nos. 87, 88: 'inter quos sunt plures salariati per communitatem qui gratis tenentur pauperes medicare,' cited by Argellati, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium* (Milan, 1745), I, xxxi. and edited Ceruti, *Miscellanea di Storia Italia*, VII (1869), 488, 489.

[2] *Chartes de Communes et d'Affranchissements en Bourgogne*, Introduction de Joseph Garnier [who died in 1903], terminée par Ernest Champeaux, Dijon, 1918; pp. 787–960 deal with the subject of charity.

[3] *Les Hôpitaux et la Charité à Paris au XIIIe Siècle*, (Paris: 1923); 168 pp.

ing of the personnel, the internal discipline, have changed but little since the days of Saint Louis.[1] Furthermore, it is now recognized by historians of medicine that the Middle Ages surpassed antiquity in knowledge of contagious diseases and measures taken against infection, especially after the Black Death of 1348.[2] Indeed, these strict mediaeval quarantines excited the ire of a doctor of medicine who in the first half of the nineteenth century wrote the history of the town of Nantes, who regarded them as infringements upon individual liberty and relics of barbarous centuries, and who, in conformity with *his* idea of what constituted progress and enlightenment, looked forward to the speedy arrival of the day when sequestration should be abandoned as a method of preventing the spread of contagious diseases![3] The fuller statement by him which I have quoted in the note suggests that the mediaeval doctors were

[1] 'Il est piquant de trouver en usage dans le service public des malades au moyen âge quantité d' "innovations" de nos hôpitaux actuels. Les principes d'administration, du recrutement du personnel hospitalier, de la discipline intérieure n'ont guère changé depuis le temps où Louis IX accordait à l'Hôtel-Dieu une insigne protection,' *Revue des Questions Historiques* C (1924), 236.

See also L. Brièle, *Collection de Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Hôpitaux de Paris*, 1881–1887, 4 vols.

I am not qualified to give an at all complete or adequate or well-rounded bibliography of literature on mediaeval hospitals and charities, but it would be easy to fill a page or two with references. In English, interesting information in a small space is given by J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth* I (1914), 139, 140, 355, 379, 380, etc., from which I have already made some citations in my paper on 'The Study of Western Science of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,' *Medical Life* XXXII (1925), 117–127; cf. esp. p. 120.

[2] See Paul Diepgen, 'Die Bedeutung des Mittelalters für den Fortschritt in der Medizin,' in *Essays on the History of Medicine presented to Karl Sudhoff*, edited by C. Singer and H. E. Sigerist (Zürich: Seldwyla, 1924), pp. 99–120, especially pp. 108–112.

[3] A. Guépin, *Histoire de Nantes* (2d ed., 1839), p. 292: 'En lisant ce qui précède, nous sommes indignés des mesures violentes que prenaient nos pères pour se préserver des épidémies. La suspension de toute liberté individuelle, les cadenas mis aux maisons, sont autant de moyens qui nous révoltent. Prompts à porter un jugement, nous blâmons vivement ces mesures de terreur, et nous déclarons dignes des siècles de barbarie. . . . Nous devons remarquer encore que jamais la séquestration et les mesures les plus rigoureuses n'ont entravé les maladies contagieuses dans leur marche. Une sévérité excessive appelle l'attention des esprits faibles, exagère à leurs yeux les dangers de l'épidémie; la peur du mal fait naître le mal de la peur, et prédispose singulièrement à subir les fâcheuses influences [p. 293] d'une atmosphère qui renferme des miasmes dangereux. Les soins de propreté, les mesures hygiéniques et les moyens propres à distraire les imaginations faibles préservent cent fois mieux une ville du typhus, de la peste ou du choléra, que les cordons sanitaires et les lazarets. Chaque jour cette opinion que les faits historiques confirment [*sic*], acquiert de nouveaux partisans parmi les hommes les plus éclairés, et bientôt les médecins des lazarets, et les autres employés de ces établissements seront les seuls à soutenir une doctrine vieillie, sur laquelle reposent les abus dont ils profitent.'

much closer than he to the germ theory of disease, although he was at least four centuries closer in time, which apparently has its relativities as well as space. But it does seem a bit hard on the Middle Ages that in one century they should be accused of barbarism on the ground of neglecting public health, and in another age for enforcing it. The conclusion of the whole matter seems to be that the charge that the mediaeval towns were unsanitary can be maintained, if at all, only in the narrowest sense of that word, and so reduces itself to the first two of the three charges.

We therefore pass on to the second calumny, that soap and baths were little used in those times. In the general nature of things it would be passing strange if a society which took so many precautions against infection should take none against dirt as a possible source of disease, whatever theories, in part astrological in origin, may have prepossessed them, like the early nineteenth-century historian of Nantes, as to the infectious character of the air. Without arguing the point that some of the means employed against infection, such as costumes much resembling divers' suits and strong aromatics, would be more effective in keeping off insects than in excluding or purifying the air breathed, and seem to indicate an instinctive and empirical, if not fully realized and articulate, sense that fleas and the like might be spreaders of infection — without arguing this, we may simply observe that dirt and filth were then believed to be under the influence of the stars as truly as the air or any other element or compound. Moreover, the belief was general among learned men and students of nature that lower and minute forms of animal life, such as worms and flies, were spontaneously generated from dust, slime, and putrefaction. It therefore seems improbable that mediaeval men would leave filth and refuse lying about in the streets, or allow dirt to collect upon their persons, if they could prevent it.

Once more turning from theories and probabilities to concrete evidence, we may first briefly note the telling fact that bathing was much stressed in mediaeval works of medicine and hygiene. It is true that those who insist upon the dirtiness of the Middle Ages have sometimes interpreted this to mean that men bathed only

when they were sick, but this is obviously unfair dialectic. It shows the same wrongheadedness as those who have used the fact that certain saints were famed, among other austerities, for their neglect of cleanliness of the person, to give the impression that the period was favorable to dirt. Whereas the more natural inference would be that uncleanliness was as rare as is saintliness in this sinful world, or, at least, that cleanliness was the normal condition. But the fact which is absolutely destructive to the contention that mediaeval men did not wash with any frequency, is the widespread existence of public baths in mediaeval towns. To the influence of the Roman Empire, with its vast public baths, was added the habits of the German invaders, who in Caesar's day had bathed in rivers even in the depth of winter, and in the time of Tacitus had advanced to the stage of warm baths. And in those parts of Europe touched by the Arabs would be added the influence of the teachings of Mohammed as to personal cleanliness. Thus in a town as far north in the Spanish peninsula as Teruel in Aragon, we find in the statutes of A.D. 1176 careful provisions as to the use and maintenance of the public bath.[1] If we leap across space and time to the Germany of the later Middle Ages, we have evidence of four public baths in fourteenth-century Mainz, while Frankfort-on-the-Main had at least fifteen in 1387, and numbered twenty-nine bath-keepers among its citizens. In the the next century there were eight bathing establishments in Würzburg, eleven in Ulm, thirteen in Nürnberg, seventeen in Augsburg, twenty-nine at Vienna.[2] If the Emperor Wenzel drank more wine than water, he none the less seems to have shared in a high degree the fondness of his subjects for these bathing establishments; so

[1] F. A. Navarro, *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Aragon*, Tomo II. *Forum Turoli* (Saragossa: M. Escar, 1905), sect. 291, 'De balneis.' I have given the gist of its provisions in my *Short History of Civilization*, p. 323.

[2] Theodore Puschman, *A History of Medical Education* (London, 1891), p. 276.

The history of bathing, and of mediaeval bathing in particular, has received considerable attention in German monographs. Some examples are: Karl Baas, *Mittelalterliche Gesundheitspflege im Heutigen Baden*, 1909; Alfred Martin, *Deutsches Badewesen in Vergangen Tagen*, 1906; E. Bäumer, *Die Geschichte des Badewesens*, 1903; Kochendörffer, 'Zum Mittelalterlichen Badewesen,' *Zeitschrift f. Deutsche Philologie*, Bd 24; Marcuse, 'Badewesen im Altertum, Mittelalter und Neuzeit,' *Vierteljahresschrift f. Oeffentl. Gesundheits*, Bde. 31, 32 (1899–1900); G. Zappert, 'Ueber das Badewesen Mittelalterlicher und Späterer Zeit,' *Archiv f. Kunde Oesterreich. Geschichtsquellen*, Bd 21 (1858–59).

that the borders of a number of illuminated manuscripts prepared for him, even to the German translation of the Bible in six volumes,[1] are adorned with figures of bathtubs, other accessories of the bath, and either bathing girls or bath-keepers in as scant costume as at modern beaches. From representations of Wenzel himself with them or in stocks appears to have developed the legend that he was freed from prison by a fair bath-keeper named Susanna.[2] It is more likely that the pictures of him are meant to indicate symbolically that she holds his heart in fond captivity. This sensual side of bathing, also emphasized by Boccaccio, should not obscure the fact that the primary purpose of the baths was cleanliness, although mineral baths and the like were much frequented for purposes of health. If we come back from Germany to the lands lying between it and Spain, taking Florence as an example of the Italian town, we find no less than three streets of baths there in the Middle Ages.[3] Or if we turn to France, we find twenty-six bathing establishments listed in the *taille* of 1292, while the *Livre d'Étienne Boileau* includes statutes for the occupation of bath-keeper. Indeed, the latest historian of the French metropolis goes farther than this. M. Marcel Poëte does not hesitate to affirm: 'The Parisians of that time had at least one point of superiority to those of to-day: they bathed much more.'[4] And he goes on to say that this general mediaeval practice of bathing disappeared, or began to disappear, with the Renaissance![5] Herr Bäumer, too, in his history of bathing, notes the decline of mediaeval bathing.[6] Not only, then, is it a libel against the mediaeval townsman

[1] On Wenzel's Bible, see A. Woltmann and K. Woermann, *History of Painting* (English translation by S. Colvin), I (1880), 386.

[2] A. Horcicka, 'Die Saga von Susanna,' *Mitteilungen des Instituts f. Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung* I (1880), 105–120. He mentions various MSS at Vienna but does not seem to include a handsome astrological one which I examined there in the summer of 1927, and which has the same sort of pictures as the others. As it bears the dates 1392 and 1393, it would seem to antedate Wenzel's imprisonment by the Bohemian nobles in May, 1394, and so to afford further proof that his release was not effected by the bath-keeper Susanna. See Latin MS, Vienna 2352 (Philos. 201), esp. fols 1r and 34r.

[3] Robert Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz* IV, iii (Berlin: Mittler, 1927), 337, 338.

[4] Marcel Poëte, *Une Vie de Cité*, I (1924), 620: 'Les Parisiens de ce temps avaient du moins une supériorité sur ceux de maintenant: ils usaient beaucoup plus les bains.'

[5] *Ibid.*, 'Un usage aussi général s'est perdu à dater de la Renaissance.'

[6] E. Bäumer, *Die Geschichte des Badewesens*, published as Heft 7 of *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Medizin*, Breslau, 1903.

to assert that he seldom took a bath, but it must be recognized that developed mediaeval society was actually superior in this regard to modern Europe, and that the decline in personal cleanliness came with the decline of mediaeval culture and society.

With this in mind we approach the last trench of those who would denigrate the Middle Ages in the matter of sanitation and cleanliness, namely, the question of the state of the streets and of conveniences in the mediaeval town. On this point it is not to be denied that a certain amount of specific evidence has been adduced to show an unsatisfactory state of affairs; but it is to be doubted if the sweeping generalizations which have been based upon this scattered evidence, which is apt to reduce to a few particular cases somewhat widely separated in place and time, have been justified. In this connection it may be well to reflect a moment as to what sort of evidence should be expected and accepted upon such a matter as social conditions and standards of cleanliness and sanitation. If a society lived contentedly with the streets in a state of 100 per cent filth, this condition, however shocking and deplorable it may seem to us, would evoke no remark or comment from contemporaries, and no records to prove the past existence of such a condition would come down to us. Most of the complaints that have come down to us from the past as to filthy and evil-smelling streets will be found to be applicable to abuses rather than to normal usage, and to testify to the existence in public opinion of higher standards in such matters than the presence of the abuse itself would suggest. Legislation is also notoriously deceptive in such matters. Is a law, and more especially repeated legislation, against nuisances and the like more indicative of their prevalence, or of public activity and sentiment against them? The argument from silence, or from lack of evidence to demonstrate the existence of street-cleaning and sanitation, is equally dangerous. Incidental evidence is likely to be much more valuable, but care must be exercised in interpreting it. In view of such considerations as these, it has seemed to me that those authors of local and town histories who have discussed the condition of mediaeval streets have not presented sufficient convincing evidence to warrant their unfavorable generalizations.

Moreover, such unfavorable generalizations usually acquire added strength in the next repetition. In a review of the second volume of Poëte's history of Paris in the London *Times*,[1] it is asserted of Paris of the Renaissance, or late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 'the stench of the streets spread for leagues over the surrounding country,' and in another review in the same newspaper [2] of the latest instalment of Davidsohn's monumental history of Florence we read: 'For Florence, notwithstanding her splendour, was foul, ill-kept and ill-smelling. The strictest regulations were useless to prevent the citizens from depositing filth upon the highway.' I have searched the volumes reviewed in vain for the counterpart of these strong statements. The closest approach that I could find in Poëte was, 'Un souffle de campagne passe sur la ville d'où se dégage en même temps l'odeur nauséabonde d'un entassement humain malpropre,[3] and 'C'est une ville très sale.' [4] What Davidsohn says is that the street-cleaning left very much to be desired.[5]

Let us examine a little further such specific details as Davidsohn gives concerning the streets and conveniences of Florence of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. He states that Florence had no such regulations and official inspection concerning the cleanliness of street pavements as little San Gimignano had in the thirteenth century, and that not until the Black Death of 1348 were officials appointed to see to the removal of refuse. Again, although public conveniences were constructed at San Gimignano in 1255, the poor of Florence were still using the town wall, ruined buildings, or vacant lots for such purposes as late as the early fourteenth century.[6] If, however, this is to the discredit of Florence, it is equally to the credit of little San Gimignano, and cannot be taken as conclusive evidence against mediaeval towns in general. It is also well to remember that it seems to have been a matter of custom

[1] *Literary Supplement*, November 3, 1927, p. 782.

[2] *Ibid.*, August 25, 1927, p. 571.

[3] Marcel Poëte, *Une Vie de Cité: Paris de sa Naissance à nos Jours*, II, 255.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

[5] *Gesch. v. Florenz* IV, iii (1927), 262: 'Die Strassenhygiene liess sehr viel zu wünschen übrig.'

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 262, 263; *Anmerkungen*, p. 74.

rather than statutory legislation in mediaeval towns to hold each householder responsible for the cleanliness of the pavement in front of his dwelling.

Davidsohn grants that by this time it was becoming the rule for the well-to-do to have private conveniences in their houses.[1] In this connection it may be recalled that the feudal castle used to be represented as lacking such facilities until Viollet-le-Duc pointed out the evidence for their existence, and skilful planning and construction to avoid bad odors. Monasteries had their lavatories and latrines, of course, and it will be remembered that sympathizers with Huss made quite an ado because he was imprisoned at the Council of Constance in a room next to the latrines, which indicates that even Bohemians were not accustomed to put up with such odors. I should even be inclined to draw a similar inference from the incident of 1297 at the church of San Lorenzo, of which Davidsohn [2] and his reviewer in the London *Times* make so much.

If we pass on in the history of Florence to a later mediaeval period not yet reached by Davidsohn in his work, we find Salutati, writing in 1399,[3] display a squeamishness as to medical examination of urine and inspection of human excrement, 'disagreeable to smell, foul to the sight, and unsettling to the stomach,' which would scarcely seem consistent with the existence of such filth in large quantities in the streets or open places of the city of which he was not merely a native but the official secretary. Indeed, in a dialogue by Leonardo Bruni (1369–1444) Salutati is represented as saying: 'In magnificence, indeed, Florence perhaps surpasses those cities which are now in existence, but in cleanliness it surpasses both those that are now in existence and all those that ever were. . . . For neither Rome nor Athens nor Syracuse were, I think, so clean and well kept, but in this respect were far surpassed by our city.' [4] A very different

[1] *Gesch. v. Florenz* IV, iii (1927), 331.

[2] His account of it at II, ii (1908), 509, 510, is fuller and gives a slightly different impression from the briefer allusion at IV, iii (1927), 263.

[3] In his *De Nobilitate Legum et Medicinae*, described in my article on 'Medicine Versus Law in Late Mediaeval and Medicean Florence,' *Romanic Review* XVII (1926), 8–31; see esp. p. 27.

[4] Theodor Klette, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur der Italienischen Gelehrtenrenaissance* II (1889), 67, 68: 'Leonardi Aretini ad Petrum Paulum Istrum Dialogus,' liber II.

estimate this from the English reviewer's: 'Florence, notwithstanding her splendour, was foul, ill-kept and ill-smelling.' Bruni was even more specific on the same point in his *Eulogy of the City of Florence*, in which he remarks that some towns are so dirty that whatever filth is made during the night is placed in the morning before men's eyes and to be trodden underfoot, 'than which it is impossible to imagine anything fouler. For even if there are thousands there, inexhaustible wealth, infinite multitude of people, yet I will condemn so foul a city nor ever think much of it. For just as there cannot be felicity in a deformed body, although it may possess all other excellencies, so there can be no beauty in cities, if they are filthy, although all other advantages may be present.' [1]

Perhaps the safest conclusion in regard to the cleaning and sanitary status of mediaeval streets would be that some towns were satisfactory in this respect and others not, or that the same town varied at different periods. This is further borne out by the Italian humanist, Fausto Andrelini of Forlì, who taught at the University of Paris in the later years of the fifteenth century and addressed a vivid complaint as to the filthy condition of the streets of the French capital and objectionable personal practices of its inhabitants in the form of a Latin poem to Budé.[2] Yet at this very time inhabitants

[1] Klette, *cit. sup.*, 'Leonardi Aretini Laudatio Florentinae urbis,' pp. 87, 88.

[2] *Publii Fausti Andrelini Foroliviensis poete laureati ad Guillermum Budeum Parrhisiensem patricium, graeca et latina litteratura insignitum, de influentia syderum et querela Parrhisiensis pavimenti carmen*, 1496. The poem will scarcely bear translation into English, but a few lines of the original may be given to illustrate its character. L. Thuasne called attention to it in his article, 'Rabelaesiana,' *Revue des Bibliothèques* XIV (1904), 281–304. I have read the original incunabulum edition at the British Museum:

Ast ego continuo turbe pede calcor euntis
Et curru infelix preterunte teror,
Et iactam ex altis urinam poto fenestris,
Mingit et in media sexus uterque via.
Undique merda fluit puerorum infecta cacantum
Et ventri pateo spurca latrina gravi.
Stercora quinetiam brevibus resoluta cucullis
In non tergendam deiiciuntur humum.
Suavior ut fiat triplici mixtura sapore
Immundum effundit lota culina situm.
Principio ignarus solum putat advena cenum
Et damnat multo sordida strata luto.
Clamat et, O verum sortita Lutetia nomen,
Quam bene sunt fame congrua facta tue.

of Paris successfully objected to the presence of a potter in their neighborhood because of the disagreeable odors that his occupation involved.[1] Erasmus was another foreigner to inveigh against the filthiness of the streets of Paris at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but we must of course infer therefrom that the conditions of which he and Andrelini complained did not exist in their native towns or other habitual haunts. Poëte, in his history of Paris, does not state that the condition of the streets declined with the Renaissance period, as he did state of the public baths, but he certainly does not show an improvement,[2] although in 1554 there were 800 carts to remove filth twice daily. But a document of 1270 shows the existence then of an official, with assistants, to care for the streets, and the specific instances of uncleanliness which Poëte gives date from the time of the Hundred Years' War and Black Death,[3] when the city was depopulated and disorganized, and hence probably do not represent the best conditions of mediaeval Paris.

Some early modern towns were apparently dirtier than those of the Middle Ages, and others cleaner. We have strong descriptions of the filthiness of the streets in a new royal capital like Madrid in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the other hand, on August 1, 1621, James Howell wrote of Venice: 'I admired her magnificent buildings, her marvelous situation, her dainty, smooth, neat streets, whereupon you may walk most days in the year in a silk stocking and satin slippers without soiling them.' [4] But of course Venice, with its canals, was an exceptional case.

No very positive position, then, would yet seem possible as to the sanitary condition and care of the streets in times past, and the Middle Ages in especial. What we need is less mud-slinging and more facts. If the foregoing discussion serves to check the former somewhat and to encourage the production of more of the latter, it will have achieved its purpose.

[1] Poëte, *Une Vie de Cité*, II (1927), 56.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 254–258. [3] *Ibid.*, I (1924), 613–619.

[4] *Familiar Letters*, quoted by H. D. Sedgwick, *Ignatius Loyola* (New York: Scribner's, 1923), p. 162.

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KRONIKA O ALEXANDRU VELIKÉM: A CZECH PROSE TRANSLATION OF THE *HISTORIA DE PRELIIS*, RECENSION J^3

By FRANCIS PEABODY MAGOUN, Jr and S. HARRISON THOMSON

AS is now generally understood, the *Natiuitas et Victoria Alexandri*,[1] a mid-tenth-century translation into Latin by a Neapolitan Archpresbyter, Leo, from a (lost) so-called δ-group MS. of the Greek Pseudo-Callisthenes,[2] thrice underwent expansion and elaboration. These expanded versions of Leo's work pass commonly under the generic title *Historia de Preliis* and exist in three main recensions: J^1, the earliest, was twice independently reworked, yielding recensions J^{2_3} and J^3 (*ante* 1150); J^{3a} (*ca.* 1150) designates a recently discovered derivative of J^3, apparently local to England.[4] The J^3 recension is of special interest to bibliophiles since, in an abbreviated form, it was utilized for most of the famous *Historia de Preliis* incunabula, notably those printed at Strassburg.[5] Although Latin texts of recensions J^1 and J^2 have already been edited,[6] we

[1] Ed. Fr. Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo* (Sammlung Mittellatein. Texte, Nr 6, Heidelberg: Winter, 1913); the Introduction (also printed separately in 1912 as a habilitationsschrift) gives orientation in chief occidental versions.

[2] Orientation by W. von Christ, *Geschichte d. Griech. Lit.* (6th ed., Munich: Beck, 1922), II, ii, 813–816 (§ 734) and by W. Kroll in Pauly-Wissowa XX (1919), 1707–1723 and in his *Historia Alexandri Magni* (*Pseudo-Callisthenes*): Vol. I. *Recensio Vetusta* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1926), Praefatio.

[3] G. L. Hamilton, 'Quelques Notes sur l'Histoire de la Légende d'Alexandre le Grand en Angleterre au Moyen Age,' *Mélanges de Philologie et d'Histoire offerts à M. Antoine Thomas* (Paris: Champion, 1927), pp. 201, 202, urges an eleventh-century date; against Hamilton's argument see Fr. Pfister, *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift* XVI (1928), 84, 85.

[4] Identified and discussed by G. L. Hamilton, 'A New Redaction (J^{3a}) of the *Historia de Preliis* and the Date of Redaction J^3,' Speculum II (1927), 113–146.

[5] Strassburg 1489 has been reprinted by K. Kinzel in his *Lamprechts Alexander* (Germanist. Handbibliothek VI, Halle, 1884) at the foot of pp. 3 ff.; for the classification of the incunabula in detail see G. L. Hamilton, *art. cit.*, p. 118, n. 2 (references given). For a description of these incunabula and where they may be found, see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Vol. I (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1925), col. 440 ff. *passim*.

[6] J^1 by O. Zingerle as an appendix to Vol. IV of Germanist. Abhandlungen (Breslau, 1885); J^2 by A. Hilka in *Der Altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1920), published as a festschrift to Carl Appel.

have as yet no edition of a J^3 Latin text. A number of MSS of the J^3 recension have, however, been classified and the points in which J^3 departs significantly from J^1 determined; the most striking of these are 8 Interpolations and a number of concluding sentences, moralizing in tone.[1]

While the Czech metrical translation (*ca.* 1265) of the *Alexandreis* (1178) of Gautier de Châtillon,[2] based upon the *Historiae Alexandri Magni* of Quintus Curtius Rufus,[3] has been the subject of much careful study,[4] the later Czech prose translation of the *Historia de Preliis* appears to have been neglected by recent students of this branch of the Alexander legend.[5] This Czech prose rendering of the *Historia de Preliis*, known as the *Kronika o Alexandru Velikém*, exists in four MSS and in an early sixteenth-century print:

A. Prague Univ. MS. *XVII.H.4;* 12mo, vellum, and dated 1433;[6] chapters 59–72 have been printed under the title *Život Alexandra Velikého, Krále Macedonského.*[7]

[1] All analysed by Fr. Pfister, *Münchener Museum f. Philol. d. Mittelalters u. d. Renaissance* I (1912), 249–301. To the fifteen J^3 MSS listed by Pfister, *art. cit.*, pp. 252, 253, 301 (Korrecturnachtrag), add a Glasgow MS. identified by G. L. Hamilton, Speculum II (1927), 114, n. 9; Harvard Univ. MS. *Latin 34* (described by F. P. Magoun, Jr, [Harvard] *Library Notes*, No. 20, April, 1928, pp. 172–175), and probably Prague Univ. *MS. XI. D. 2*, p. 217 below.

[2] On this see H. Christensen, *Das Alexanderlied Walters von Châtillon* (Halle, 1905) and M. Bacherler, 'Gaulterus' *Alexandreis* in ihrem Verhältnis zum Curtius Text,' *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* XXXVII (1917), 663–672, 698–704, 730–736, 761–766; studied as a monument of twelfth-century literature by C. Giordano, *Alexandreis: Poema di Gautier da Châtillon* (Naples: Federico and Ardia, 1917).

[3] Ed. S. Dosson, 9th impression rev. R. Pichon (Paris: Hachette, 1912), and translated into modern Czech by Fr. St. Kott, *Q. Curtius Rufus: o Činech Alexandra Velikého, Krále Macedonského*, as No. 1 of Bibliotéka Klassiků Řeckých a Římských (Prague: A. Wiesner, 1899) and rev. in *Listy Filologické* XXX (1903), 369, 370.

[4] Most recently ed. by R. Trautmann, *Die Alttschechische Alexandreis* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1916) with additional notes in *Archiv f. Slavische Philol.* XXXVI (1916), 431–435; rev. in *Listy Filolog.* XLIV (1917), 122–128 and in *Archiv. f. Slavische Philol.* XXXVII(1918–1920), 234–238.

[5] Identified with the *Historia de Preliis* by I. Snegirev, Отрывки Чешской Поэмы об Александрѣ Македонском (Kazan diss., 1877), p. 10; Snegirev's dissertation is mainly devoted to the Czech poem mentioned above.

[6] Described by J. Truhlář, *Katalog Českých Rukopisů C. K. Veřejné a Universitní Knihovny Pražské* (Prague, 1906), pp. 124, 125 (item 333); earlier notice by J. Dobrovský, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Sprache und Aeltern Literatur* (rev. ed., Prague, 1818), pp. 167, 168. On the questionableness of this date, see pp. 214 ff. below.

[7] *Výbor z Literatury České*, Díl 2., ed. K. J. Erben (Prague, 1868), pp. 530–543; this excerpt corresponds to Prusík's text (*cit. infra*), *Krok* IX (1895), 121–242.

B. Prague Univ. MS. *XVII.B.6*, fol. 234r–289r; certainly not copied into this MS. before 1470; paper.[1]

C. Náchod Town Archives, unnumbered MS., fol. 203r–318r (fol. 301, 302 missing); dated 1487.[2]

D. Národní Museum Library (formerly Museum Království Českého), Prague, MS. *II.C.10*, fol. 28r–84r; *ca.* 1445.[3] This MS., formerly in the library of the famous bibliophile, Count Neuberg, was not accessible to Prusík.

E. Kniha o Wssech Skutzjech Welikeho Alexandra Macedonskeho, printed by Matauš Bakalář, Pilsen, 1513; 8vo;[4] this very rare volume, of which there is a copy in the Prague University Library, is said to be based upon MS. *D*.[5]

At the time when Prusík was preparing his edition, the highly important distinctions between the various recensions of the *Historia de Preliis* were scarcely known and had by no means been fully worked out.[6] Prusík, accordingly, used for purposes of comparison the only Latin text available, Zingerle's J^1 text noted above. Now

[1] Described by Truhlář, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21 (item 50); see Prusík, *Krok* VIII, 83, on date.

[2] Discovered and ed. with modernized spellings and with variants from MSS *A* and *B* by Fr. X. Prusík, 'Kronika o Alexandru Velikém z Rukopisu Náchodského,' *Krok: Časopis Věnovaný Veškerým Potřebám Středního Školstva* VIII (1894), 81–90, 121–130, 161–165, 201–208, 241–252, 281–285, 321–326, 374–377; IX (1895), 1–4, 41–49, 81–85, 121–124, 165–169, 201–205, 241–247, 281–286, 321–324, 361–367; X (1896), 1–3, 37–41, 77–81, 117–123, 157–163, 197–200, 237–242, 277–284, 357–359; XI (1897), 1–3, 41–44, 81–84. The text in Vol. VIII = Zingerle, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–173, 6; Vol. IX = Z., pp. 175, 6–221, 16; Vol. X to p. 284 = Z., pp. 221, 17–265, 16. The rest of Vol. X and Vol. XI = J^3 'Concluding Sentences' (see below).

[3] MS. first adequately described and linguistic features analysed by Fr. Šimek, *Cestopis T. Zv. Mandevilla* (in Sbírka Pramenův, I, i, 9, Prague, 1911), pp. viii–xii; see also F. M. Bartoš, *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Musaei Nationalis Pragensis* I (Prague: 'Melantrich,' 1926), 74 (item 367).

[4] Described and archaic language noted by J. A. Hanslik, *Geschichte u. Beschreibung der Prager Universitätsbibliothek* (Prague, 1851), p. 537; listed also by J. G. Th. Graesse, *Trésor de Livres Rares* (Dresden, 1859), I, 71, col. 1.

[5] By Erben in *Výbor*, *loc. cit. supra*, p. 530 (introductory notice, where the MS. in question is referred to as the 'Neuberg MS.' — so called by earlier literary historians, Jungmann and others); the relation of the text of the print to the text of the MSS should be determined and the text of the print made available in a reprint, perhaps in the magnificent Monumenta Bohemiae Typographica.

[6] A. Ausfeld's famous study, 'Die Orosius-Recension der *Historia de Preliis* und Babiloth's Alexanderchonik,' *Festschr. d. Badisch. Gymnasien* (Karlsruhe, 1886) had, it is true, appeared, but it was probably comparatively little known and its extreme significance scarcely realized. Pfister's study of the peculiarities of the J^3 recension (*Münchener Museum*, *cit. supra*) did not appear until 1912.

if one compares Prusík's Czech text with Zingerle's J^1 Latin, one finds that the text corresponds in the main very closely; yet there are a number of passages in the Czech for which there is nothing answering in Zingerle's Latin.[1] Upon further examination these passages show themselves to consist in just those additions noted above as distinguishing recension J^3 from recension J^1; they occur as follows:[2]

Interpolation 1: *MM.*, pp. 255, 256 = *Kr.*, VIII, 201
(*kdež jsa Alexandr . . . poče býti nuzno*).

Interpolation 2: *MM.*, pp. 256, 257 = *Kr.*, VIII, 202, 203
(*ale zvolil jest . . . odtrhnúti od Tiru*).

Interpolation 3: *MM.*, pp. 257–258 = *Kr.*, VIII, 204
(*Uslyšav to Alexandr . . . nemohú proti Rekóm*).[3]

Interpolation 4: *MM.*, pp. 259–261 = *Kr.*, IX, 203, 204
(*i vstavi na sě . . . oblečen rúchem cíesařským*).

Interpolation 5: *MM.*, pp. 263–265 = *Kr.*, X, 118–121
(*jenž bieše tak veliké výsosti . . . dní devadesáte, přijide*).

Interpolation 6: *MM.*, pp. 266, 267 = *Kr.*, X, 123–158
(*Ty skrotitel světa . . . bieše k Macedoní*).

Interpolation 7: *MM.*, pp. 267, 268 = *Kr.*, X, 200
(*Potom Alexander jede*, etc.)

Interpolation 8: *MM.*, pp. 269, 270 = *Kr.*, X, 240–242
(*Mezi tiem káza Alexander . . . opoledník mně slúží*).

Concluding Sentences (Schluszsätze)

1. *MM.*, pp. 273–275 = *Kr.*, X, 357 –XI, 2 (*O smrti zajisté rozmnožitele . . . ty cíl sám vidíš*).

[1] See note to Interpolation 3 below.

[2] In the following *MM.* = *Münchener Museum, loc. cit.; Kr.* = *Krok, loc. cit.*

[3] For part of the episode of the Siege of Tyre, Prusík naturally tried to make some use of the version in former Seitenstetten *MS. XXXI* (*S* in Zingerle's apparatus from which Prusík quotes) as given in Zingerle's apparatus, pp. 150, 151; in MS. *Seittenstett. XXXI*, now Harvard University *MS. Lat. 121*, the episode in question, found on fol. 110 B, is given quite differently, and does not agree with the Czech (Pfister, *MM.*, p. 257, n. 1; note that *S* in Pfister, *MM.*, p. 253 ff. = Strassburg print of 1489).

2. *MM.*, p. 276 = *Kr.*, XI, 41 (*A když Alexander, syn Philipuov . . . v latinskú přeložen*).

3. *Kr.*, XI, 41–44, 81–84 contains a long moralizing passage, evidently equivalent to or identical with that referred to in *MM.*, p. 276 ('folgt das lange Schreiben').

Besides these one notes also the inclusion of Darius' long moralizing speech: *MM.*, pp. 279, 280 = *Kr.*, IX, 201, 202 (*Synu Alexandře, jakožto lépe . . . v hlubokosť ponížiti*).

That the *Kronika o Alexandru Velikém* is a close translation of a Latin text of the J^3 recension of the *Historia de Preliis* there can be no question.

The date of the Czech translation and the relation of the Czech MSS (and the 1513 Pilsen print) to one another now claim attention and study. Unfortunately it is not possible with the materials at hand and with their present philological equipment for the present writers to solve either of these problems. First and foremost MS. *D* and the text of the print are inaccessible, while the edited text (MS. *C* with copious variants from *A* and *B*) is presented by Prusík in a garb of modernized orthography. It is possible, however, to suggest a line of approach which might profitably be developed by some Czech scholar who enjoys immediate access to the documents in question.

A preliminary survey of the Náchod MS. (*C*) and a comparison of its readings with those of the two Prague University Library MSS (*A* and *B*) against available Latin texts make pretty clear, first, that *A* and *C* are closer to one another than is either to *B*; secondly, that *B* is the best MS., at least to the extent that *B*, when it departs from *A* and *C*, is usually closer than these to the Latin. Former Neuberg MS. (*D*) has, as already noted, not been collated, so that no opinion can be expressed here as to the character of its text.

Working in a sense at second hand and considering the exigencies of space, it seems scarcely profitable to enumerate, to say nothing of discussing in detail, the many passages which might be called to account. Nevertheless there are three sections, interesting in them-

selves, the presentation of which may illustrate in a measure the opinion expressed above and at the same time exhibit to the reader, even though unfamiliar with Czech, the character of the texts.

Interpolation 1 — Preparations for the Siege of Tyre (*MM.*, pp. 255, 256 = *Kr.*, VIII, 201)

Chapters 26 and 27 of all recensions of the *Historia de Preliis* are devoted to an account of the siege and the conquest of the city of Tyre. In recension J^3 the following paragraph, descriptive of the preparations for the siege, is interpolated in chapter 26 (at a point = Zingerle, *ed. cit.*, p. 149, l. 15):

ubi Alexander cum exercitu *longo tempore* commoratus multa incommoda est perpessus. In tantum enim erat fortis ciuitas tam maris circumdatione tam edificiorum constructione tam etiam *ipsius loci fortitudine naturali*, quia nullatenus ciuitatem poterat per impetum obtinere. Construxit autem Alexander edificium ingens in mare, quod ciuitatem tam fortiter opprimebat, quia nulla nauigia neque classes poterant portum ciuitatis *attingere*. Alexander autem attendebat, qualiter *posset* inuadere urbem. Cepit itaque exercitus indigere.

MS. A

. . kdež jsa Alexandr s svým vojskem mnoho nehod trpěl jest, neb tak velmi bíeše tvrdé město, neb jest bylo mořem obklíčeno a velmi mocné uděláno a bíeše nedobyté. Ale Alexandr ustavil jest dílo mocné, veliké u moři, jenž městu taký nátisk činíeše, že i žádné lodíe nemohly jsú k městskému břehu *přistati*. Ale mysléše Alexandr, kterak *by mohl* město ztéci; tehdy jeho vojsko poče býti nuzno.

. . where Alexander, staying with his army, suffered many adversities, for it was such a strong city, for it was surrounded by the sea and very powerfully fortified and was impregnable. But Alexander built up a work, strong and great, from the side of the sea, which wrought such oppression upon the city that no boats *could dock* at the port of the city. But Alexander thought how he *might* take the city by assault; and then his army began to be in want.

MS. B

. . kdež jsa Alexandr s svým vojskem mnoho nehod trpěl jest, neb tak velmi bíeše tvrdé město, neb jest bylo mořem obklíčeno a velmi mocně

. . where Alexander, staying with his army, suffered many adversities, for it was such a strong city, for it was surrounded by the sea and very

uděláno a *od položeníe jeho* bieše nedobyté. Ale Alexandr ustavil jest dielo mocné, veliké u moři, jenž městu taký nátisk činieše, že i žádné lodíe nemohly jsú k městskému břehu *přistúpiti*. Ale mysléše Alexandr, kterak *by mohl* město ztéci; a v ta doby jeho vojsko poče býti nuzno.

strongly fortified and *because of its position* was impregnable. But Alexander built up a work, strong and great, from the side of the sea, which wrought such oppression upon the city that no boats *could reach the* port of the city. But Alexander thought how he *might* take the city by assault; and at that time his army began to be in want.

MS. C

. . kdež jsa Alexandr s svým vojskem mnoho nehod trpěl jest, neb tak velmi bieše tvrdé město, neb jest bylo mořem obklíčeno a velmi mocně uděláno a *od přirozeníe jeho* bieše nedobyté. Ale Alexandr ustavil jest dielo mocné, veliké u moři, jenž městu taký nátisk činieše, že nižádné lodíe nemohly jsú k městskému břehu *postaviti*. Ale mysléše Alexandr, kterak *mohl* město ztéci, a jeho vojsko poče býti nuzno

. . where Alexander, staying with his army, suffered many adversities, for it was such a strong city, for it was surrounded by the sea and very strongly fortified and *because of its nature* was impregnable. But Alexander built up a work, strong and great, from the side of the sea, which wrought such oppression upon the city that no boats at all *could stand* (*anchor*) at the port of the city. But Alexander thought how he *could* take the city by assault; and his army began to be want.

The present passage — *A* and *B* are reconstructed from Prusík's apparatus — serves to illustrate the general similarity of the three texts, which here exhibit differences only in three minor points:

1. *ipsius loci fortutudine naturali; A* omits this phrase altogether (between *uděláno a* and *bieše*); *B* renders the Latin by '*od položeníe jeho*' 'by its position,' emphasizing *loci; C* translates '*od přirozeníe jeho*' 'by its nature,' emphasizing *naturali.*

2. *attingere: A* translates with '*pristati*' 'to dock (of a ship)'; *B* (the closest) with '*přistúpiti*' 'to approach' 'to reach'; *C* with '*postaviti*' 'to take up a position at.'

3. *posset: A* and *B* translate with '*by mohl* (cond.)' 'might,' *C* with '*mohl* (pret.ind.)' 'could.'

A, B, C omit (with Lat. *S*) *longo tempore.*

Interpolation 7 — The Investment of the Unclean Peoples (*MM.*, pp. 267, 268 = *Kr.*, X, 200)

Between the episodes of Candace and Candaulus and Alexander's coming to the Red Sea, with the famous story of his flight through the air and his descent into the deep, are four chapters given over to an account of various marvels seen by him on his journey thither (chapters 111–114). At the end of chapter 113 in recension J^3 occurs an account of Alexander's investment of the Unclean Peoples of Gog and Magog, with a list of their names.[1] These lists vary greatly with the different Latin and vernacular MSS. In the list given here from the *Kronika o Alexandru Velikém* the corresponding Latin names (in italic) are placed in round brackets after the Czech; the Latin forms are taken from Pfister together with his indication of their source. Variants from Czech MS. *B* are placed in square brackets.

A těch králuov tato sú jmena: Gog (*Gog*), Magog (*Magog*), Agetona (*Agetan*, Lat. *S*) [Getrame (?), *B*], Magabena (*Magehon*, Lat. *S*),[2] Leatara [Aleatara, *B* (*Oleatar*, Lat. *B,D*)], Apodiegega [Apodyneya, B (*Apodinei*, Lat. *B*)], Lymye [Lumie, *B*] (cf. *Luvii*, Lat. *B; Limis*, Lat. *D*), Ymne [Yume? Imie, *B* (cf. *Junii*, Lat. *B,D,S*), Bayczena [Ranzera, *B* (cf. *Ranzei*, Lat. *B*; *Raniceri*, Quil.)], Dediasse (*Dedeus*, Lat. *D*), Zemarta [Girama, *B* [3]] (*Cemarte*, Lat. *M*), Tabeliasse [om. *B*] (*Tabellei*, Lat. *D*), Asse [Yasse, *B*] (= ?), Zamartyasse (*Camartiani*, Lat. *B*), Tarbay[4] (cf. *Tathomi* of Quil.) [Charbey, *B* (cf. *Chacomi*, Lat. *B*)], Alonis (*Alonis*, Lat. *B, M*), Philonophi [Philimoni, *B* (*Philonis*, Lat. *B,S,M*)], Artmeyssczij [5] (*Artinei*), Sartmeyssczij [5] (cf. *Sartinei*) a Saltacyssczij [6] (*Saltari*) a Lynyada [7] a Basama.[7]

It is clear at a glance that the names in the *Kronika* do not agree with those of any single Latin MS. or of the Strassburg incuna-

[1] See Pfister, *MM.*, p. 268, for a brief discussion of this material, based upon the Pseudo-Methodius.

[2] Both Lat. *S* and Czech appear to go back to a common source, *b* and *h* being confused or both being distortions of some other letter.

[3] *Girama* of *B* should perhaps be regarded as related in some way to *Grimardi* of Quilichinus rather than as a distorted alternate of *Zemarta* of *A* and *C*.

[4] *B* reads: Dyamafragisse, jenž slovú Kynocefalli = *Dyanafragi qui dicuntur Kynochofoly*, Lat. *M* (below).

[5] *m* evidently a miswriting of *in*.

[6] Prusík, p. 200, n. 27: 'letter before *y* illegible'; should we read *r* for *c*?

[7] Not represented in Pfister's lists, *MM.*, *loc. cit.*

bulum, whose readings are published by Pfister. The readings of Lat. *B* (Berlin *cod. lat. 49*) explain the Czech more often than any other, yet the prototype of the Czech and of Lat. *B* are far from identical. It will be further noted that in most cases where Czech *B* departs from Czech *A* and *C:* 1) *B* is closer to a recorded Latin form than is *A* or *C*, as, for example, in the names corresponding to Latin *Oleatar* (Lat. *B*), *Philonis* (Lat. *B,S,M*); 2) *B* alone gives a reading (though out of order and in the place of *Carmartiani* of Lat.*B*) corresponding to *Dyanafragi qui dicuntur Kynochofoly.*

On the other hand, *B* omits anything corresponding to *Tabellei* (Lat. *D*) and, together with Czech *A* and *C*, includes three names not in Pfister's lists: *Yasse* (*Asse* of *A*, *C*), *Lynyada*, and *Basama.* In the case of the uncertain *Getrame B* probably gives us a very distorted reading for something corresponding to *Agetona* of *A* and *C; Charbey*, corresponding to *Chacomi* of Lat. *B*, Czech *B* substitutes for *Tarbay* of *A* and *C*, which apparently corresponds to *Tathomi* of Quilichinus.

Interpolation 8 — The Throne and the Crown in Babylon (*MM.*, pp. 269, 270 [verse] = *Kr.*, X, 241)

In chapter 123 Alexander has reached Babylon on his homeward journey and, writing to his mother Olympias and to his master Aristotle, receives a reply from the latter. At this point (Zingerle, *op. cit.*, p. 257, l. 16) the composer of recension J^3 inserts a somewhat lengthy section beginning '*Inter hec siquidem Alexander fecit in Babylone thronum aureum fabricari*'; on this golden throne were figures with the names of peoples subject to Alexander inscribed upon them. As above, the Czech names are given with the corresponding Latin in round brackets, variants from Czech *B* in square.

Partšší (*Particus*), Medšší (*Medus*), [a Indičští (*Indus*) mně slúžie, *B*], Arabšší (*Arabs*) [Asyrští (*Assirus*), *B*],[1] Cilicšší (*Cilicus*) a všecka země Mezopotanská (*Mesopotamia*), vlasti vlaské, židovské,[2] lid ostrý Cananejský (*Chananeorum*), Múřenínský lid,[3] Macedoníe (*Macedonia*), Řecká

[1] Accord. to Prusík, p. 241, n. 9, *B* substitutes *Asyrští* for *Arabšší* of *A* and *C;* the Lat. requires *both.*

[2] MSS *A, B, C* omit *Persa, Italus, Hebreus.*

[3] 'Moorish people' (?) for *Ethiopum gentes* of Latin?

(*Grecia*) i Cypreská (*Cyprus*) země, Egypt (*Egyptus*), Acholcas [a Cholcas (*Colcus*), *B*], Caldejšští (*Caldeus*), [a Capadocí (*Capadocus*), *B*], Ženské královstvíe (*Femineum regnum*), Lybské (*Libicus*) [om. *B*], Lybernické [Libeničský, *B*] (*Liburnus*), Sancké (= ?) [Smirnské, *B* (*Smirnus*)],[1] Affrycké (*Africus*) [Pamfilské (*Pamphilia*), *B*],[2] Sardynské (= *Sardus* ?),[3] Lanečské [Landeské (*Laudus, Laude*), *B* [4]],[5] Ephezeské [Ehezské, *B*] (*Ephesius*), Knutské (Limičské, *B*] (= ?),[6] Boecké [om. *B*] (*Bochus*), Philadelphské (*Philadelphus*), Carnské [Laurynské, *B* (cf. *Laurius* of Pfister's MS. *M*)], Myrmydonské (not in Pfister's Latin) a přebohaté Mohské [Morothské, *B* (*Moroch*)],[7] Englické [Angličské, *B*] (*Anglicus*), Skotské (*Scotus*), Brytanské [Vrytanske, *B*] (*Britonum*), pyšná rota [om. *B*] (*superba caterva*), Irlandské (*Irlandus*), Flandrské (*Flandrus*), Carncaloské [8] [Carneolské, *B*] (*Cornealis*) i Norvenské (= a *Norvegicus* not in Pfister's Lat.) [Norovské, *B*] (cf. *Norgucicus* of Pfister's MS. *M*); Německý [Němečské, *B*] (transl. *Teutonicus*), Franský (*Francus*), [Wcandole (*Guandalia*) a Vlašina všecka (*Gallia tota*), Ispanské (*Hispanus*), *B*] dobrovolně sú naklonili svá hrdla, Římšší (*Romanus*) ukrutní a umělí, Maruský (= ?) [9] mně se podkládají, Tuskanský (*Tusci*) a Nápulský (*Apulus*) a Babryská [Alabrisska, *B* (*Calaber*)] a Sykulská země [om. *B*] (*Siculus*); mně dani dávají Syršší [Sitysky, *B* (*Siticus* in Lat. MS. *B*)],[10] Irtanšší [Vrtansky, *B*] (*Ircanus*), Armenšší (*Armenia*), Lytvanšší,[11] Barbarský řád (*Barbarus ordo*), Barbarši [Bulgarský, *B* (*Bulgarus*)], Albanšší (*Albanus*), [Benadský, *B* (*Venetus*)], Dalmacký (*Dalmaticus*) i Štyrský [om. *B*] (*Yster*), Uherský (*Ungarus*), Astřenský [Fryzenský, *B* (*Frisius*)], Batrický [12] [om. *B*] (cf. Pfister's var. *Botrius, Bottrus*), mně slúží i Bobrsický[13] [om. *B*] i Babilonský[14] [om. *B*]. Všeko mně jest poddáno a mě jediný Jupiter (*Jupiter*) poddal jest.

The situation here is much as in Interpolation 7 just preceding. Once again *B* supplies deficiencies in *A* and *C* for the 10 names corresponding to *Indus*, *Assirus*, *Capadocus*, *Pamphilia*, *Laurus* (of

[1] Lat. *Ysaurus* between *Liburnus* and *Africus* om. Czech MSS. *A, B, C.*

[2] Accord. to Prusík, p. 241, n. 16, *B* substitutes *Pamfileské* for *Affrycké;* the Latin requires *both.*

[3] For *Sardinia?*

[4] Did the *B* scribe misread *-and-* for *-aud-?*

[5] *Ysaurus* om. *A, B, C;* order of names here varies slightly in Czech *A,B, C.*

[6] Latin has *Tanix;* are the Czech forms distortions of this?

[7] *Morothské* of *B* stands for *Morochské; c* no doubt misread *t* by Prusík, who did not have corresponding Latin for comparison.

[8] *-nca-* probably miswritten for *-nea-.*

[9] *Římští ukrutné, Armelí, Maruské* (*B;* for *Mauritani?* cf. Span. *morisco*).

[10] *Scythicus* in Pfister's other Lat. MSS.

[11] Nothing to correspond in Lat.

[12] Lat. *Batavus, Seruia,* which follows in the Latin, om. Czech MSS. *A, B, C.*

[13] Not represented in Lat.; = ?

[14] Not represented in Lat.

Lat. *M*), *Guandalia*, *Gallia tota*, *Hispanus*, *Calaber* and *Venetus;* *B* furthermore offers more intelligent readings for *Colcus*, *Smirnus*,[1] *Laudus*, *Moroch*, *Siticus*,[2] *Bulgarus*, and *Frisius;* finally, *B* does not include *Bobrsický* and *Babilonský* of *A*,*C*, not represented in Pfister's Latin. On the other hand, *B*'s *Asyrští* (*Assirus*) takes the place of *Arabští* (*Arabs*) of *A*,*C*, *B*'s *Pamfilské* (*Pamphilia*) the place of *Affrycké* (*Africus*) of *A*,*C;* *B* omits names corresponding to *Libicus* (*Lybské* of *A*,*C*), *Bochus* (*Boecké* of *A*,*C*), *Siculus* (*Sykulská* of *A*,*C*); *Yster* (*Štyrský* of *A*,*C*), and *Batavus*, var. *Botrius* (*Batrický* of *A*,*C*), and *B* gives poorer readings in *Ehezské* for *Ephesius* (*Ephezeské* of *A*,*C*) and *Libeničský* for *Liburnus* (*Lyberniké* of *A*,*C*). On several names, also apparently peculiar to the *Kronika*, *B*, fails to help: *Múřenínský*, *Sardynské* (= *Sardus?*), *Limičské* (*Knutské* of *A*,*C*),[3] *Norovské* (*Norvenské* of *A*,*C*) and *Lytvanští* (= *Lithuanus* not in Pfister's Latin). Along with *A* and *C*, *B* omits *Persa*, *Italus*, *Hebreus* and *Ysaurus* of the Latin.

In surveying the passages here exhibited, it is possible only to suggest a tentative conclusion, which — even if correct — must be confirmed by far more detailed study. *B* apparently belongs to a textual tradition better in many, perhaps most, respects than *A* or *C*. Yet the additions, omissions, and errors in *B* against *A* and *C* preclude the possibility of the immediate original of *B* being likewise the immediate original of *A* and *C*, which themselves seem to be very closely related (*C* perhaps a copy of *A* or of the immediate prototype of *A?*). Further than this one can scarcely go without texts *D* and *E* and without a more intimate examination of *A*, *B*, and *C*.

As for the date of the translation. The explicit of the *Kronika* proper, common to MSS *A*, *B*, and *C*, sheds no light upon the question of date:

A tak se skonává Veliký Alexander Macedonský krále Philipa [a královny Olimpiady *add. B*], jenž vešken svět podmanil a podrobil svú převelikú mudrostí. A tak se jest skonal.

[1] What is *Sancké* of *A*, *C*?

[2] *Syrští* of *A*, *C* points to a Lat. source with *Syrius* or *Syriscus*.

[3] Corresponding point in Latin has *Tanix*.

(And thus ends Alexander the Great of Macedon, [son] of King Philip [and the queen Olimpias *add. B*], who subdued and conquered the whole world by his exceeding great wisdom. And thus did he end).

In MSS A^1 and C,[2] however, there follows an additional paragraph of some considerable interest:

Tuto se skonává Veliký Alexander krále Philipa Macedonského, Olimpiady královny, leta od narozeníe syna božíeho tisícíeho čtyřstého třidcátého třetíeho po tom sněmu, když sú se páni, panoše, rytíeři i všeckna města i Táboři s Čapkem za jeden člověk smluvili a smíeřili, tu sobotu před svatým Prokopem, a k císaři jeli.

(Here ends Alexander the Great, [son] of king Philip of Macedon and queen Olimpias, the year from the birth of the Son of God one thousand four hundred thirty and third [1433], after that council when the lords, squires, knights, and all the towns and the Taborites as one man came to an agreement and made peace with Čapek the Saturday before St Procopius' Day and went over to the emperor.)

In the first place, the date 1433 here given is almost certainly an error for 1434. The Saturday before St Procopius' Day[3] 1433 was Saturday, June 27;[4] but in June, 1433, Čapek, head of the army of the 'Orphans,' was never closer to Prague than a hundred miles. During the greater part of 1433 he was with the Polish army, engaged in operations along the Moravian and Silesian frontiers.[5] The following year, however, after the Battle of Lipany, near Böhmish-Brod, May 30, 1434, in which Čapek was defeated and Ondřej Prokop (the Great) was slain, the four Bohemian factions took part in a diet which met in Prague on St John's Day, June 24, and was in session a fortnight,[6] that is, until July 8; in that year July 4 fell on a Sunday and the preceeding Saturday was, consequently, July 3, when the diet was nearing its end. Čapek represented the 'Orphans' at this diet at which a provisional government was established which remained in power until Sigismund, son of Charles IV, was recognized king of Bohemia in 1437, shortly

[1] *Krok* VIII, 82. [2] *Ibid.* XI, 84 (cf. footnote 10).

[3] Procopius, abbot of Prague, died July 4, 1053.

[4] So Prusík, *Krok* XI, 84, fn. 11; on the days and dates see A. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), 243, 244.

[5] W. W. Tomek, *Dějepis Města Prahy* (Prague, 1879), IV, 592 ff.

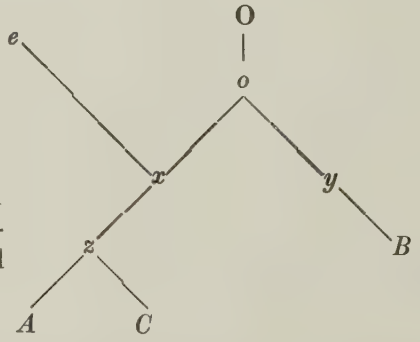
[6] *Ibid.* IV, 651 ff.

before his death. The decision to invite Sigismund to meet a representative at Regensburg along with representatives from the Basel Council is set forth in a letter '*datum Pragae sabbato ante festum Sancti Procopii, anno millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo-quarto*'[1] — the very *day* of the agreement recorded in the explicit of the *Kronika*. Thus one may state with considerable confidence that the *year* 1433 is an error for 1434.

With reference to the false date 1433, it is not possible to determine whether the error is due to the author or to a scribe; the mistake may be mechanical, perhaps from a misreading of a roman 'iiii' as 'iii' (in this case presumably due to the scribe of the archetype of *A* and *C*); possibly the author composed the note sometime after the event and confused the year of the event he chose thus to memorialize. In either case one can scarcely use the dates 1433 or 1434 either to date the translation of the *Kronika* or even MS. *A*;[2] it may be recalled that MS. *C* with the same explicit (with 1433) is dated on other grounds 1487.[3] At the most, the date 1433 (or 1434) can serve as the *terminus a quo* of a transcription[4] of the prototype of *A* and *C*. The following stemma attempts to express roughly the relations between the MSS as these are available to the present writers:

(*e* = explicit with date 1433)

(*z* = faulty copy with omissions and distortions, esp. of unusual proper names)



[1] Published in J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Collectio* (Florence, 1759–1798), XXIX, 645, 646. On the writer of this letter, Asso of Sternberg, alias of Holicz, see Ludwig Schlesinger, *Geschichte Böhmens* (Prague, 1869), p. 404.

[2] If there is other authority than this explicit, it is not made clear by Prusík (*ed. cit.*) or Truhlář (*Katalog, loc. cit.*).

[3] By Prusík, *loc. cit.*

[4] Perhaps by a scribe or writer living near the Silesian border, to whom Čapek may have been a local celebrity.

Finally attention is called to what is almost certainly a hitherto unnoted J^3 Latin text in Prague University Library *MS. XI.D.2* (vellum, *saec. xv*), fol. 174r–233r. The incipit and explicit are as follows:

Hic incipitur liber de natiuitate, uita, et morte omnium gestorum illustrissimi principis Alexandri. Sapientissimi quippe Egipcii . . . Quo semel inbutus. Explicit Allexander bonus et utilis finitus fer. III ante festum corporis Chr. a.d. 1469 per me Johannem . . .[1]

From the small specimen here available, one hesitates to speak with too great assurance, but *quippe* (*zajisté* in Czech below) in the phrase *Sapientissimi quippe Egipcii* is normally a feature distinguishing the J^3 recension from J^1 and J^2 which here have *namque*.[2] There is furthermore a resemblance between the opening phrase of the Latin incipit with the corresponding portion of the *Kronika* in MSS *A*, *B*, and *C*. The Czech runs thus:

Tuto se počínají kníehy o narození a o životě a o smrti i o všech skutcíech Velikého Allexandra Macedonského, syna domníevaného krále Philipa Macedonského, přemúdrého, o velikých divíech. Capitola prvá.

Najmúdřejši zajisté Egipští umějíce míeru země a vody morské a znajíce řád nebeský, totiž hvězdný běh . . .[3]

(Here are begun the books concerning the birth, and concerning the life, and the death, and concerning all the deeds of the great Alexander, the Macedonian, very wise, concerning great wonders. Chapter first.

The wisest men indeed of Egypt, knowing the measure of the land and the sea-water and knowing the celestial order, that is to say, the stellar course . . .)

Somewhat unusual is the passive *incipitur* of the Latin (matched in the Czech), while in other points, too, the Czech here seems to be translated from a Latin text very close to Prague *MS. XI.D.2*. The chronology of the MSS makes impossible the conjecture that the Prague Latin MS. may be the immediate source of the *Kronika*, but a close comparison of this Latin MS. with the text of the *Kronika* might reveal that the translator of the *Kronika* worked from a Latin text lying directly behind, or closely related to, *MS. XI.D.2*.

[1] J. Truhlář, *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptor. Latinor.* II (Prague, 1906), 142, 143 (item 2036). [2] See Pfister, *MM.*, pp. 282, 283. [3] *Krok* VIII, 84.

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MOZARABIC MELODICS [1]

By R. P. GERMÁN PRADO, O.S.B.

IN past centuries the Abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos possessed a scriptorium of remarkable activity; among the manifold labors of its scribes were the liturgical manuscripts over whose text were written neums, like graceful and complicated arabesques. These represented the melodies composed by Toledan fathers from Eugenius to Julian, the liturgical songs chanted in the churches described with such mastery by Gómez-Moreno.[2]

But these neums have long been an insoluble enigma, notwithstanding various attempts at their interpretation. The enigma continues, and will continue unless the link of the chain for which the investigators are searching appears. This link would be a codex in diastematic notation, with or without lines, a manuscript that has either never existed, or, if it does exist, has not been discovered; such a text would make possible the restoration of the Mozarabic melodic repertory, as the Gregorian melodies have been restored to their primitive purity, thanks to the Benedictines of Solesmes.[3] However, not all the Spanish liturgical melodies were shipwrecked when the Visigothic-Mozarabic rite was suppressed at the end of the eleventh century; on the contrary, at least twenty genuine Mozarabic pieces have survived, from which it is possible to ascertain what the rest of this very rich collection was like.

The present brief essay, preliminary to a more detailed survey already in hand, sets forth in outline my prize-study in the *Certamen Científico* of Toledo at the celebration of the seventh centenary of the *dives Toletana* in October, 1926.

[1] Translated by Walter Muir Whitehill, Jr. At the request of the Managing Editor of SPECULUM, the translator has generously added footnotes to the original, in the hope of aiding readers who may wish to look further into the subject and are not acquainted with the literature about it. If any musical heresy has crept into the notes, the translator and not the author should be blamed. Miss Beatrice Newhall has given much valuable assistance in the translation.

[2] Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes. Arte Español de los Siglos IX á XI* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919).

[3] For a brief history of the musical work of Solesmes, see Norbert Rousseau, *L'Ecole Grégorienne de Solesmes, 1833–1910* (Tournai: Société de Saint Jean l'Evangéliste, 1910).

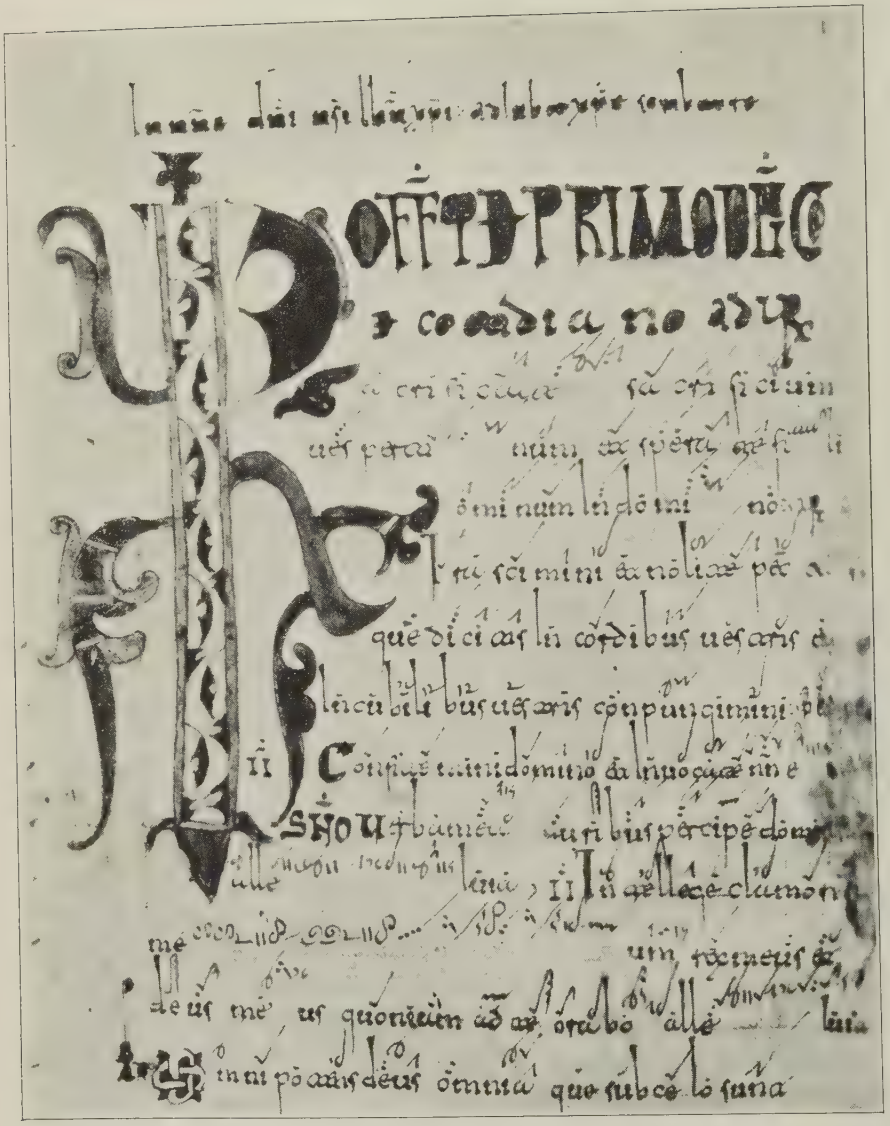


PLATE I

Real Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos
Liber Ordinum, fol. 54 v.

Mozarabic Neums

Among the most beautiful of Spanish manuscripts with musical notation are so-called Antiphonary of King Wamba at Léon,[1] the *Liber Ordinum* of Silos[2] (Plate I), and the mutilated Antiphonary of San Millán.[3] Their notation, fundamentally like that of the Gregorian neumatic manuscripts, nevertheless differs markedly from the latter in the varied forms of the neums.

It is no longer thought that the Mozarabic neums can be letters, and the Solesmes thesis that they are neums like the Ambrosian and Gregorian, though with their special characteristics, prevails. This proposition was set forth in the preface of the monumental *Paléographie Musicale*[4] thirty-nine years ago:

> Au IV^e^ siècle et dans les suivants, la langue musicale liturgique s'est scindée presque parallèlement en quatre dialectes. Nous trouvons en Italie le chant *ambrosien* et le *grégorien*, en Gaule le *gallican*, et en Espagne le chant dit *mozarabe*.
>
> Nous constatons bien l'existence de ces quatre dialectes, mais que sait-on de leur origine, de leurs affinités, de leurs dissemblances? Quels sont les caractères spécifiques qui les distinguent? La forme ambrosienne est-elle la plus ancienne et a-t-elle donné le jour aux formes grégorienne, gallicane, mozarabe? ou bien ces quatre idiomes musicaux ne seraient-ils pas plutôt des subdivisions d'une même langue liturgique chantée à l'origine par le peuple chrétien, mais qui, dans sa diffusion à travers le monde latin, aurait subi des modifications analogues à celles qui ont produit, par transformation du latin, les langues romanes?

The authors of the *Paléographie Musicale* regarded this as the most acceptable hypothesis, and in its support might be brought forward new arguments, better left, however, for our forthcoming study. The affinity between the Ambrosian and the Gregorian melodies is clear, and, although the relationship of the Gregorian and the Ambrosian chant with the Mozarabic is less well known, we have

[1] Léon, Library of the Cathedral Chapter.

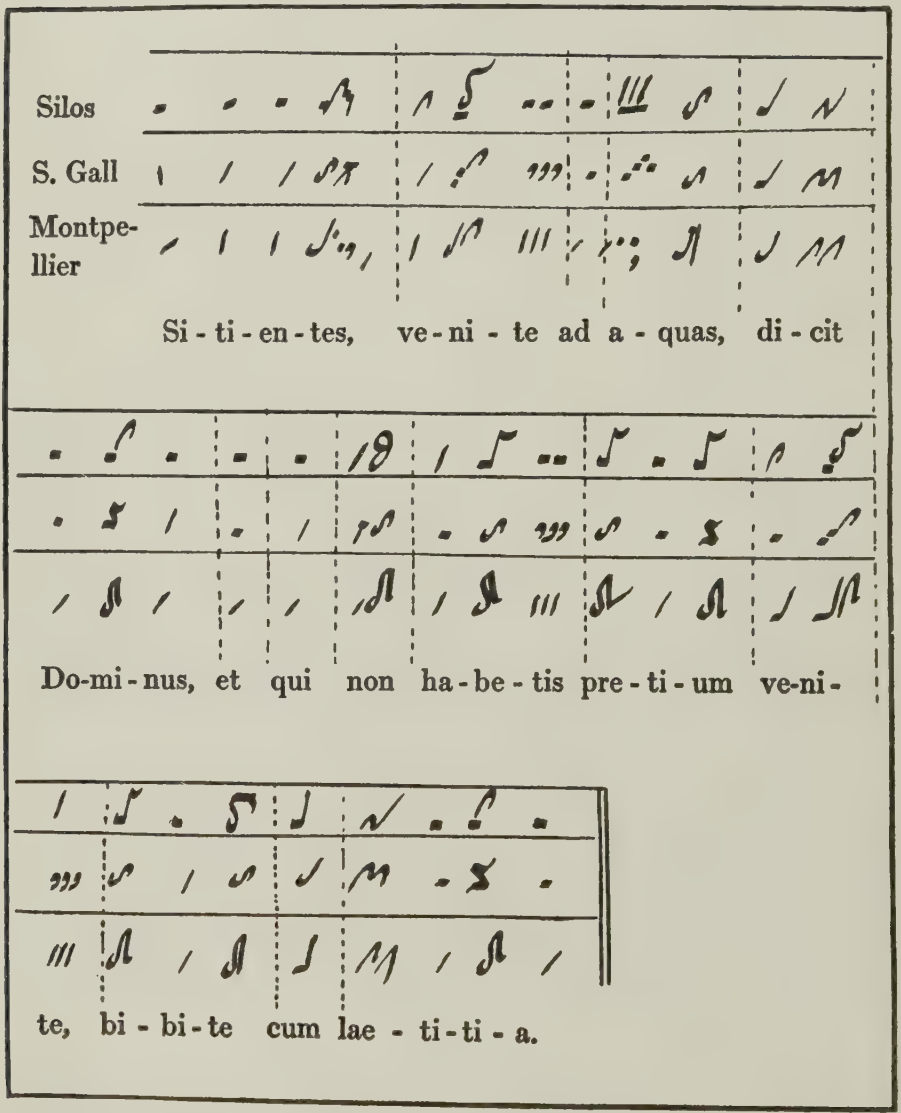
[2] Published by Dom Marius Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'Eglise Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne du Cinquième au Onzième Siècle* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1904). The manuscript is now preserved in the library at Santo Domingo de Silos.

[3] Madrid, Academia de la Historia, 30.

[4] Les Bénédictins de Solesmes, *Paléographie Musicale* (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1889), I, 33, 34.

been able to cite examples, whose striking resemblance confirms the ultimate common origin of the four musical dialects of the West.

However, since the subject here under discussion is the written


Silos
S. Gall
Montpellier
Si - ti - en - tes, ve - ni - te ad a - quas, di - cit
Do-mi - nus, et qui non ha - be - tis pre - ti - um ve-ni -
te, bi - bi - te cum lae - ti - ti - a.

form of Mozarabic notation, it will suffice to demonstrate its fundamental coincidence with the other Latin notations in the above chart where the introit *Sitientes* is reproduced from the Mozarabic

Liber Ordinum of Silos, from a manuscript of St Gall,[1] and from the bilingual Antiphonary of Montpellier,[2] all of the eleventh century.

As is well known to palaeographers, there are two difficult problems in the study of neums of whatever provenance. The first involves the question of the number of notes indicated by certain lines of doubtful significance; this problem, insofar as it affects Mozarabic music, I believe I have solved almost completely. But another and yet more important problem remains, consisting in determining the relations of tonal height within the notes of a neum, and its melodic connection with the preceding and the following neums. This second problem, like the first, is purely palaeographical, and cannot be solved unless a notation more explicit than the neumatic is discovered. That it has been possible to transcribe about twenty pieces of Mozarabic music is, indeed, due to the discovery of just such a notation for these particular Mozarabic compositions. The old saying '*neuma sine lineis puteus sine fune*' will always be true. The future may hold in store some welcome surprise, but meanwhile we must content ourselves with the present advance.

That the modality of the Mozarabic melodies is identical with that of the Roman chant it seems possible to infer from certain passages in the few pieces that we possess. The modes are those of the Graeco-Latin scales, which, spreading through the whole Christian West, were built upon all, or nearly all, the notes of the diatonic scale. In the pieces here transliterated, we find only specimens of the first, second, third, and eighth modes; most abundant of all are those of the second, a tonality of sombre mood, which agrees with the description of Adam of Fulda, '*Secundus* (*tonus*) *est tristibus aptus.*'[3] It is certain that for liturgical prayers for the dead nothing is so suitable as the grave scales of *re* which bid us reflect on the end of human life and the problems beyond the grave. It is to be noted in

[1] Bibliothèque de Saint-Gall, Codex 339. Described and reproduced in facsimile in *Paléographie Musicale*, I.

[2] Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Médecine, Codex H. 159. Reproduced in facsimile by Dom André Mocquereau, *Paléographie Musicale* (Tournai: Desclèe, Lefebre et Cie, 1901–05), VIII: described in VII, 9–18.

[3] Quoted by him from Guido of Arezzo (†990) in *Musicae Pars Secunda*, cap. xv, in Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica* (1784, reprinted in Graz, 1905), III, 356.

passing that the greater number of the pieces transcribed pertain to the *Agenda mortuorum*, which very probably continued in use in the churches of Spain until the abolition of the Mozarabic use in the last third of the eleventh century. It is without doubt due to this abolition of the Mozarabic use that a later hand has erased the neumatic notation of the twenty deciphered pieces, putting in its place the superposed points of the Aquitanian notation which came into use in the eleventh century and which followed the diastematic principle, giving rise to the lines of the staff.

Mozarabic Rhythm

The problem of the rhythm of the Roman chant, that of late has given rise to so many and so varied disputes, likewise comes up in connection with Mozarabic music; unfortunately the materials for its study are exceedingly scanty. It is, however, impossible to doubt that the Mozarabic neums furnish us a solid basis upon which to establish an hypothesis with some guaranty of truth. The notes in the neumatic notation are not written down at random, but are joined, forming more or less complete groups in the manner of musical words, with their respective accents which lend them unity, cohesion, and rhythmic feeling.

The rhythm of the Mozarabic melodies was almost certainly free and followed the rhythm of prose, giving all the notes a uniform time value. However, when double or triple value was desired, duplication or triplication in the notation was resorted to.[1] Furthermore, certain obscure letters in some Mozarabic manuscripts should be noted, which, although sparsely used, may have had a rhythmic character. Accordingly, in conformity with this criterion, I have invariably translated into equal values, using the crotchet as the basis of indivisible unity.

[1] There is no theoretical objection to this opinion; for contemporary musical treatises of the whole Mozarabic epoch are entirely lacking, neither is there any school of Mozarabic manuscripts which, like those of St Gall and Metz, introduces modifications and additions in the neums, those rhythmic signs so dexterously exploited by the modern Gregorian scholars of the free tendency and its opposite, the measured.

The Sixteenth-Century *Cantorales* of Cisneros

In spite of the fact that the rhythm of the Mozarabic chant seems to have been free and like that of prose, the three sixteenth-century *Cantorales* [1] of the Mozarabic Chapel at Toledo are, in point of fact, from beginning to end in a notation rigorously measured, with breves, semibreves, minims, quarter notes, and rests of different values. At a time when the Roman chant was dominated by the plague of exact measurement that invaded the whole musical field from the thirteenth century on, certain clerics, ill-acquainted with the history of music, not unnaturally attempted to measure the Mozarabic chant and substituted verse rhythm for prose rhythm, though the latter alone is admissible in the recitatives so abundant in all ancient liturgies, especially the Spanish. Despite its comparative lateness I print a specimen of the measured notation of the *Cantorales*, probably inspired in part at least by some Mozarabic *Cantoral* which may have survived in one of the Mozarabic parishes of Toledo. Consequently, in interpreting certain pieces of the sixteenth-century Mozarabic *Cantorales* I have cut away entirely the measured rhythm — comparable to a cart jouncing over a stony road — leaving only the melodic line, which, with its equality of values, forms a smooth curve.[2]

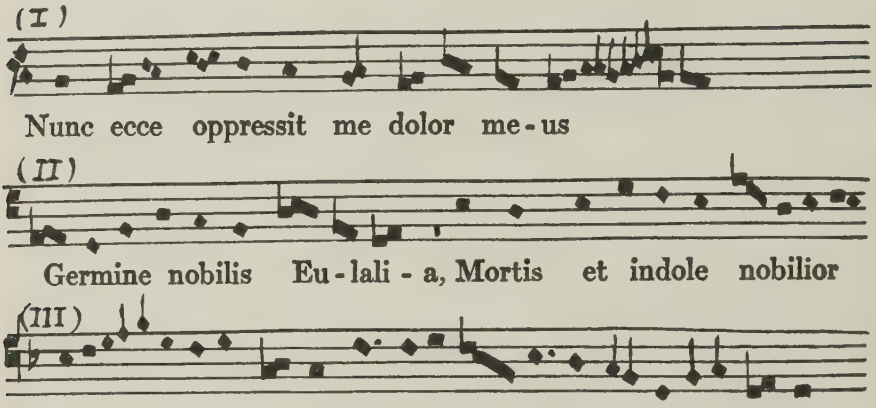
I first give two examples of the measured notation of the *Cantorales* and afterwards a *Tenor* of G. Binchois, who, in the fourteenth century, invented this musical type, which marks the beginning of the music of the lectern and the organ, although its rules of value are much simpler.

The first example (I) shows the beginning of a Lenten Tract with a cadence exhibiting Gregorian influence. The second (II) is the

[1] See pp. 226 ff. below for a further account of the *Cantorales*.

[2] The shelving of those three great *Cantorales* which, for many years, have not rested on the magnificent eagle lectern of the Mozarabic Chapel, should be attributed in part to this very measured rhythm. It was found necessary to omit it at the seventh centenary celebration of Toledo Cathedral in October, 1926, because of the difficulty in keeping the singers together, in spite of the efforts of the director to have it sung in complete accordance with the arrangement of Cisneros (see p. 225 below).

opening of a hymn to St Eulalia, martyred at Mérida, composed by her compatriot, the Christian Virgil, Aurelius Prudentius. The third example (III) is the beginning of the *Tenor* of Binchois, which, like all tenors of measured music, is without text.



Mozarabic Liturgical Manuscripts

The Mozarabic liturgical manuscripts known to-day number at least 38:[1] 13 of these once belonged to the Royal Abbey of Silos (Pls. I, II), though the greater number are now dispersed among various European libraries, especially the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; 11 belonged to the library of the Cathedral Chapter of Toledo, although some passed at the end of the nineteenth century to the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid; 5 Mozarabic codices are from San Millán de la Cogolla and are now in the library of the Academia de la Historia in Madrid. The private library of the King of Spain possesses a beautiful Mozarabic Book of Hours, and the Chapter of Léon houses the famous Antiphonary of King Wamba, which is believed to be of the eleventh century, but which should be pushed back into the tenth century according to the Abbot of Silos, Rmo. D. Luciano Serrano, who has in project an elaborate edition of this text to be issued under the patronage of the

[1] Dom Marius Férotin in his *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les Manuscrits Mozarabes* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie., 1912), the sixth volume of the *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, pp. 677–962, describes and analyzes from a textual point of view the known Mozarabic liturgical manuscripts.

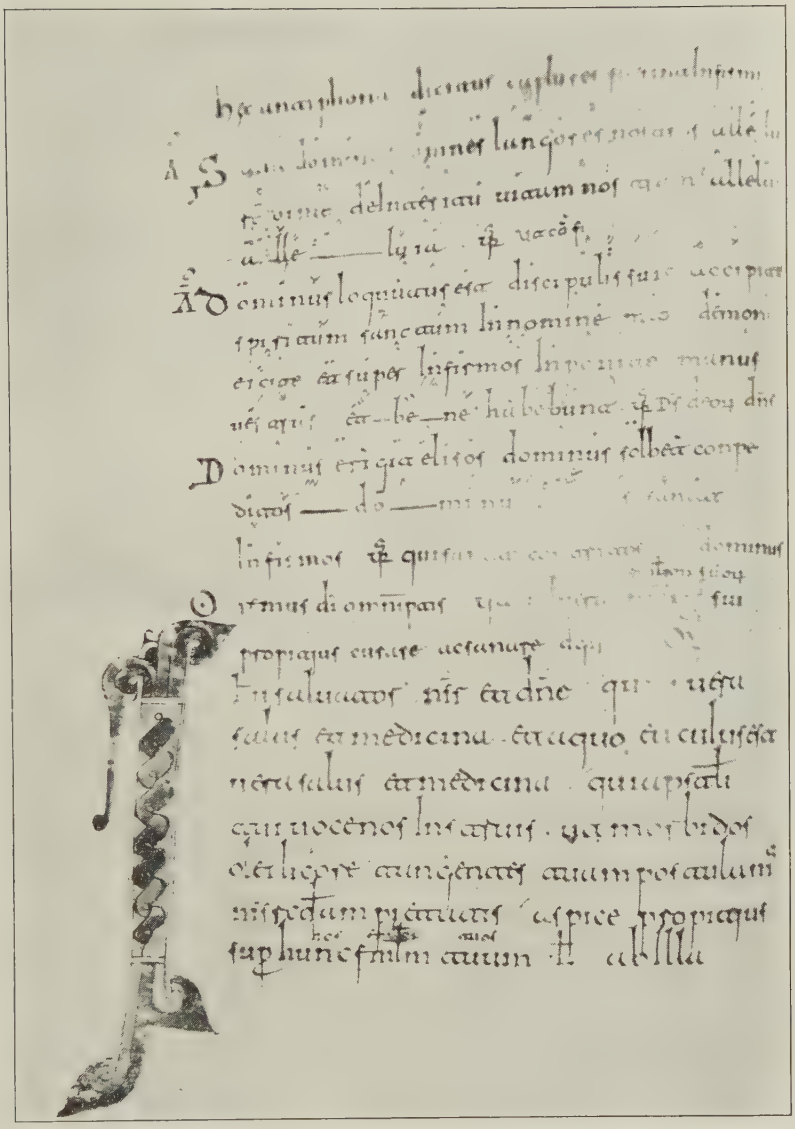


PLATE II

Real Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos
Mozarabic Missal of the XI century, fol. 38v.

Bishop of Léon, Dr José Alvarez Miranda.[1] The Compostela manuscript [2] likewise deserves special mention, if only for its superb script. Another notable manuscript is the tenth-century Codex of Azagra, now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid; it is a miscellany in which may be seen even secular verses with Mozarabic neumatic notation and certain *Preces*, probably composed at the beginning of the ninth century.[3] A fragment of a Mozarabic Antiphonary and another of a Lectionary or *Comicus* have recently been discovered in Toledo.[4]

No less worthy of study are the three great Mozarabic *Cantorales* commissioned by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, the great restorer of the old Spanish rite at the beginning of the sixteenth century. These cannot be anterior to his reform, depending as they do in their arrangement on his famous *Missale Mixtum Mozarabicum*, printed at Toledo in 1500.[5] Pierre Aubry, in his *Iter Hispanicum*,[6] gives them an earlier date solely because their notation is already in use in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, such an opinion is easily refuted by the evident dependency of the *Cantorales* upon the *Missale Mixtum* of Cisneros.

It is common knowledge that the Spanish rite was suppressed in 1089 by Rome and the kings of Spain, in spite of the preference of the clergy and the people for the venerable uses of their ancestors;

[1] This latter musical monument, the most notable of those extant, according to a recently expressed opinion of Professor Peter Wagner of the University of Freiburg, the eminent authority on neums, deserves early publication.

[2] *Liber Fernandi Regis*, a Mozarabic Book of Hours written in 1055 for King Ferdinand the Great of Castile at the command of his queen, Sancha, now preserved in the University Library at Santiago de Compostela.

[3] If a ninth-century date is correct, it would weaken the thesis of Meyer, who has tried to prove that the general type of the *Preces* came from tenth-century prose. In the present study the reader will see that the *Preces* already existed in the Visigothic church of the sixth and seventh centuries.

[4] Since Visigothic Bibles may in some manner figure as liturgical books, many of them have served on the lecterns of churches. This is proved by the liturgical indication of the *pericopes* (which were to be read on the different festivals), and even the neums that not seldom figured at the end of the sentences, suggesting to the reader the musical cadence or the various inflections that were to be made in the course of the reading of the sacred text. I hope in the not too distant future to study the many interesting marks of punctuation found in Mozarabic liturgical books.

[5] Lesley's 1755 edition of the *Missale Mixtum* has been reprinted with his preface, notes, and appendices in Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1862), LXXXV.

[6] Pierre Aubry, *Iter Hispanicum* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1908).

confined to certain parishes of Toledo, the native rite led there a languid existence, almost to the point of extinction, until Cisneros became bishop of Toledo. Before him and after, cultured men, enthusiastic over the Mozarabic liturgy had not been wanting. Long before Cisneros, Don Juan de Tordesillas, Bishop of Segovia, had founded the Mozarabic Chapel of Aniago (1436 A.D.), near Valladolid. Later the Mozarabic Chapel of Talavera was founded in Salamanca (1517 A.D.), by Arias Maldonado, a doctor of Salamanca of the first rank of the Spanish nobility. At the same time Don Pedro Gasca, the peace-maker of Peru and later Bishop of Sigüenza, restored the church of the Magdalen in Valladolid and established it in a Mozarabic chapel (1567 A.D.). But all these foundations led a feeble life until they disappeared in the nineteenth century; the foundation of Cisneros alone continued constantly although never very strongly.

To return to the Mozarabic *Cantorales:* what is their artistic and their traditional value?

Since it is impossible to offer complete answers to these questions in the present article, I shall limit myself to the general statement that the aesthetic and traditional value of the three documents is very varied. There are in them real musical finds in the midst of the most regrettable aberrations; in them is preserved a fund of music of incontestible traditional value, a stock more extensive than we can define, but all the richer because even Responds, difficult pieces which do not easily resist the erosion of time or the ignorance of singers, are preserved despite inevitable corruptions. It is not strange that the recitatives of the ancient Mozarabic liturgy should have continued; such simple formulas were within the reach of all and did not easily escape from the memory; thus the persistence of such Responds as *In loco uiridi* and *De manu inferni* shows that the commission on the Mozarabic chant established by Cisneros made use of some notebook containing melodic formulas current in the Mozarabic parishes of Toledo. If this is not the case, it is difficult to understand how in the full tide of the sixteenth century it was possible to invent melodies of such an archaic flavor as the Preces *Miserere et parce* of these *Cantorales.* The same may be said of the

Preces *Indulgentiam postulemus*, the antiphon Ad accedentes *Gustate et uidete*, the powerful tone of the Diptychs and the *Pater noster* which show venerable antiquity, related as they are to similar Ambrosian, Roman, and even Jewish formulas.[1]

To pass now to a summary analysis of a certain number of pieces representative of the several types of melodies in the Mozarabic rite. These types may be reduced to three, according to the greater or lesser ornamentation of the text by neums and melismas, thus agreeing with the practice in Eastern, Ambrosian, and Roman melodics.

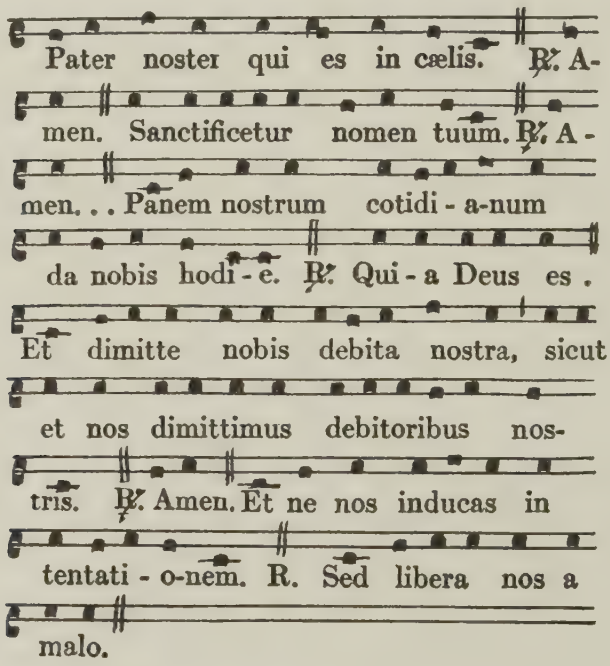
The simplest type is the recitative, of which there is a lavish abundance in the Mozarabic mass. As the dialogue which forms the pattern of the whole ceremony proceeds, even the layman feels a pleasurable surprise as he assists at the rites in the Chapel of Corpus Christi in the Cathedral of Toledo. These recitatives are as simple as they are solemn. One would think that he were witnessing the primitive Christian worship of the Catacombs, or, rather, were hearing the voice of the bishops of the Hispano-Visigothic Church, of an Isidore of Seville or an Ildefonsus of Toledo.

The Pater Noster

Among the simpler recitatives of the Mozarabic books figures the chant of the Pater noster of the mass. This piece is now entirely in dialogue, yet this was not the manner of singing it at the time of the writing of the Léon Antiphonary, mentioned above; for one of its rubrics directs that the '*Pater noster ab omnibus recitatur.*' Thus in the Hispano-Visigothic liturgy of the earliest period the celebrant did not sing the Sunday collect alone, but the whole congregation joined, since it was necessary to respond *Amen* to each petition. In like manner the singing of the Creed by the congregation largely accounts for the simplicity of its melody in the Mozarabic rite. The version which appears in the *Cantorales* is sustained on one note or

[1] Compare also certain Roman melodies of Graduals, Tracts, and even Antiphons, which, though much disfigured, perhaps correspond to the Spanish variants, comparable in this to many pieces of the Ambrosian repertory, in whose zigzag one may easily follow the Gregorian melody, always characterized by its greater polish and sobriety.

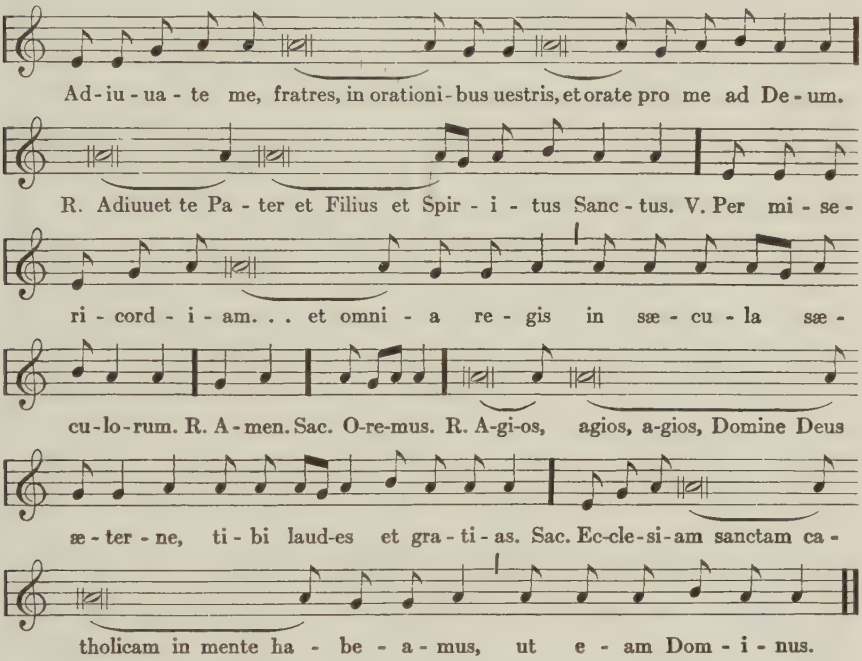
tenor from the beginning to the rather elaborate *Amen*. The cadence of each phrase or article could not be simpler. The whole melodic line may be summed up in this manner: *mi sol . . . la sol*, to fall to the final *mi* that determines the modality. In conclusion I give by way of illustration the melody of the Pater noster, not as sung to-day in the Mozarabic Chapel—this form may well be of ancient origin—but the melody in the *Missale Mixtum* of Cisneros. The reader will at once notice the close relationship of this chant to the *Te Deum* and the *Gloria XV* of the Roman *Kyriale*. All three belong to the musical tradition of the primitive Judeo-Christian communities.


Pater noster qui es in cælis. ℟. A-
men. Sanctificetur nomen tuum. ℟. A-
men. . . Panem nostrum cotidi-a-num
da nobis hodi-e. ℟. Qui-a Deus es.
Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut
et nos dimittimus debitoribus nos-
tris. ℟. Amen. Et ne nos inducas in
tentati-o-nem. R. Sed libera nos a
malo.

The Mozarabic Diptychs

The Mozarabic Diptychs constitute another type of recitative; the most complete of those extant give us the names of Spanish bishops, not only of Toledo of the period of the Arabic invasion but also of pre-Visigothic times. These Diptychs, of such interest to archaeologists and liturgiologists, are, because of their melody, no less interesting to musical scholars. Since it is impossible to repro-

duce them in their entirety, one or two opening phrases must suffice to illustrate their characteristics. The celebrant alternates with the choir, representing the congregation, in an animated dialogue:


Ad-iu-ua-te me, fratres, in orationi-bus uestris, et orate pro me ad De-um.
R. Adiuuet te Pa-ter et Filius et Spir-i-tus Sanc-tus. V. Per mi-se-
ri-cord-i-am. . . et omni-a re-gis in sæ-cu-la sæ-
cu-lo-rum. R. A-men. Sac. O-re-mus. R. A-gi-os, agios, a-gios, Domine Deus
æ-ter-ne, ti-bi laud-es et gra-ti-as. Sac. Ec-cle-si-am sanctam ca-
tholicam in mente ha-be-a-mus, ut e-am Dom-i-nus.

Per gloriam

To this same category may be reduced certain other pieces, which without losing their recitative character have at the same time some melismatic quality. Such a piece serves as the introduction to the mass on the great days of the liturgy. Nothing is more solemn than the *Per gloriam*, carried on by the choir until it concludes with *Deo gratias*. The melody could not be more varied nor more graceful: its roots go back at least to the eleventh century. It is fundamentally the same as the Spanish version of the Lamentations,[1] the melody of which appears in the *Biblia Gótica* of Cardeña,

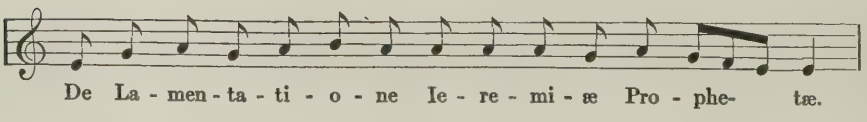
[1] R. P. D. Casiano Rojo, O. S. B., *Cantus Lamentationum apud Hispanos usurpatus, quem ex Codice Silensi saeculo XIII conscripto nunc primum juris publici fecit* (Bilbao: Imp. de Eléxpuru Hnos, 1917). The final melody of the Lamentations is the one which is found in the *Biblia Gótica*, joined with the melody of the Hebrew letter *Jod*. Thus the Lamentations of Jeremiah must have been sung in Spain even before the introduction of the Roman rite.

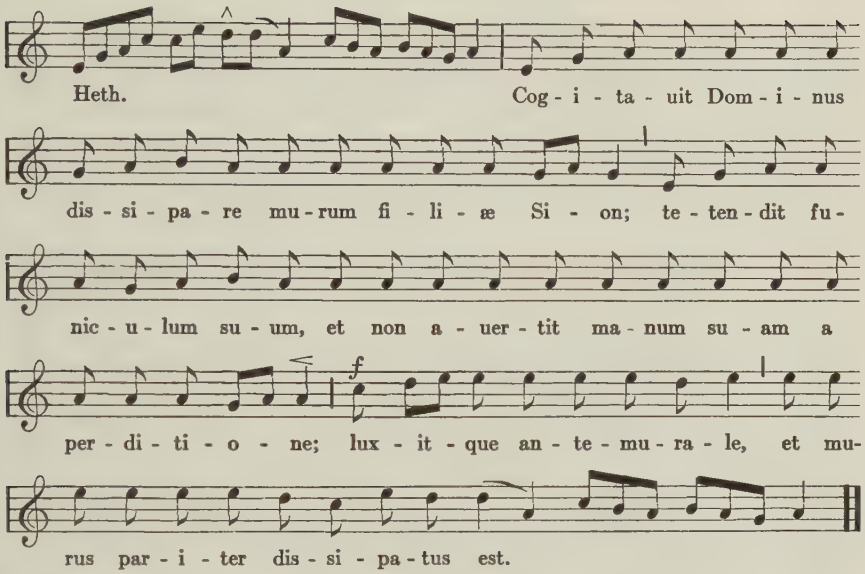
which, according to Dom Alfonso Andrés of Silos, goes back to the tenth century. After sustaining the note of *la*, the melody moves to the fifth higher *mi*, then falling with undulations. The dramatic effect of both pieces is undeniable.

Per glo - ri - am no - mi - nis tu - i, Chris - te
Fi - li De - i ui - ui, et per intercessi - o - nem sanct-
æ Ma - ri - æ Vir - - - - gi - nis,
et be - a - ti Ia - co - bi, et om - ni - um sanc - to - rum tu - o -
rum, au - xi - li - a - re et mi - se - re - re in - dig - nis
ser - uis tu - is. Et es - to in me - di - o nos - tri De - us
nos - ter, qui ui - uis et reg - - - - - - - - - -
nas in sæ - cu - la sæ - cu - lo - rum.
R. Deo gratias.

Spanish Version of the Lamentations of Jeremiah

(One of the several tones)




Heth. Cog - i - ta - uit Dom - i - nus
dis - si - pa - re mu - rum fi - li - æ Si - on; te - ten - dit fu -
nic - u - lum su - um, et non a - uer - tit ma - num su - am a
per - di - ti - o - ne; lux - it - que an - te - mu - ra - le, et mu -
rus par - i - ter dis - si - pa - tus est.

From this evidence one may infer that certain melodies still in use in the churches of Spain have a Mozarabic ancestry. A good example is the tone of the lessons used in Burgos for Matins of the Dead. If one keeps in his ear the recitation of the Mozarabic Diptychs and the prayer that immediately follows the Pater noster, *Liberati a malo*, he cannot but see the relationship. Here follows a phrase of this grave recitative; the cadence of the fifth appears to be Roman; the others, on the contrary, are reminiscent of Mozarabic recitatives.[1]

Parce mihi, Domine, nihil enim sunt dies me - i. Quid est homo quia
magnificas e - um? aut quid apponis erga e - um cor tu - um?
Ecce nunc in puluere dormiam; et si ma - ne . . . non sub - sis - tam.

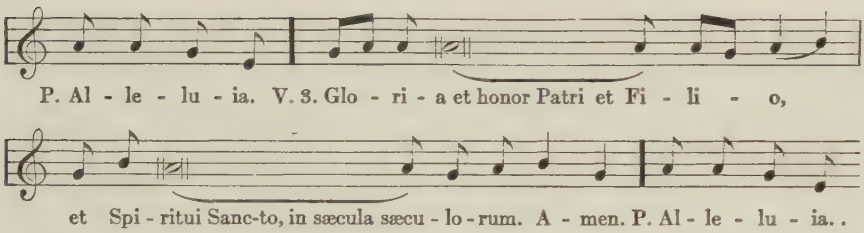
[1] For the complete version see R. P. D. Casiano Rojo, O.S.B., *Metódo de Canto Gregoriano;* this work may be obtained from the Real Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos (Burgos), Spain.

Ad accedentes

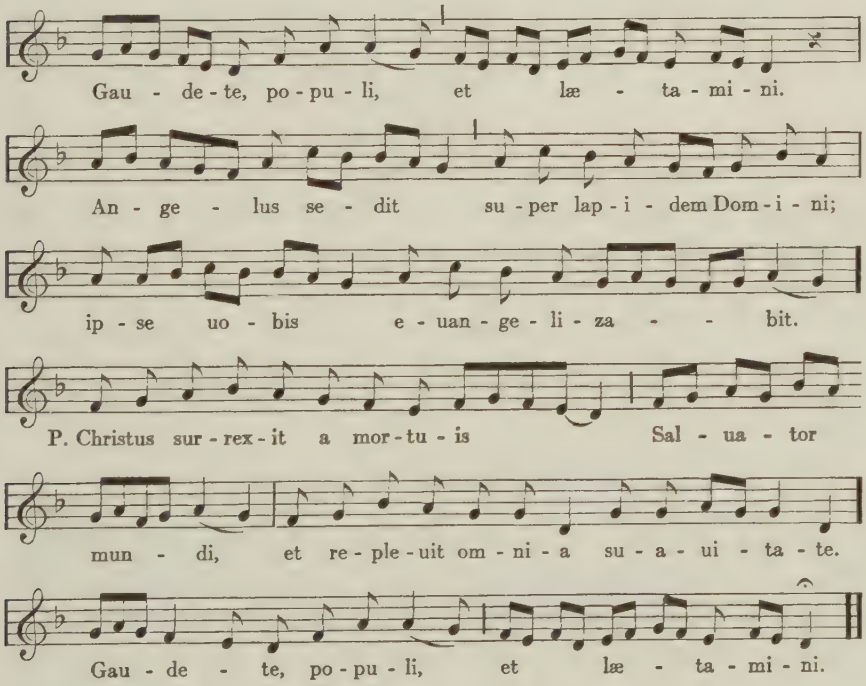
There is a mixed type, halfway between the recitative and melismatic, to which belong the melodies of two antiphons called Ad accedentes, sung while the people are coming forward to receive communion, and equivalent to the Roman Communio. Both present a classical context worthy of the best period of Mozarabic melodics. Surely St Eugenius of Toledo would not have disdained to favor them. Though it is evident that they do not go back to the Visigothic period or even to the Mozarabic, they have touches of antiquity which are undoubtedly reminiscent of the most ancient cantilenas; above all, to judge by their modality and by the fact of their having been sung almost daily — there being only eight Ad accedentes in the whole Mozarabic repertory. It would have been strange if we should have lost every trace of these two pieces, the most common of all in the Mozarabic liturgy, in that melodies of less frequent use have been preserved in the Mozarabic churches of Toledo.

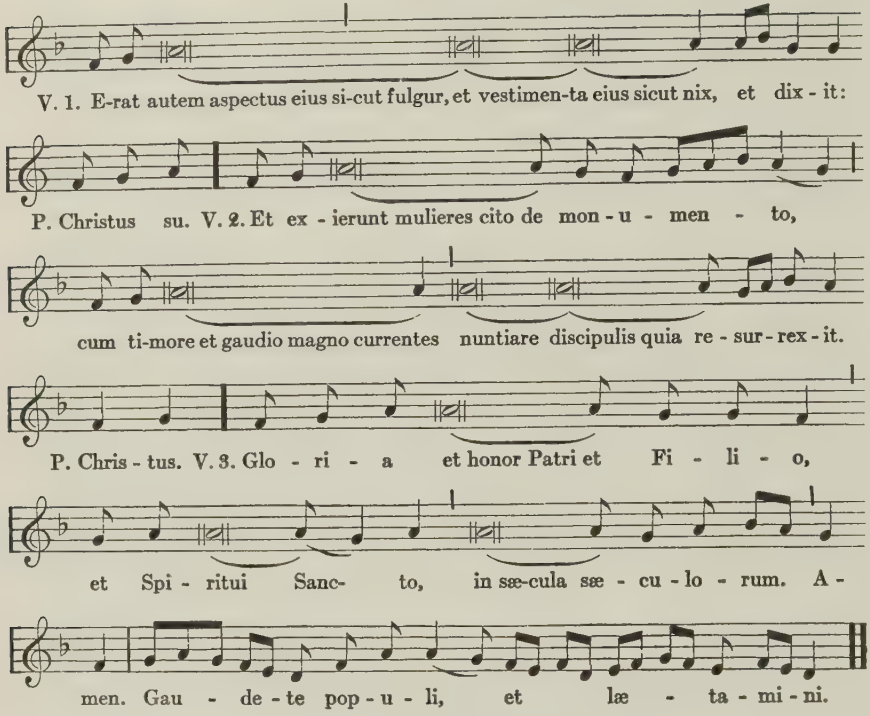
The first of the Ad accedentes is the antiphon *Gustate*, inviting us to taste the 'Bread of heaven, containing in itself all sweetness.' Here again is the tetrachord *la-re*, so cherished by the older Christian communities. The first Christians of Jerusalem must have sung in this way; for this text is the communion antiphon in the liturgy of Jerusalem and all Eastern rites derived from it.

Gus - ta - te et uidete quam sua-uis est Dom-i-nus, Al-le-lu-ia, al-le-lu-ia,
Solo
al - le - - lu - ia. V. 1. Be - ne-dicam Dominum in omni tem-po - re. . . . ;
Solo
sem-per laus eius in o - re me - o. P. Al - le - lu - ia. V. 2. Re-dimet Dominus
animas seruorum su - o - rum, et non delinquent omnes qui sperant in e - o.



Thus, as the *Gustate* is tranquil and invites meditation, so the second, the Easter *Gaudete populi*, calls to mind the Resurrection. Whatever may be the origin or age of this graceful melody, the indisputable fact remains that it is a distinct musical find. The resolute entrance of the *Gaudete populi*, the emphatic and impetuous triumphal march of the *Christus surrexit*, sung by a male choir, the cold but delicate verses interpreted by boys' voices, all combine to attain to a truly musical and religious effect. It is a moving dialogue, one of the most beautiful in all liturgies and a great musical achievement.


Gau - de - te, po - pu - li, et læ - ta - mi - ni.
An - ge - lus se - dit su - per lap - i - dem Dom - i - ni;
ip - se uo - bis e - uan - ge - li - za - - bit.
P. Christus sur - rex - it a mor - tu - is Sal - ua - tor
mun - di, et re - ple - uit om - ni - a su - a - ui - ta - te.
Gau - de - te, po - pu - li, et læ - ta - mi - ni.


V. 1. E-rat autem aspectus eius si-cut fulgur, et vestimen-ta eius sicut nix, et dix - it:
P. Christus su. V. 2. Et ex - ierunt mulieres cito de mon - u - men - to,
cum ti-more et gaudio magno currentes nuntiare discipulis quia re - sur - rex - it.
P. Chris - tus. V. 3. Glo - ri - a et honor Patri et Fi - li - o,
et Spi - ritui Sanc- to, in sæ-cula sæ - cu - lo - rum. A -
men. Gau - de - te pop - u - li, et læ - ta - mi - ni.

Preces

The Mozarabic Preces, so interesting to the philologist, concern the musician also, although they have lacked melodies for some centuries. Only two Mozarabic manuscripts give the Preces with neums, and the Léon Antiphonary, the most complete of all, is content with merely citing them and referring to other books. How is the fact that they had in ancient times a proper melody to be reconciled with the fact that it is wanting in manuscripts as complete as the Antiphonary of King Wamba?

This class of liturgical composition, like the hymns, had to be sung with very simple modulations so that the people could respond to the deacon with the burden of the melody. They are diaconal Preces, analogous to those that abound in the Eastern liturgies.

There are two manuscripts of the eleventh century with some Mozarabic Preces translated into the superposed point notation: the same Preces and some others are found with neums in the

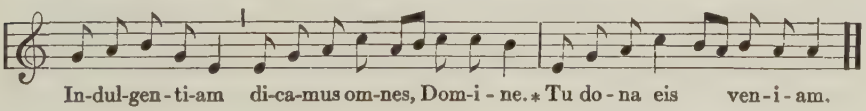
Liber Ordinum of Silos. I give a specimen of these, taking the transliteration from an eleventh-century manuscript of Albi, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. In it is found the response of the people; in the manuscripts of Silos and San Millán the same is given in Greek, *Kyrie eleison*, and without the melody, without the *Deus miserere*, so peculiarly characteristic of the French manuscript notably influenced by the Spanish.

2. Ad te clamantes
Exaudi, Christe,
O Iesu bone,
Tu illi parce.
℟. Deus, miserere!

3. Genitor alme,
Rex omnis terræ,
Ianuam vitæ
Tu illi pande.
℟. Deus, miserere!

4. Lugentes, Deus,
Cælitus audi,
Et illi dele
Quidquid peccauit.
℟. Deus, miserere!

The Preces are proper to the Lenten liturgy and the Office of the Dead, passing in the course of time from the mass to the offices. In the manuscripts only those of the Office of the Dead are furnished with music, and not all can be transliterated note for note. In some, however, the diastematic use is already so far advanced that they can be fairly well transliterated, though one cannot be entirely sure of every detail. Such a case, for example, is that of the Preces in the Silos *Liber Ordinum*, whose probable transliteration would be

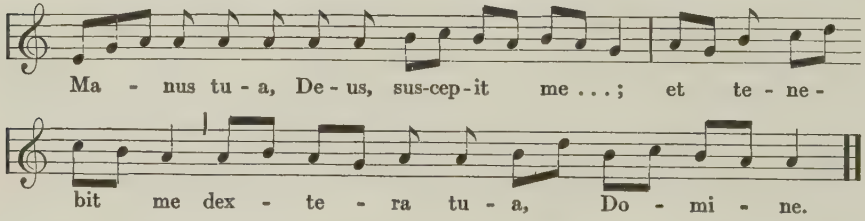


The people, according to the abbreviation in the margin, would respond *Kyrie eleison*, although it seems more likely that the phrase

for the response was *Tu dona eis ueniam*, with the variations *Tu dona, Et dona, Sed dona* for each strophe.

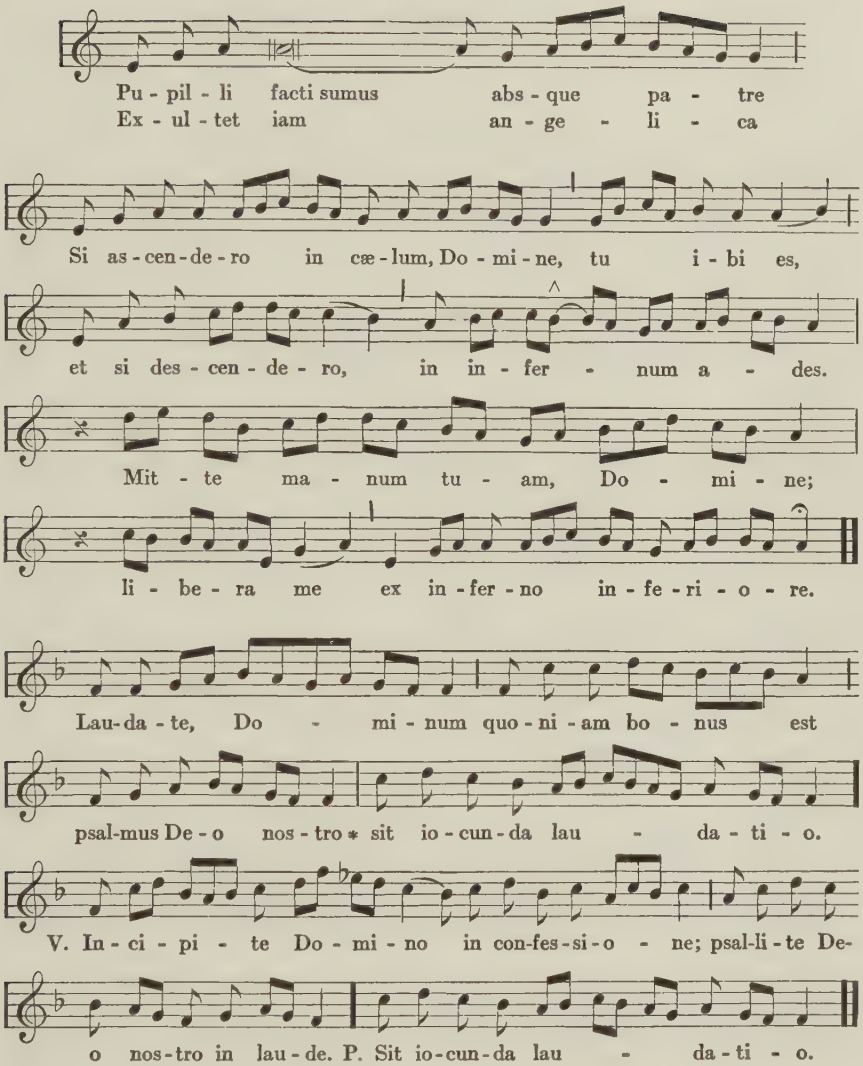
To give an idea of the Mozarabic chant, I transliterate some pieces of the ancient type, as well as some of the later, namely, the music found in the *Cantorales* of Cisneros. The two following antiphons, gems of mediaeval melodic art, are from the ancient group. The first, which begins *Manus tua*, breathes placidity and beatific peace. The second, *Si ascendero in caelum*, has an unquestionable expressive value and could hardly translate better the spirit of the Psalmist; it is a prayer in which the text vibrates in unison with the notes. Nothing could be more vehement than the *et si descendero in infernum* in which the soul feels the thrill of terror in appearing before a God seated in judgment, nothing more gentle and confident than the final supplication and the calm descent of the *libera me*, which so well conveys the feeling of complete entrance into the arms of a Father Who does not reject His faithless and prodigal sons.

The third of these antiphons, although composed in the sixteenth century, is not unworthy of its predecessors, possessing a pure and resolute melodic line although poorly adapted to the text; this lack of adjustment between music and text arouses the suspicion that here we are dealing with a melody older than the sixteenth century.



Note in passing the relation between the opening phrase of the antiphon *Manus tua*, the beginning of the Spanish version of the *Exultet* of the Holy Saturday office, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah recently included in the Vatican edition [1] as a tone *ad libitum* for Matins of Holy Saturday.

[1] *Sabbato Sancto ad Matutinum, in I Nocturno lectio III, Tonus ad libitum* in *In Triduo Sacro Maioris Hebdomadae. Officium et Missa cum cantu iuxta ordinem Breuiarii, Missalis et Pontificalis Romani* (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1922), p. 166.


Pu - pil - li facti sumus abs - que pa - tre
Ex - ul - tet iam an - ge - li - ca
Si as - cen - de - ro in cæ - lum, Do - mi - ne, tu i - bi es,
et si des - cen - de - ro, in in - fer - num a - des.
Mit - te ma - num tu - am, Do - mi - ne;
li - be - ra me ex in - fer - no in - fe - ri - o - re.
Lau - da - te, Do - mi - num quo - ni - am bo - nus est
psal - mus De - o nos - tro * sit io - cun - da lau - da - ti - o.
V. In - ci - pi - te Do - mi - no in con - fes - si - o - ne; psal - li - te De -
o nos - tro in lau - de. P. Sit io - cun - da lau - da - ti - o.

Melismatic Alleluias

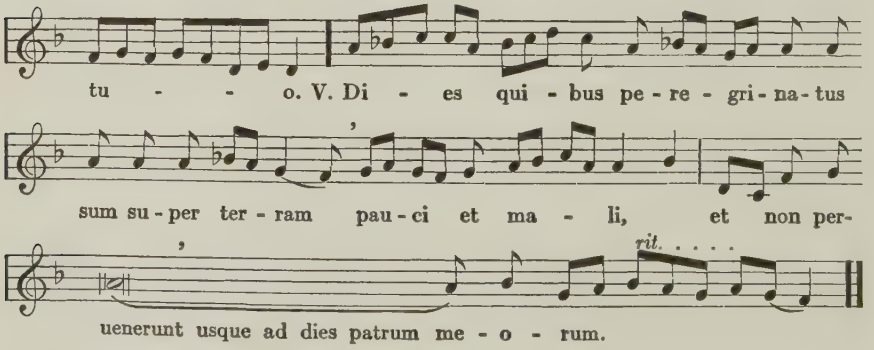
There still remains to be discussed the most ornate melodic type, the so-called melismatic. It is the richest and most solemn form, if not the most abundant in the liturgy. The Mozarabic, the Roman and Eastern rites have a clearly determined style for each class of pieces, the neums being very abundant in the Responds of the

office and the mass, and also in the Offertory, called by the Mozarabs Sacrificium. But they gather in the greatest numbers in the Alleluias of the mass, where they form almost interminable melodies, sometimes of three hundred or more notes. The word Alleluia is a voice more of heaven than of earth; it is not translated, nor is it permitted to be sung in certain seasons of the liturgical year. It is the song of the celestial country, ever new and never ending, like the alleluiatic melismas that adorn many of the pages of our old manuscripts, overflowing the narrow limits of the ordinary column. But unfortunately the transcribed pieces of the melismatic style are few in number.[1]

The few surviving examples of this melismatic music hold over us the same magical spell as other artistic manifestations of the past. The effect produced by some Mozarabic melodies sung at the Congreso de las Ciencias at Salamanca as illustrations for my lecture on the liturgical melodics of the ancient Spanish church still remains, and the profound impressions created on hearing them newly interpreted by the *seises* of the Cathedral of Salamanca and by the school of the Dominican Fathers, cannot quickly be erased from one's memory.

Real Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos,
Burgos, Spain

[1] Since it is difficult for those unaccustomed to these melodies to understand them easily, I prefer to leave them for the more detailed forthcoming study. There the musician may revel in Responds like that which begins *Dies mei transierunt*, and of which I give here one verse to show an Ambrosian reminiscence, one more proof of the influence of the Milanese on the Mozarabic rite.



NOTES

THE MOZARABIC *LIBER ORDINUM*

The editors of Speculum take pleasure in calling the reader's attention to the article upon Mozarabic Melodics by R. P. Germán Prado, O.S.B. As is obvious in the article the suppression of the Mozarabic liturgy in 1089, before the easily legible Aquitanian musical notation came into use, resulted in the preservation of Mozarabic music only in neums that were undecipherable without the help of a later diastematic notation. In consequence, this music, so significant for the study of the Spanish culture of the Middle Ages, has remained until recently quite unknown. R. P. Germán Prado, working with R. P. Casiano Rojo, Prior of Santo Domingo de Silos, has had the good fortune to discover and use the necessary key. The manuscript of the Mozarabic *Liber Ordinum* from the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla is now preserved in the library of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, where it bears the number 56 (formerly F 224.) On folios 24, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, and 37 of this manuscript the Mozarabic neums have been erased and notes in the Aquitanian superposed point system substituted in a twelfth-century hand. By this fortunate occurrence about twenty pieces of Mozarabic music, chiefly from the Office of the Dead, have been deciphered. By comparison with the manuscript of the *Liber Ordinum* in the library of Santo Domingo de Silos in which the Mozarabic neumatic notation of the same pieces is preserved a valuable clue has been obtained, which has made possible the present article and a larger forthcoming work on the same subject by RR. PP. Germán Prado and Casiano Rojo in which all the Mozarabic music at present deciphered will be published. The service books of the Mozarabic Chapel of Corpus Christi in Toledo Cathedral, founded by Cisneros, preserve in a corrupt form pieces of Mozarabic music. In all of these a rigidly measured time system has been imposed upon the originally free melodies, but in some cases the author has been able to cut away the later accretions and present the music in its original form, as in the *Gaudete populi*. In this way a number of pieces have been added to the stock gleaned from the San Millán *Liber Ordinum*. The musical illustrations of this article will give, for the first time to the English reader, examples of this important branch of mediaeval music.

FRACTION TABLES OF HERMANNUS CONTRACTUS [1]

THE Cathedral Library at Durham possesses an unnoticed early twelfth-century manuscript of English provenance of a work, hitherto unrecorded, of Hermannus Contractus. It contains the multiples, products, and quotients of the duodecimal fractions.

The manuscript, when first found by Dr Singer in February, 1927, was pasted on linen and very roughly nailed to a wooden frame measuring 1016 mm. × 610 mm. Dr Singer obtained permission for the manuscript to be sent to London to be studied by me and to be put into good order. When I examined it in April, 1927, I found that the ink was rubbed and worn in parts and that in one place a large piece of vellum was lost. The greater part of the chart, however, had escaped damage and I recognized its likeness to certain pages of another twelfth-century manuscript on on which I had been working. A closely similar, and also undescribed, set of tables is, in fact, to be found in a manuscript of English origin written in or about the year 1111 A.D. and now in the library of St John's College, Oxford (*MS. XVII*, fol. 48v–50).

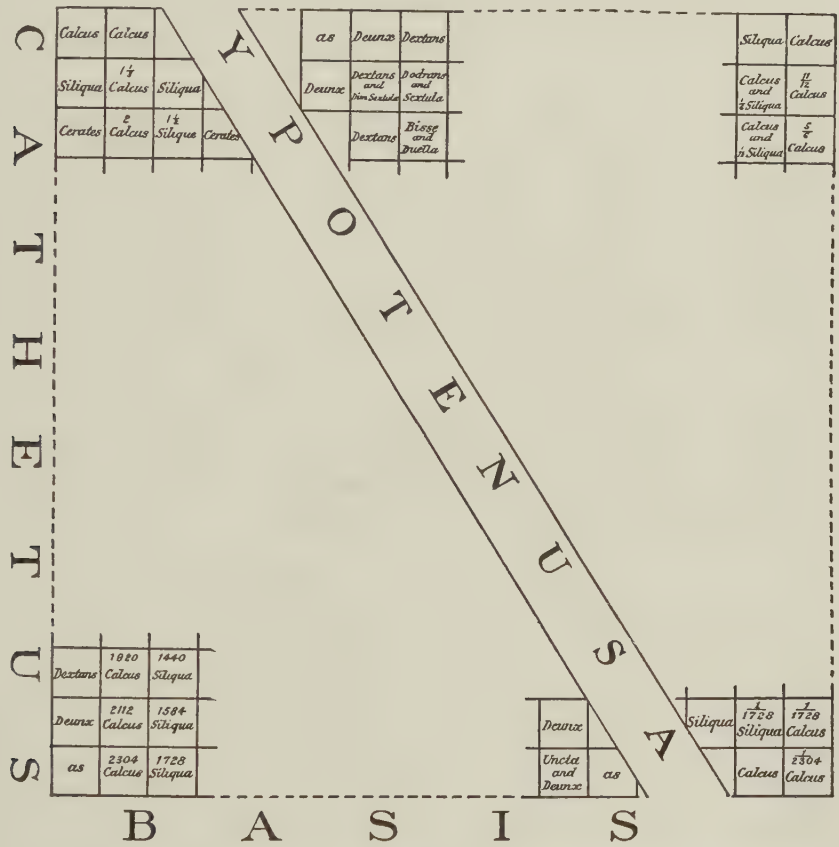
Both the St John's and the Durham tables use the Roman notation and fraction symbols. They are arranged with great economy of space and are handy to use. This is especially the case in the Durham chart, in which the multiplicands, multipliers, divisors, and dividends stand out clearly in alternate red and green, while the multiples, products, and quotients are smaller and in black. This chart is ruled in double lines of red and green, meeting in one corner in a grotesque drawing of a lion's head.

A large square table contains the multiples of the fractions. The twenty-five subdivisions of the *as*, i.e. the unit, descending from the *deunx* ($\frac{11}{12}$) to the *calcus* ($\frac{1}{2304}$ i.e. $\frac{1}{12\times 12\times 16}$), are written both in name and symbol at the head of the columns along the top of the square. On the left side of the square are the Roman figures I, II, to IX; X, XX, to XC; C, CC, to DCCCC; $\bar{\text{I}}$, $\bar{\bar{\text{I}}}$, to $\bar{\text{X}}$. By addition of the multiples here given, every other multiple between the first and the ten-thousandth can be derived.

Some of these products are expressed simply by means of a single fraction or a mixed number, e.g., LX muliplied by a *sextula* ($\frac{1}{72}$) makes a *dextans* ($\frac{5}{6}$); and XX by a *sextans* ($\frac{1}{6}$) makes III and a *triens* ($\frac{1}{3}$). In other cases we notice the limitations of the duodecimal fractions. There was

[1] I gratefully acknowledge the help of Dr Charles Singer in the preparation of the present note.

a very small range of denominators in these fractions, only twenty-five in all, and in the subdivisions of the *uncia* ($\frac{1}{12}$) the numerators were always unity. Often no single fraction could be found to express the required quantity, which had therefore to be written as the sum of two or more fractions.[1] To take an example, the five-hundredth multiple of the *cerates* ($\frac{1}{1152}$) is a *quincunx*, a *sextula*, and a *scripulus*, i.e. ($\frac{5}{12}+\frac{1}{72}+\frac{1}{288}$).



The two other tables are arranged in right-angled triangles on either side of a common hypotenuse. The top right-hand corner contains the table of products of the twenty-five fractions.

Multiplier and multiplicand are written along the top and down the hypotenuse of the triangle, and the remainder of the table is filled with the products. Multiplier and multiplicand are interchangeable, and the

[1] See my 'Notation of Fractions in the Earlier Middle Ages,' *Archivio di Storia della Scienza*, Rome, 1927.

triangular table avoids duplication of the results. A similar economical arrangement persists still in Robert Recorde's table of products of integers in his *Grounde of Artes* published in London in 1543.

If we trace to their meeting point, say, the line of the *dextans* ($\frac{5}{6}$) and the column of the *bisse* ($\frac{2}{3}$), the produce (since no single fraction can show it exactly) is given as a *semis* ($\frac{1}{2}$) added to a *semuncia* ($\frac{1}{24}$) and a *sextula* ($\frac{1}{72}$). A yet more difficult case is that of a *septunx* ($\frac{7}{12}$) multiplied by a *tremissis* ($\frac{1}{216}$). The result is shown as an *obolus*, a *siliqua*, and a two-thirds part of a *siliqua* ($\frac{1}{576} + \frac{1}{1728} + \frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{1728}$).

The table of quotients in the bottom left-hand corner completes the square. Its sides are named *Ypotenusa*, *Cathetus*,[1] and *Basis*. The dividends are in the *Cathetus*. They ascend in value from the *calcus* ($\frac{1}{2304}$) at the meeting point of the *Cathetus* and *Ypotenusa*, to the *as* at the right angle. In the base the *calcus* follows immediately upon the *as*, and the fractions ascend in value to the *as* at the angle by the *Ypotenusa*.

The quotient, found at the meeting of the line of the dividend and column of the divisor, is expressed as the value of the dividend in terms of the divisor. Thus in the case of a *semis* ($\frac{1}{2}$) divided by a *sextula* ($\frac{1}{72}$), the quotient states that there are thirty-six *sextulae* in a *semis*. If, however, division is not exact, the remainder is shown; for example, in the case of a *dodrans* ($\frac{3}{4}$) divided by a *triens* ($\frac{1}{3}$), the quotient shows that in a *dodrans* there are two *triens* with an *uncia* ($\frac{1}{12}$) remaining.

The Duodecimal Fractions[2]

as	1	semuncia	$\frac{1}{24}$
deunx	$\frac{11}{12}$	duella	$\frac{1}{36}$
dextans	$\frac{5}{6}$	sicilicus	$\frac{1}{48}$
dodrans	$\frac{3}{4}$	sextula	$\frac{1}{72}$
bisse	$\frac{2}{3}$	dragma	$\frac{1}{96}$
septunx	$\frac{7}{12}$	hemisecula	$\frac{1}{144}$
semis	$\frac{1}{2}$	tremissis	$\frac{1}{216}$
quincunx	$\frac{5}{12}$	scripulus	$\frac{1}{288}$
triens	$\frac{1}{3}$	obolus	$\frac{1}{576}$
quadrans	$\frac{1}{4}$	bissiliqua	$\frac{1}{864}$
sextans	$\frac{1}{6}$	cerates	$\frac{1}{1152}$
sexcuncia	$\frac{1}{8}$	siliqua	$\frac{1}{1728}$
uncia	$\frac{1}{12}$	calcus	$\frac{1}{2304}$

[1] The alternate term *Perpendicular* is given by Hermannus Contractus in his *De Utilitatibus Astrolabii*.

[2] The duodecimal fractions were used also in a concrete sense as measurements of weight, time, and money. See my 'Notation of Fractions in the Earlier Middle Ages,' *cit. supra*.

In both the Durham and the Oxford manuscripts it is indicated that the tables are the work of one Hermannus. The question arises as to which Hermannus is implied. The tables are not mentioned among the writings of either Hermannus Contractus or Hermann the Dalmatian. Both manuscripts are too early to include a work by Hermann the Dalmatian.[1] The Durham manuscript appears to have been written at the latest by the middle of the twelfth century, while that at St John's College is a little earlier and includes one work bearing the date 1110. This early date suggests that the work is by Hermannus Contractus, who, moreover, wrote on kindred topics, such as the astrolabe and the computus.

The works of Hermannus Contractus are occasionally found associated with those of Gerbert, who was his younger contemporary. Thus in one of the Digby manuscripts on the astrolabe we find Hermann prefixing a description of the construction of the instrument to Gerbert's notes on its use.[2] In the St John's College manuscript itself we find Gerbert's [3] treatment of calculation given at length in *Ratio Regularum Abaci*, fol. 42–48, and the tables of products of fractions by Hermannus — merely a rearrangement of Gerbert's results in a concise form for reference — in the folios immediately following.

Tables like these were invaluable when lunar tables were worked out in duodecimal fractions. The change from duodecimal to astronomical fractions in astronomical work came about apparently during the first quarter of the twelfth century. Walcher, Prior of Malvern, composing lunar tables at some time between 1107 and 1112, used the duodecimal fractions, and later in his tables written in 1120 used degrees, minutes, and seconds.[4] These treatises by Walcher contain perhaps the earliest indication of Arabian influence in science in England. The earlier tables were calculated from the eclipse of 1092 observed by Walcher with an astrolabe, an instrument which he mentions with the Arabic names for two of its points.[5] The later treatise, containing the astronomical fractions, has a closer link with Arabic science. It is a translation into Latin of the work of the Arabic student, Petrus Alphonsi, a Spanish Jew converted to Christianity. It may even be that Petrus Alphonsi himself gave help in the translation since he appears to have been in England at the time.

Nothing of Arabian origin appears in the tables of duodecimal fractions, either in the Durham or in the Oxford copy. We may reasonably suppose, however, that Hermannus Contractus was in touch with Arabian science.

[1] For whom, see C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), chap. 3.

[2] Digby *MS. 174*, fol. 210 v.

[3] See fol. 43.

[4] Bodleian MS., *Auct. F. 1. 9* (fol. 86–99); on this, see C. H. Haskins, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 ff.

[5] Fol. 90, col. 2.

His treatises on the astrolabe [1] contain many Arabic words. Our tables, if by Hermaanus Contractus, are, therefore, presumably of earlier origin than his treatises on the astrolabe. We note that the *Ratio Regularum Abaci*, in the St John's MS. and based on Gerbert's teaching, mentions in its opening sentences the nine 'caracters' which head the principal columns of the abacus. Across the foot of folios 48v and 49 is a drawing of an abacus of twenty-seven columns, showing the symbols so used. Folio 50 gives the other and more important use of the 'caracters'— here, the marked counters used for calculation on the abacus — Andras, the second symbol, for example, designates, according to the arc in which it is placed, twice one, twice ten, twice a hundred, twice a thousand, etc. Gerbert, with whom we connect these counters, was in touch with Arabian science. He also wrote on the astrolabe; it may be that knowledge of these symbols came to him from an Arabic source.

The Durham chart and St John's College *MS. XVII*, being of English origin, containing works of these two men, and belonging as they do to the early part of the twelfth century, thus strengthen the evidence of a connection with England at this early date of men who knew something of Arabic learning.

The explanation of the tables is very similar in the Durham and the St John's MSS. The Durham chart describes a few more particular cases of products of fractions. The following text is from St John's *MS. XVII:*

Folio 48v

Ne in colligendis unciarum uel minutiarum summulis ex pluralitate numerorum difficultas minus prompto aliquando crearetur. Hec ab eximio doctore Hermanno quadrilatera elaborata est figura, minutias omnes naturaliter se sequentes suprema linea continens, in prima sinistri lateris linea numeros naturales integros ab uno usque ad X preferens. Principalis igitur linea singularum minutiarum summam ordine positarum semel exprimit, cuius in capite I pretitulatur. Secunda quid bis ducte conficiant exponit, cui prescribitur in capite binarius. Tercius quid ter aucte colligant eloquitur, cui terciarius preest. Idem in sequentibus. Si ergo scire cupis quam summam minutia quelibet bis uel ter uel amplius aucta conficiat, lineam cui preest numerus naturalis de quo queris et lineam cui minutia prescribitur de qua ambigis diligenter inspice, easque usque in angulum quem coeuntes faciunt vigili oculorum intuitu prosequere, quamque summam angulo illi ascriptam repperies, ex numero et minutia procreari non dubites. Verbi gratia si scire vis quid quater aut sexies semis ducta conficiat, ipsius semissis et quaternarii uel senarii lineas usque ad angularem coitum persequens, in altero quidem I quaternarii angulo II in altero, uero I senarii III

[1] Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. CXLIII, *De Utilitatibus Astrolabii* and *De Mensura Astrolabii.*

reperies. Idipsum in ceteris obseruabis et sine difficultate summam omnium quam libet multiplicem si modo scriptum non fallat copulabis.

Folio 49r

In huius trigone descriptionis area, quid singule in se uel inter se minutie ducte generent annotatum est. Siquidem in primo uersu singule tantum minutie ordinatim disposite sunt, in secundo uersu cui deunx prenotatur, quid deunx in se et in sequentes se ductus efficiat subnotatur. In tertio cui dextans prescribitur, quid dextans idem in se et in sequentes se, et sic in ceteris.

Folio 49v

Exigis a me karissime frater N., quin immo honestum illud quod ni veneranda et iam prouecta maturitate exerces studium uiolentus a me exigis, ut siquid dignum auditu deo donante in abacum scripsero, totum karitati tue dono conferam. Quod nimirum ac libens faciam utpote qui me quoque beatum non dubitem, si cuiuslibet opusculi mei talem merear habere Calliopium. Hanc igitur triangularem figuram tibi propriam scilicet usui tuo elaboratam offero per quam simplicioribus abacistis quibus omnibus te preferre non timeo facilem reddas omnem cribri minutiarum difficultatem. Sicut enim e diuerso positus eximii doctoris H. triangulus a deunce usque ad calcum descendens, quot modis unaqueque pars assis diuidatur ostendit, ita iste a calco in deuncem demissus quam uariis minutiarum copulis uel as, uel qualibet eius pars colligatur discrete indicat, sine cuius rei notitia nec facile quemquem in hanc artem introduci nec fructuose in ea laborem quamuis inmodicum consumi arbitror. Habet autem iste triangulus ex omni latere omnes naturaliter dispositas minutias, ita ut quadam mira naturae potentia in quacumque minutia quelibet catheci linea sinistrorsum incipiat, in eadem contra ypotenusam dextrorsum desinat et quacumque minutia unaquaque basis linea deorsum prenotetur, ab eadem sursum continuatim possideatur et in eandem finiatur. Unde ⟨si⟩ in minutia queris quantam sub se minutiarum positarum numerositatem contineat, uide in qua basis linea contineatur caracter illius minutie cuius numerositas queritur, et simul considera in qua catheti linea caracter maioris minutie pretituletur, in qua minoris minutie numerositas requiritur, et a basi quidem sursum a catheco autem in directum utramque lineam uisu percurrens tabulam in qua ambe ortiogonaliter conueniunt, ipso quem queris numero certissime in scriptura repperies. Uerbi gratia. Si queris quot scripulorum bisse contineat, basis lineam scripulo inchoatam intuere et catheti lineam bisse unciatam respice et per utranque ut dixi ad angularem tabulam ambarum perueniens, quot scripulos bisse continet in eadem scriptum reuera inuenies.

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TWO NOTES ON MEDIAEVAL EUHEMERISM

I. Alfred and Ælfric

Mr Cooke's skilful unravelling in the October number of Speculum (1927) of the threads that were woven into mediaeval euhemerism led him from its beginnings in patristic writings to its reflection in English literature of the fourteenth century. Since his method of presentation excluded the Old English period, it may be of interest to note that the two chief writers of Old English prose use the euhemeristic argument.

When King Alfred, in his translation of Boethius, comes to the story of Ulysses and Circe, he deems it necessary to add some explanation of their characters for his untutored readers:

> Now a daughter of Apollo, son of Job [Jove], dwelt there. Job was their king, and feigned that he was the highest god, and the silly folk believed him, for he was of the kingly clan, and in those days they knew no other god, but worshipped their kings for gods. Job's father was also said to be a god; his name was Saturnus, and each of his sons likewise they accounted a god. One of them was the Apollo we just now spoke of. Now Apollo's daughter was, men say, a goddess whose name was Kirke [Circe].[1]

Ælfric's homily *De Falsis Deis*[2] includes euhemerism among other explanations of the worship of false gods. After Nimrod and the giants had built the Tower (*ðone wundorlican stȳpel*), mankind was deceived by the Devil, and began to worship the sun, moon, and stars; fire, earth, and water.

> Yet the heathen did not wish to be limited to so few deities, but began to worship various giants as their gods, and men who were mighty in worldly dignity and terrible in life, though they lived foully.[3]

Ælfric then tells how a man by the name of Saturn was so ferocious that he devoured all his own children except Jove, who led a lascivious life with his sister Juno and debauched his daughters Diana and Venus. Jove, he

[1] Sedgefield's translation (Oxford, 1900), pp. 133, 134. The original may be found in W. J. Sedgefield, *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius* (Oxford, 1899), chap. xxxviii, pp. 115, 116. Alfred's comments on the gods are so general that it is hardly necessary to attribute them to a definite source.

[2] Printed in full, with a translation by R. Unger, *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed* (1846), pp. 67 ff. (cf. Brandl, Paul's *Grundriss*, 2d ed., II, 1104, 1105. C. White, *Ælfric*, p. 128). Part of this version appears in J. Kemble, *Salomon and Saturn* (London, 1848), pp. 120–125. The most accessible version is the slightly different one included among Wulfstan's homilies: No. xviii (ed. Napier, Berlin, 1883), pp. 104–107.

[3] Kemble's translation (slightly revised), *Salomon and Saturn*, pp. 120, 121; the text is expanded somewhat in Wulfstan, pp. 105, 106. Cf. [Catholic] *Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, I, 366.

remarks, is called Thor among certain nations, and Mercury is Odin (Oðon) in Danish. 'These sinful men were the mightiest deities that the heathen worshipped, and wrought for themselves as gods.' The elements of which this passage is composed are all to be found in such writers as Lactantius, Arnobius, and Augustine, but Ælfric's arrangement of them would seem to point to a definite source.

A similar but briefer account of Saturn and Jove appears in Ælfric's life of *Saint Sebastian*.[1] Here Tranquillinus says to the heathen prefect Chromatius (pp. 126, 127): 'The gods whom ye worship were wicked men, evilly born and infamous in life; they were filled with crime and perished miserably.' This passage is included in the source of the Old English life, a pseudo-Ambrosian homily.[2] Such a condemnation of the heathen gods may be found in the mouth of many a martyr (see, for example, Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, I, 154, 275).

II. Ninus and Nimrod

In commenting on mediaeval explanations of the origin of idolatry, Mr Cooke says that the author of the Middle English *Cursor Mundi* (*ca.* 1300–1325) follows Peter Comestor, except that he substitutes Nimrod for Ninus (vv. 2289–2301) as the person who made an image of his father. He suggests several reasons why the poet may have made this change. But even if the author of the *Cursor Mundi* was deliberately substituting Nimrod for Comestor's Ninus, he was merely following an early mediaeval tradition; for the two characters had been identified at least as early as the fourth century. In his translation of the *Clementine Recognitions*, Rufinus writes (*Patr. Gr.* II, 1327): '*Inter quos primus magica nihilominus arte quasi corusco ad eum delata, rex appellatur quidam Nemrod, quem et ipsum Graeci Ninum uocauerunt, ex cuius nomine Niniue ciuitas uocabulum sumpsit.*' The *Chronicon Paschale*, which cites the Clementine writings, makes a similar assertion (*Patr. Gr.* XCII, 124,125). It was not unnatural that Ninus, who in Greek mythology was the eponymous founder of Nineveh, should have been identified with the Biblical Nimrod, in Hebrew legend the founder of Babel, out of whose land, according to *Genesis* x, 12, 'went forth Asshur and builded Nineveh.'

It may be noted that in the *Clementine Recognitions*, the passage preceding that on Nimrod–Ninus contains the story of the origin of false worship, according to which a human being compels men to worship him by revealing to them the miracle of fire (cf. Cooke, Speculum, II, 406).

[1] *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, *EETS.*, LXXVII, Hom. V, pp. 116–147.

[2] Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XVII, 1039; cf. J. Ott, *Ueber die Quellen der Heiligenleben in Aelfric's Lives of Saints* I (Halle, 1892), 17, 18.

In the *Recognitions* the man who becomes a god is not Nimrod, as in Comestor (*Genesis* xxxvii), but Mesraim–Zoroaster, son of Ham (*Patr. Gr.* I, 1326, 1327), whom Nimrod succeeded as master of the magic art.[1]

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THREE UNPRINTED OPUSCULA OF JOHN WYCLIF

In the apportionment of various tracts of John Wyclif to different editors, the Wyclif Society, which has but recently (1924) terminated its official existence, not unnaturally overlooked some of the Reformer's minor works. Yet it is only just to say that of the work of the later years of Wyclif, with the exception of his Commentary on the New Testament, nothing has been left unprinted that is of any great or startling import. But the text of three minor pieces, here published for the first time, may not come amiss to those who are interested in the life and the period of the Doctor Evangelicus.

I

The first of the three is, in mediaeval university language, a *questio*, an exercise in argument, in which the subject for debate was assigned by the professor; certain students were selected to present the affirmative or the negative of the question, while the professor acted as presiding officer and judge, giving a resumé of the discussion, either as it was or as it should have been presented, much after the fashion of a modern class in debating.

The external evidence for assigning this *questio* to Wyclif is not, of itself, entirely convincing. It is No. 32 in W. W. Shirley's *Catalogue* (1865)[2] and No. 33 in Loserth's revision of the earlier catalogue (1924).[3] But it is not mentioned in any one of the three Vienna Catalogues of Wyclif's works,[4] dating from the early years of the fifteenth century, which are ordinarily quite complete, particularly in regard to works of the Reformer's later years. The *questio* is extant in a unique manuscript: Univ. Prague, *MS. XI. E. 3*, now numbered 2050, fol. 61v.[5] It is the tenth item in a codex containing many of Wyclif's shorter tracts, and letters and odds and ends of Hussite times. The nine preceding items are all by Wyclif, the following,

[1] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.*, 37 (*Patr. Gr.* XCII, 145–149), where both Nimrod and Zoroaster are said to have been called Orion. The mediaeval passion for syncretism led to many other identifications (see Migne, *Patr. Gr.* I, 1325, note 7, 'Zoroastrem').

[2] *A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif*, Oxford, 1865.

[3] *Shirley's Catalogue of the Extant Latin Works of John Wyclif*, revised by Johann Loserth, London: Wyclif Society, [1924].

[4] Cf. R. Buddensieg, Introduction to *Polemical Works* I, lix–lxxxiv.

[5] Cf. J. Truhlář, *Catalogus Codd. MSS Univ. Prag.* (Prague, 1905–06), II, 152 f.

the eleventh, is Hus' *Tractatus de Corpore Christi.* The writing is the work of many hands, all Bohemian we may assume, dating from the first decade of the fifteenth century until as late as 1460 (dated fol. 54r). Shirley said of it: 'Appended to a copy of Wyclif's "*Protestor Publice.*" It is not known otherwise and seems to be an extract.' It can hardly be spoken of as 'appended' since it is an independent tract with its own title, written on another page (fol. 61v) though in the same hand that wrote several of the preceding items. At the bottom of the page there is a short quotation from Nicholas of Lyra on Matthew xvi, of four lines, evidently added to fill up the page. Loserth, in his revision of Shirley's *Catalogue*, has quoted Shirley's judgment, evidently without having examined the *questio*; yet it is clear from its location that it is separate and complete while the subject matter is not to be found, in this order, in any other of Wyclif's works. It is, therefore, not an 'extract.'

If it is not referred to elsewhere — for example, in the almost contemporary Vienna catalogues — or known in any way as an extract from any of Wyclif's more considerable works, and if it is not assigned to him in the codex, one might question that it comes from the Reformer. Yet one can with even more certainty than is often attainable in questions of mediaeval authorship ascribe this *questio* to Wyclif for the following reasons: (1) its presence in the codex as the tenth in a series of Wyclif's tracts, written by the scribe who had copied five of the other nine, is of itself of considerable weight; (2) the manner of the attack on transubstantiation has many actual parallels in Wyclif's *De Eucharistia*, as e.g., pp. 48, 286–290; and (3) clearest of all, there is a reference in the third paragraph at the end of the second *Item* to his *De Dominio Diuino: 'Uide in tractatu de dominio diuino ca° 7°, quasi per magnum passum.'* These reasons combine to put its Wycliffian authorship beyond any reasonable doubt.

As to the date of composition. The attitude shown toward transubstantiation puts the *terminus a quo* at 1380, inasmuch as we do not know of open opposition on the part of Wyclif to the Church doctrine of the Eucharist before that date.[1] Moreover, its closeness in tone and thought to the *De Eucharistia* leads us to assign it to the year 1382, the probable date of the larger tractate.

We have, then, before us a small but compact and significant illustration of Wyclif's teaching activity, almost unique among his extant works. It is not a lecture, nor is it directly polemic, nor is it an extract, but from all appearances it represents the notes none too accurately taken down by some eager student as Wyclif gave a succinct résumé of a class-room debate or *questio.*

[1] Cf. *Chronicon Angliae* (Rolls Series, London, 1874), p. 281, anno 1381, and *Walsingham Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Series, London, 1863), i, 450, anno 1381.

ERRARE IN MATERIA FIDEI QUOD POSSIT ECCLESIA MILITANS [1]

Arguitur sic: ecclesia militans potuit olym determinare quod panis remaneat post confeccionem, quia non facto sic temendum [2] fuisset. Et quidem hodie oppositum determinatum patet in decretalibus locis uariis; et non dubium uariacio nulla facta est ex parte rei. Si ergo rei ueritas fuit tunc, posita illa actuali determinacione et admissa, sequitur, quod adhuc est ueritas. Nulla uariacio facta est ex parte rei in sacramento sensibili hodie, quando eadem fuisset cum illa determinacione possibili ipsius ecclesie. Eadem enim est natura sacramenti hodie, que fuisset facta illa determinacione, sed illa executori [3] deducta panis remansisset.

Item, ante pretactam determinacionem ueritas fuit illud sacramentum esse in sui natura illud, quod pro tunc ecclesia potuit determinare illud sacramentum esse. Pro tunc ipsa ecclesia potuit sic determinare, scilicet, quod panis remanet, ergo, etc.

Item, cuiuscunque nature specifice potuit esse sacramentum sensibile ante determinacionem ecclesie, pro tunc fuit natura eiusdem. Sed ante determinacionem ecclesie potuit esse nature specifice panis; dato opposito manifeste sequitur omnem speciem potuisse esse alterius speciei. Ex quo sequitur principia rerum quiditatiua tam in generibus quam speciebus mutari. Uide in tractatu de dominio diuino ca° 7°, quasi per magnum passum.[4]

Item, queritur ab aduersario utrum ante determinacionem ecclesie potuit ecclesia determinare ipsum sacramentum sensibile esse alterius nature quam est hodie; quod si sic, tunc ecclesiam per eius determinacionem posse rerum naturas specificas uariare.

Item, queritur quid in fide scripture signat iste terminus 'panis' ante hanc ecclesie determinacionem. Si dubitatur, consequerer, sic dubitandum esset de quolibet altero termino, et sic oportet in quolibet credendo expectare determinacionem ecclesie de significacione primaria terminorum. Quomodo ergo potest theologus esse certus de subiecto sue sciencie, quod nullis terminis potest conuenienter exprimere ante determinacionem de primaria terminorum significacione? Quid igitur crediderunt appostoli et Christi discipuli esse hoc sacramentum in natura sua specifica?

Item, ecclesia moderna, succedens appostolis et discipulis iam mortuis, in bona fide non potest ante determinacionem ecclesie de natura specifica sacramenti aliter determinare quam appostoli < cr > ediderunt. Nam dato opposito, sequitur, quod ista ecclesia moderna potest licite determinare, quod fides appostolica non sit seruanda in ecclesia moderna, sed totaliter uera perfidia opposita. Sed cum ecclesia ante determinacionem potuit remanenciam panis determinare, sequitur, quod appostoli sic crediderunt. Ex quo ecclesia ista determinauit iam, quod accidens manet sine subiecto in sacramento. Sequitur ex quo, fidem christianam non possunt ad omnem panis differenciam conuertere ad libitum, appostoli sic crediderunt, aut inperfide recesserunt, aut fidem suam de certo determinacioni commisserunt successorum.

[1] Univ. Prag., *MS. XI. E. 3.* (2050) fol. 61v.

[2] *Sic Cod. The meaning is probably: 'for if that were not so, it (impersonal) would be terrible.' Wyclif often refers to the 'terrible' consequences of the doctrine of annihilation* — 'quod nefas est credere.'

[3] Executori *is hardly translatable. It seems to mean, however: 'but if the executor of that determination (i.e. the church) be disregarded, the bread would remain.*

[4] Cf. Wyclif, *De Dom. Diuino*, pp. 43 ff.

II

The second short tract, *De Clauibus Ecclesie siue De Potestate Ligandi* (Shirley's *Catalogue*, No. 70; Loserth's *Revision*, No. 71) is extant in three MSS: Pal. Vindob. (now National-Bibliothek, Vienna), 1337, fol. 174v (A); *ibid.*, 1338, fol. 30v (B); *ibid.*, 1387, fol. 107r. This last codex I have not collated. All three codices have been carefully described by Buddensieg in his Introduction to Wyclif's *Polemical Works*. The three contain exclusively, aside from this item, accepted Wycliffiana, in itself a strong proof of the authorship of the present short tract. The first two of the codices mentioned are by the same scribe, the third in several very careful hands. From its title we might be led to place the tract as of the same time as the *De Potestate Pape*, 1379–1380, but it is in fact considerably later. The references to the misuse of bulls and indulgences, excommunications and censures, suggest strongly that it is from the same period as the *Cruciata*, that is, about the year 1383, at the time of Bishop Spencer's crusade to Flanders.

Incipit[1] De Clauibus Ecclesie, *id est* De Potestate Ligandi

Quodcunque ligauerit uel soluerit super terram conformiter ad Christi iudicium et ecclesie, ligatum uel solutum erit et in celis. Et si errauerit in soluendo subditos uel ligando, quid sibi de huiusmodi dicto? Similiter quod si propter talem repugnanciam excommunicat, combuerit uel damnat[2] sic loquentem tanquam hereticum et[3] infidelem, quis dubitat, quin ista ceca foret presumpcio?[4] Claues enim celorum sunt potestates ligandi et soluendi, in humilitate et ceteris uirtutibus fundate, et limitate per fidem scripture a rubigine Antichristi. Ideo quantum ad auctoritatem ewangelii est communis solucio atque catholica, quod tunc solum ligat uel soluit, remittit uel retinet Christi uicarius peccatum hominis, quando conformat se capiti ecclesie triumphantis.[5] Nec dubium fidelibus de hac fide, cum inpossibile sit christianum hec[6] facere, nisi deus prius[7] faciat illud idem. Et[8] per consequens papa, uicarie faciente illud, quod est citra fidem sperabile[9] a contrito papa, esset tunc de tanto conformis capiti ecclesie triumphantis.[10] Ergo non sequitur, si quis dicit uel bullariter scribit, quod sic soluit[11] hominem uel ligat, concedit tales indulgencias, inponit excommunicaciones huiusmodi uel censuras, ergo[12] sic facit caput ecclesie triumphantis,[13] quia tunc indubie foret papa inpeccabilis. Explicit[14] de potestate ligandi et soluendi, paruum quid est. Amen.

III

The third tractate, *De Officio Regis Conclusio* (Shirley's *Catalogue*, No. 69; Loserth's *Revision*, No. 70) is preserved in seven MSS, of which three

[1] *Sic A; B habet* De Clauibus Ecclesie. *Title in both codices in red.*
[2] *B* dampnat. [3] *A* et *deest.* [4] *A* presumpcio Antichristi.
[5] *A* triunfantis. [6] *A* hoc. [7] *B* prius *deest.*
[8] *A* Eciam. [9] *A corr. in marg. ad* sperabilem. [10] *A* triunfantis.
[11] *B* soluerit. [12] *B* ergo non sic facit. [13] *A* triunfantis.
[14] *B habet solum* Explicit de clauibus ecclesie.

are in the National-Bibliothek, Vienna: 1338, f.30b; 1387, f.107; 4515, f.83; three in the Prague Univ. Library: 1876, f. 197a; 1995, f. 92a; 2050, f. 59a; and one in the Prague Chapter Library: 693, f. 151a. The Vienna codices have been described by R. Buddensieg in his Introduction to Wyclif's *Polemical Works*. The first two, 1338 and 1387, contain, as we have seen, exclusively Wycliffiana. All the other codices, at Prague and at Vienna, are collections of Hussite and Wycliffite literature. In none of the codices is the tract definitely assigned to Wyclif, but its presence in the two codices otherwise containing nothing but Wyclif's works is a strong presumption in favor of Wycliffian authorship. But the subject-matter is even more conclusive. In his short tract, *De Incarcerandis Fidelibus* (*Opera Minora*, pp. 92-97), Wyclif gives an argument that coincides almost exactly with the first sentence of the *Conclusio:* '*Iterum, nulli dubium quin reges et milites debent deo secundum formam potestatis eis traditam militare, sed habent a deo potestatem coactiuam et punitiuam, ergo debent deo in puniendo inimicos eius taliter ministrare*' (*Op. Min.*, p. 94). The date of this tract is about 1379 (cf. Loserth, *Op. Min.*, Introd., p. xvi f.). The reference to the deposition of Abiathar by King Solomon, the '*rex pacificus*,' was a favorite illustration with Wyclif in the years 1377–79. In all three books on Civil Dominion he uses it in the same way as it is used in this small tract — to prove that the power of the king to depose wicked priests is a power sanctioned by Scripture:

De Civ. Dom. i, 291: Unde Sadoch prefecit Salomon in summum pontificem loco Abiathar sacerdotis. *Ibid.* ii, 63: sic Salomon nedum restitit sed de(posuit) Abiathar summum pontificem. *Ibid.* iii 323: Solomon deposuit Abiathar de summo sacrificio. *Ibid.*, iii, 464: sic Solomon deposuit ad stabilimentum regni sui Abiathar summum pontificem.

The incident is referred to once more in the *De Civ. Dom.* in words which Wyclif uses again in another tract, the 33 Conclusions or *De Paupertate Christi*. The verbal parallels may well confirm the opinion of the editor (Loserth) that they are contemporary.

De Civ. Dom., iii, 482	*De Paupertate Christi* (*Op. Min.*, p. 62)
Unde . . . legitur quod Salomon in confirmacione ac pacificacione regni sui dixit Abyatar sacerdoti. . . . *Si igitur rex tam sapiens tam laudabiliter deposuit summum pontificem*[1] ex	*Si ergo rex tam sapiens tam laudabiliter deposuit summum pontificem et per consequens abstulit ab eo temporalia que ex lege Moysi sequerentur,*[1]

[1] Italics are mine.

hereditate domini constitutum, *et per consequens abstulit ab eo temporalia que ex lege Moysi sequerentur*, modicum videtur pios principes *subtrahere suas elemosinas. . . .* licet regibus nostris ad pacificacionem regni sui pro maiori facinore *auferre proprias elemosynas* que non tanta auctoritate neque constancia sunt annexa.

Wyclif makes one other brief reference to this incident in Old Testament ecclesiastical politics, in the *Dialogus* (p. 89): *rex sapiens Salomon ad pacificacionem regni sui deposuit summum pontificem et alium licenter instituit.* This detail is added evidence that this tractate is also from the same period. Neither before 1377 nor after 1380 does Wyclif elsewhere refer to Abiathar's deposition. From this fact, and the closer resemblance in tone and wording to the third book on Civil Dominion, we place the date of this *Conclusio* at 1379.

De Officio Regis Conclusio [1]

Rex debet ex ui sui officii defendere legem [2] dei, per potestatem coactiuam compellere rebellantes et in regno suo destruere legi domini aduersantes. Et qui resistunt in isto regibus, uoluntati domini resistunt secundum apostolum.[3] Et istud executus est sapiens rex Salomon in ueteri [4] testamento, deponendo summum pontificem, ut patet 3^{ii} Regum 2° de Abiathar [5] deposito et Sadock summo sacerdote, quem posuit loco sui. Hoc autem fuit maius [6] quam auferre [7] temporalia ab episcopo, quod et fecit. Et propter hoc fuit [8] Salomon rex pacificus et regnum suum in uirtute domini prosperatum. Et propter istud triplex officium, quod rex debet soluere deo suo, deus regi retribuit triplex bonum, scil. prosperitatem mundanam et seculi potestatem, honorificenciam mundi eciam a suo precipuo sacerdote, et finaliter beatitudinem secundum gradum, quo fideliter seruierit deo suo.[9]

[1] MS. Pal. Vindob. 1338, f. 30b (*A*); MS. Univ. Prag. 2050, f. 59a (*B*); other codices not collated.

[2] *B sequitur* Christi *deletum.*

[3] *B* appostolum.

[4] *B* uetere.

[5] *B* Abijathar.

[6] *B* mayus.

[7] *B* aufferre.

[8] *A* fuit rex Salomon pacificus.

[9] *B addit.* Explicit conclusio.

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AN INSCRIPTION OF 1095 AT LOARRE

The sepulchral inscription of Tulgas at the entrance to the church of the castle of Loarre (Huesca), although published many times and frequently referred to, has never been entirely deciphered, and because of its chronological importance in the study of Spanish eleventh-century architecture it seems worth while to present the complete text. The date has been interpreted variously: Padre Ramón de Huesca, in his *Teatro de las Iglesias del Reino de Aragón*,[1] read *era MCXXXIII* (A.D. 1095) with entire accuracy. Believing the *C* to be an *L* the Marqués de Monsalud[2] pushed the date back fifty years to 1045; this reading is followed by Ricardo del Arco.[3] Isidro Gil[4] made 1096 by reading *era MCXXXIIII*. Mr A. Kinsgley Porter, in the *Burlington Magazine*, LII (1928), 111–127, 'Iguácel and more Romanesque Art of Aragon,' establishes the date as 1095, as can be clearly seen from an examination of the reproduction.

The inscription, although uncommonly worded, presents no real difficulties and reads

+ IN DEI N̄N̄E: HIC RE
QVIESCIT: FAMVLVS DE
I TVLGAS: QVI OBIIT PRI
DIE KL̄S DECĒBRIS IN E
RA MCXXXIII QVI
LEGERIT ISTAS LITERS
ORET PATRĒ EVS VT DO
NET ILLI REIĒ SERENĀ

(In dei nomine hic requiescit famulus Dei Tulgas, qui obiit pridie kalendas Decembris in era MCXXXIII [November 30, 1095]. Qui legerit istas litteras, oret patrem eius ut donet illi requiem serenam.)

[1] (Pamplona: 1796), VI, 127.
[2] *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* XXXII (Madrid, 1898), 9.
[3] *El Castillo Real de Loarre* (Madrid: Librería General de Justo Martínez, 1917), p. 9.
[4] 'El Castillo de Loarre,' *Arte Español* I (1913), 287.

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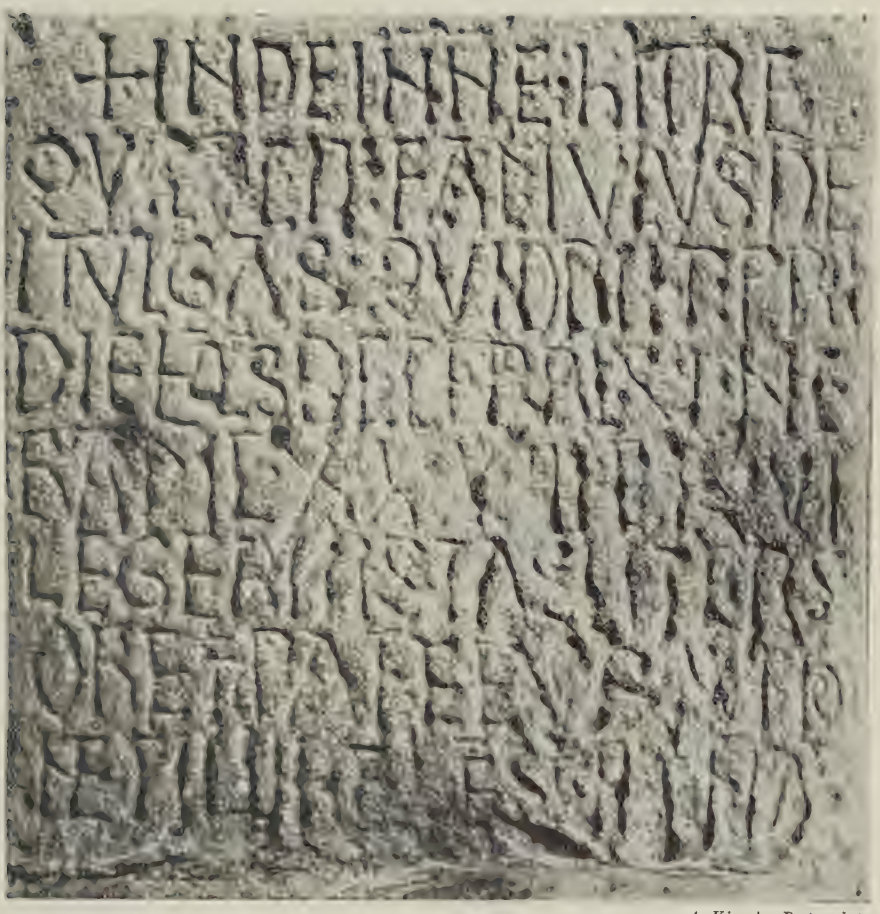

A. Kingsley Porter phot.

Loarre (Huesca). Sepulchral Inscription of Tulgas

REVIEWS

JEAN BECK, *Les Chansonniers des Troubadours et des Trouvères publiés en facsimile et édités, texte et musique*, Vols I and II. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927. Pp. xxxiii, 282; lxxvi, 343.

To see the lyrics of the Middle Ages as they are, and not as some one thinks they ought to be! And to see every song with its tune! That means the beginning of a really competent study of mediaeval poetic art. Words and music grew up together; without the air one cannot rightly grasp the metrics, and with the air many a linguistic trait is understood which else were incomprehensible. For intelligent appreciation nothing less than the whole composition will do — texts and notes indissolubly combined. This we have all known theoretically ever since Professor Beck published *Die Melodien der Troubadours* in 1908 and *La Musique des Troubadours* in 1909 (perhaps we suspected it even before), and we have been reminded of it from time to time when he has dealt with some phase of the subject in print or in public lecture. But we have been helpless in the absence of the documents; even possessed of these sheets, we should be still helpless in our ignorance of mediaeval music, were it not for the expert transposing hand of the editor — an expertness based on the study of over 20,000 musical facsimiles which he has collected from the libraries of Europe.

The two majestic, handsome volumes now before us are but the beginning of Professor Beck's grandiose plan. In his *Corpus Cantilenarum Medii Aevi* he intends to make accessible every surviving thing non-liturgical that was sung in western Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Something less than 20,000 musical compositions are known to exist; the fundamental principles were established before the end of the twelfth century, and a rapid development ensued in the thirteenth. For text, there are extant some 5,000 poems of *trouvères* and *troubadours*, contained in about 100 manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A comparison of these song-books is essential for the tracing of literary and melodic relations; and such comparison is now to be made possible for all. We owe a debt of gratitude to Mrs Mary Louise Curtis Bok, founder of the Curtis Institute of Music, whose generosity made the great enterprise possible.

As a beginning, the editor has chosen *MS. français No. 846* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, known as the *Chansonnier Cangé* — so called from an owner, Chatre de Cangé, a collector and student of song-books, who, having purchased it in 1724, wrote in the margin certain corrections, comments, and attributions drawn from his comparative investigations. These

notes, in a delicate, minute hand, do not at all mar the beautiful pages. The text is wonderfully clear, offering few difficulties to the transcriber; abbreviations are few; the hand is thirteenth-century Gothic. The manuscript seems to have been an *edition de luxe;* it shows no signs of wear. Choice in its make-up, it is aristocratic also in its contents: its favorite poet is the King of Navarre; it contains only three real *pastourelles* and only four other poems of similar type. Altogether there are 351 pieces, 74 of them not found elsewhere. They are grouped alphabetically according to the first letter of the *incipit;* inside each of these alphabetical groups they seem to be placed unsystematically according to associations of rime or matter. The authors number 56, and there are 98 anonymous songs. After the King of Navarre (Thibaut IV de Champagne), who is represented by 64 pieces, comes Gace Brulé with 46; the Chatelain de Coucy, Perrin d'Agincourt, Gautier d'Epinal, Adan de la Hale, next in favor, are far less heavy contributors. Some poets elsewhere popular do not figure at all, for instance, Jean Bodel, Gautier de Coincy, Jehan Bretel the *jeu-parti* artist, and the great musician, Richart de Fournival, appears only once. Of all the lyrics, 101 have one envoy each, 29 have two, four have three. Most of them have tripartition in the sense that lines 3 and 4 of each strophe are sung to the same tune as lines 1 and 2. In a few, there is melodic repetition of lines 1–4 by lines 5–8, having only a little tag, or refrain, with a different air. In the manuscript, at the head of each poem, is the music, with the first verses to be sung to it; then comes the rest of the text written solid, with little punctuation and no distinction of lines, but with capitals to indicate the beginnings of stanzas; the initial letter of the piece is elaborately designed, sometimes with a pretty little picture inside.

The thirteenth-century compiler of the collection, an unknown Burgundian, reveals in his work something of his personality. A refined artist he was, and certainly a musician. Not only had he the scientific skill required to transpose tunes from the old 'square notation' into the 'proportional' system; he seems also to have known his airs by heart. Indeed, Dr Beck's main reason for choosing this MS. to begin his series is that the Cangé is the only song-book with complete music and with regular indication of the length of the notes. For purity of dialect, it is inferior to the *Chansonnier du Roy* — but to that alone. Moreover, the text is pretty accurate and the sheets are intact. It may perhaps be assumed that whatever we find in the way of deviation from other versions, in words or music, is due to the compiler himself. At any rate, our editor chooses to treat this mediaeval scribe, for whom he has conceived an almost tender regard, as an independent adapter, entitled to the same respect which Bédier feels for the Oxford MS. of the *Chanson de Roland.* A happy result of his method is that we have the book almost exactly as it was known to its immediate

public. Punctuation is used, to be sure, in the transcriptions; but corrections are confined to the few mistakes that are both obvious and troublesome. The original spelling is kept, inconsistent though it be, and sometimes ungrammatical. The occasional writing of two contiguous vowels under one note indicates that the scribe did not always mark elision. But he took far greater liberties than any mere freedom of spelling. In Dr Beck's belief, he indulged in additional lines here and there, even in whole stanzas; and from time to time he changed past tenses to present, and second and third persons to first, in his eagerness to vivify the story and put himself into it.

A very real person this compiler becomes under our editor's sympathetic and penetrating treatment. For uniformity of spelling he cared no more than most of his contemporaries. A dozen times he writes *qui* for *qu'il*, — *qui port*, for instance, — just as people pronounce nowadays. He mixes up *u* and *v*, *x* and *us*, long and short *s* ; *ai* and *e* alternate for open *e*, while close *e* is often *ey*; *-os* alternates with *-ous*, *–ouse* with *–euse*. There is confusion of *e* and *i*, as in *me* and *mi* ; under certain circumstances there is interchange of *ai*, *ei*, *ie*, and *oi*. Often alternative forms will occur in the same poem. Many of these irregularities are due, of course, to the fact that the compiler was copying from several different dialects, sometimes turning the forms he met into his own Burgundian, sometimes letting them stand. When, however, *est* is spelled *ai* or *ait*, it is likely we have to do with a case of writing from dictation.

In dealing with the music, our collector had abundant opportunity for the use of his own discretion. How much of original interpretation there may be in his rendering in explicit terms a mere outline notation, we cannot tell. We can get a few hints from five songs, which by some oversight are twice included with their notes; also from three *jeux-partis* which are set to the tunes of other pieces included in the manuscript. At any rate, one finds a certain adaption of melody to sentiment: sorrow, doubt, joy are expressed in the airs; so the notions of completeness and incompleteness. There are masculine and feminine endings, as in the verse. The compass is ordinarily that of the Gregorian chant; the greatest range in any piece is an octave plus a sixth. The favorite terminal note (occurring in 55 of the 351 songs) is *sol*. In general the compilation is doubtless from 20 to 100 years later than the original composition of the songs. Although there is no division into bars, a faint vertical line is frequently used to separate (in the music) verse from verse. The staff consists of four lines and three spaces; and, as the notes are not often allowed to stray above or below, there is always at the left a shifting clef sign indicating the place of the key-notes. The notes themselves are rectangular; length is marked by ascending or descending tails.

As is usually the case in mediaeval song, there is no regular correspondence (save at the end of the line) between the musical accent and the natural stress of the words. For the reader of Middle Age poetry, there is an incomprehensible gap between the strong binary march of the Latin hymns and the accentless Romance verse, based on equality of syllables; but the change is explicable when we find even such Latin verses set to music which completely disregards their stress. There must have been at some time a revolution in musical fashion, in consequence of which the words which were composed for one mode (presumably the fifth, or spondaic) came to be sung to a different measure; then all that counted was a number of syllables equal to the number of notes. Hence the Neo-Latin songs, when they came to be written, were built on that model. One cannot be sure that the thing happened thus; but that is the direction in which the evidence points. And the coincidence of beat and stress (elsewhere unrelated) on the final syllable of the lines may have begotten or fostered rime.

Of the two volumes before us, the first contains the plates: 141 recto and verso sheets, with facsimiles of the two-column pages of the manuscript, all admirably distinct. The second has the transcription of the text, with the least possible touching up, and the transposition of the music into our modern notation, according to the system discovered and practised by the editor. Both volumes include also certain tables and certain essays. One table lists all the poems by their *incipit* and first rime, and tells the place of each in all the other manuscripts that contain them. Another collates the numbers given to the poems in this collection with those they bear in Raynaud's *Bibliographie*. Another consists of an alphabetical index of all the rimes and all the places where they occur. Still another analyzes the metrical and musical structure of each of the songs, these being arranged in the alphabetical sequence of their *incipit* and accompanied by the name of the probable author. These tables, which bear witness to almost incredible industry and ingenuity, are mainly the work of Mrs Beck. There is also a list of editions of Old-French poets and poems. Professor Beck's introductory discussions, after an illuminating *Avant-propos*, are entitled: *Description du Manuscrit Cangé, la Méthode projetée pour l'édition du Corpus Cantilenarum Medii Aevi, le Scribe du Chansonnier Cangé et son Travail, la Sémantique Musicale du Manuscrit Cangé, les Principes de la Versification Latine et Romane au Moyen Age, l'Esthétique de la Forme dans la Chanson du Moyen Age.* Many of the things therein treated have been briefly suggested in the foregoing paragraphs.

May success continue to attend Professor Beck in his gigantic enterprise!

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E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*. London: Sedgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1927. Pp. 299.

Any work by so eminent a scholar as Sir Edmund Chambers is certain to be welcomed with eagerness and read with respect. One might well have hoped that in turning from the history of drama to Arthurian studies, a domain of scholarship somewhat dangerous for its miry bogs and baffling thickets, he would be able to see his way clearly and settle a good many vexed questions. Unfortunately — and apparently because he underestimated the difficulty of his task — he has not given us the book of our expectation. The little volume he has produced is handsome, for which we may be grateful to the publishers, but it is marred by very serious faults.

To the general plan no exception can be taken. The author has tried to isolate the figure of Arthur, studying him in his successive stages as a hero of pretended history and acknowledged romance. There are chapters on the Early Tradition, on Geoffrey of Monmouth and his sources, on the acceptance of Arthur by later chroniclers as an historic king, on the part he plays in the romances, and finally on the question of his place in history and his relation to Celtic mythology. To these chapters are added some fifty pages of 'Records,' which include pertinent passages from the chronicles, beginning with fifth-century references to Saxon invasions and running to Adam Murimuth in the fourteenth century. The design is admirable, as the reader sees at a glance; only more slowly does he come reluctantly to the conclusion that the book must be drastically revised before it can be of much use to scholars.

In the first place, it is often quite impossible to understand what Sir Edmund means, without reference to the earlier studies upon which he has relied. Instead of being content, in the 232 pages that constitute the main part of his volume, to treat the subject in outline merely, which would have given him space to state clearly the points he chose to make, he has constantly involved himself in discussions of detail, which cannot be presented briefly without the sacrifice of either clarity or truth. For example, I doubt whether anyone unacquainted with Loth's *Les Mabinogion* could gain an intelligent notion of the Welsh material dealt with by the author in his chapter, 'The Sources of Geoffrey'; and I feel quite sure that the account of the French prose romances (pp. 156–166) cannot be read with profit unless one knows the studies by Bruce and others — which means that it is useful to nobody. This is to say, of course, that Sir Edmund Chambers has not the art of condensed statement. Lightheartedly he devotes 14 pages (pp. 183–197) to a survey of 'the localities traditionally associated with Arthur's name,' only to conclude (p. 197) that they 'do not help us'; yet to Wace and Layamon together he gives only half a dozen pages.

To quarrel with him for disposing of the space at his command as he saw fit may seem captious, since Arthurian studies bristle with difficulties and invite controversy. The mention of *mons Badonis* leads almost of necessity to discussion. We should welcome the excursions for their own sake, no doubt, except for two facts. To begin with, the author abjures references for the most part, even when indulging in debate; this leaves the reader dependent on a meagre 'Bibliographical Note' at the end of the volume or on his own resources — if he cares to check the statements made, as he must assuredly do. Again, Chambers has a way of settling vexed questions out of hand, which might mislead the uninstructed reader into thinking that no real difficulty exists. The habit is irritating to anyone who is aware of the actual state of affairs. For example, he says of Badon (p. 4): 'The battle took place, if I read Gildas aright, exactly forty-four years and one month after the activities of Ambrosius. But some treat this period as extending from the battle to the writing of the *De Excidio*.' There is no hint either here, or later (p. 171) when he comes back to the matter, that the scholars with whom he cavalierly disagrees about a notoriously difficult passage include such accomplished Latinists as Mommsen and the late Charles Plummer, or that the matter is still open to debate. (See the interesting paper by G. H. Wheeler, 'Gildas de Excidio Britanniae, c. 26,' *English Historical Review* XLI, 1926, 497–503). No one can question his right to his own opinion, but neither can one take very seriously the conclusions of a scholar who deals with real *cruces* in so off-hand a fashion, while he finds time to discourse at length about comparatively unimportant matters.

One's distrust of the author as a guide and one's fear that he has taken his task too lightly, are increased when one discovers that he neglects — either through inadvertence or carelessness — the work of scholars whose studies merit the closest attention. In his discussion of Badon for instance (pp. 197–201), he appears to make no use of the paper by the late W. H. Stevenson, 'Dr Guest and the English Conquest of South Britain' (*English Historical Review*, XVII, 1902, 632–642), which gives the best summary of the whole matter that has ever appeared. It looks as if he had read about Stevenson's article somewhere, since he uses one of the arguments in a confused way, vaguely attributing it to 'philologists' (p. 199); but a digested knowledge of it he does not show. His own account, like too many other passages in the book, lacks discrimination as well as conciseness.

Occasionally, moreover, he is betrayed into slips that can be due to nothing whatever save carelessness. A good example of this occurs on page 156, where he says of the pseudo-Boron prose cycle that it is 'not necessarily by Boron's own hand.' Had he gone no further than Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Baltimore, 1923), I, 458, he could

never have made this statement. Yet his dependence on Bruce at many points is necessarily great, and is acknowledged. Again, I fail to see how, if he had read conscientiously the authorities he himself cites, he could write so loosely of the identification of Run map Urbgen with St Paulinus, as he does on page 10. A ninth-century chronicler may be forgiven such absurdities more easily than a modern scholar.

In spite of the incoherence and carelessness of which I have been complaining, the book might still have been very useful by reason of the collection of documents with which it ends. It was an excellent notion to gather these scattered texts for the convenience of scholars, though the value of it would have been immensely increased if the collection had been made complete rather than representative. The success of the plan depends, however, on the faithfulness of its execution. The extracts (save that from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, which is taken from *MS. Cotton Titus C. xvii*) purport to be simply reproductions of texts as printed. There is no hint of further editing by Sir Edmund Chambers or of collation with the original manuscripts. One expects, therefore, to find the records reproduced *literatim*, and one would be satisfied, were this the case. I regret to report that they cannot be trusted. I have taken the trouble to collate nine of the passages, and have found only two of them to be quite impeccable: those from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and Henry of Huntingdon. Errors have been made and liberties have been taken that are the more distressing because they appear in a work signed by a scholar of ripe experience. Their nature can be seen from the note printed below.[1] That most of them are trivial does not affect the situation materially: one cannot use a quotation unless it be an exact quotation. It is fair to assume, moreover, that the extracts not collated are no more trustworthy than those I have examined. All in all, the records, like the author's own expository

[1] In ii, Gildas: p. 235, l. 23, *namque* omitted between *Initur* and *consilium;* p. 236, l. 2, *quinguaginta* for *quinquaginta*, l. 10, *velut* for *veluti;* p. 237, l. 6, [Ch. xxvi] omitted before *Ex.* In iii, Bede: p. 237, Mommsen's text repunctuated without notice. In iv, Nennius: p. 238, reference incorrect, being iii, 111, instead of iii, 199; p. 240, l. 1, *congregabat* for *congregavit.* In vii, Lifric of Llancarfan: Chambers fails to note that he has adopted corrections of Rees's very faulty text printed by K. Meyer, *Y Cymmrodor*, XIII (1900), 77–80, namely *Keneder* for *Reneder* (p. 244, l. 29), *tribuendas* for *tribundas* (p. 245, l. 3), *Chei et Bedguur* for *Kei et Bedwir* (p. 245, ll. 24, 25); he has furthermore changed *e* to *ae*, and *c* to *t* throughout the passage, but by no means consistently; p. 244, l. 12, *nullusque* for *nulloque*, and l. 13, *praedicti* for *predigesti* (both obvious improvements, but made silently); p. 245, l. 18, *plerisque* for *pluribusque*, l. 20, *quatenus* for *quatinus*, l. 24, *occurrerunt* for *occurrerent;* p. 246, l. 14, *quae* for *qui.* In ix, *Life of St Illtud:* p. 248, ll. 1, 2, phrase in brackets inserted and apparently composed by Chambers, l. 5, *abundantiam* for *habundantiam.* In x, *Life of St Padarn:* p. 248, *ae* twice for *e* and *t* once for *c.* In xiv, Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Vita Merlini:* pp. 256–258, punctuation and capitals supplied without notice; p. 257, l. 14, *laesum* for *lesum*, although *e* is elsewhere in the passage left unchanged.

text, leave much to be desired. The pity of it is that by taking more pains, Sir Edmund Chambers might have given us a volume of great importance to scholarship. His judgment on many questions is very sound, and some of his suggestions are valuable. Only this is true: the book is nearly useless in its present form.

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KARL STRECKER, ed., *Die Cambridger Lieder*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Pp. xxvi, 138.

UNTIL two years ago any honest amateur of mediaeval Latin verse knew there were five difficult tasks of editing that remained to be accomplished before modern students could hope to realise in any vital sense the manner and the meaning of the long carry of Roman and Romanising and Romanesque poetry from the silver latinity of Nero's day to that graceless catachresis of goliardic idiom which vies more successfully than is often granted with the sudden upthrust of twelfth-century vernaculars. These five difficult tasks of editing were (*a*) a text of the *Carmina Cantabrigiensia;* (*b*) a text of the *Carmina Burana;* (*c*) a text of the Queen Christine; (*d*) a corpus of secular Latin lyric types — idyll, elegy, epigram, personalised narrative and song — from Petronius to Hildebert; (*e*) a corpus of secular Latin epic types for the same period. And not until we have the last two of these five tasks done shall we be able to speak sanely of a fine development of eleven hundred years of western European poetry unaffected by Roman ruin, barbarian darkness, and tribal migration.

Until two years ago, I imagine, no real amateur of mediaeval Latin verse had the slightest expectation of living to see even one of the five difficult tasks adequately achieved. When it came to editions, scholars seemed curiously irresolute — fools rushed in but angels feared to tread. Millions of hymns and uncounted swarms of clerical effluvia were industriously exposed to light; the Monumenta went its anointed way; germanistic Wilamowitzes all the way from Winterfeld to Brinkmann generalised at random; Breul attempted a splendidly conceived but weakly executed volume. But the pundits like Delisle and Hauréau, Meyer of Speier and Traube balked at assembling cogent editions of transitional Latin poetic genres, and first as last the five great tasks remained undone.

And then came Karl Strecker's unassuming edition of the Cambridge songs, in its outer appearance reminding one somewhat of the country cousin from Husum if compared with the glorious garb of Breul's effort. But despite its dress here was a job undertaken in the full stride of scholarly endeavor — closing up the Poetae, a second edition of the *Waltharius*, the letters of Froumund, the first volume of Gautier de Châtillon. And it is a job very well done, for the whole background of the past is in it. Not one

judicious word regarding the Cambridge songs has ever been written in vain, since every one of them now lies embalmed in the amber of Strecker's preface and text, notes and appendices. Besides which, while I cannot say that the whole pathway investigators must yet travel towards a final unravelment of these songs is clearly illumined by Strecker's work, I must confess the pathway is thoroughly indicated by it. I marvel at his saneness and his comprehension of the problems involved. And I rejoice that the rich first fruits of the new interpretation of eleventh-century Latin balladry, verse that hardly anticipates the thud and beat of imminent vernacular renascence, come not from the neoterici, but out of the old school, the old training, the old wisdom. Strecker, *er lebe hoch!*

Like a goodly number of other soi-disant critics of mediaeval poetry, I could write perhaps as many pages in questioning Strecker's annotations as their author has used in the propounding of them. But I find few if any instances where I think such logomachy might actually help to establish a better text than his, and ordinarily one man's conjectural emendations are no wiser than another man's, unless one of the two play the fool. Once or twice I am innocently disturbed by Strecker's dogmatising — as, for instance, when he writes that Traube has put an end to wild imaginings regarding just that poem (page 106, line 29) about which I could sweat together a long monograph agreeing in no single point with any interpretation of the content since Niebuhr. But, after all, Strecker's main object seems to have been to furnish us a convenient, usable text of a very important group of poems which until recently have suffered cavalier treatment from incompetent critics. And this object he has notably achieved.

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A. W. Goodman, ed., *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral.* Winchester: Wykeham Press 1927. Pp. lxviii, 284.

This chartulary is a register of about 550 documents compiled at Winchester Cathedral during the last years of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth. While the documents largely originated in this period, they go back in decreasing numbers to a few charters of the tenth century. As we should expect of the records of a mediaeval cathedral closely associated with the royal family, there is much of interest for local and national historians.

Canon Goodman gives a history and description of the chartulary manuscript, illustrated with facsimiles of several typical pages. He outlines the chartulary's chief contribution to our knowledge of English history, the diocese of Winchester, the Cathedral Church, St Swithin's Priory, and the

city of Winchester, with sympathetic care. This presents an illuminating outlook over the wide interests of the cathedral, its bishops and chapter: it includes the names of serfs and yeomen as well as those of nearly every contemporary pope and English king. The explanatory portion is excellent, and interesting even for a general reader.

The documents, we feel, should have been prepared to meet the needs of the scholars who will probably constitute a large proportion of the readers of this section of the *Chartulary*. Scholars require a transcription of the Latin or French, rather than English summaries and translations, although they will be thankful for the documents which the editor has elected to transcribe. The Latin phraseology in many cases is important, not mere "verbiage and expressions of common forms," since much legal terminology had in this period not yet hardened into technical definition; therefore the editor's practice of "anglicizing the terminations of proper names" in their Latin form is confusing: it results in neither Latin nor English, as is shown by his example, *Salesberia* (Salisbury) to *Salesberie*.

The careful index to surnames is less convenient than an index to given names would have been; the latter are, after all, the constants of mediaeval personal nomenclature. Another inconvenience would have been avoided if the editor had arranged the documents chronologically, since the original order is clear from the synopsis.

For use on the spot in matters of history, topography, and genealogy by persons who are in a position to be able easily to check readings against the chartulary manuscript, Canon Goodman has produced a most satisfactory book; for students who live far from Winchester it has very serious defects.

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W. H. B. BIRD, ed., *The Black Book of Winchester*. Winchester: The Wikeham Press, 1925. Pp. 241.

J. S. FURLEY, ed., *The Ancient Usages of the City of Winchester from the Anglo-French Version preserved in Winchester College*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. Pp. 68.

IN the writing of town histories we have had three periods. First, there was a time when local records and happenings were set down incompletely and uncritically, although in some cases accurately, and without much reference to conditions in other centres. Then came scholarly comparative studies of urban institutions. And finally, there is the editing of texts of particular town records with some reference to developments in other places. The two books under review belong to the third period. Although the history of Winchester is near to the heart of national beginnings, there is no adequate literature on its institutions or development. The publica-

tion of the two volumes under review will be of some assistance later in the composition of a well-rounded history of the old-time capital.

The Black Book, probably compiled in the early sixteenth century, has until now remained only in manuscript form. Of course, it has been well known and used by many scholars. It consists of documents in Latin, Norman-French, and English, which were apparently put together to make up a book of reference for the Mayor of Winchester. Although some of the documents are from royal sources, most of them are records of the proceedings in the Burghmoot of Winchester. They set forth the civic constitution, the regulation of trade and industry, and the town tolls. The story which we read between the lines as well as in the sources themselves is a sad one. Winchester had not only ceased to be important politically, but it had failed to hold its own economically. The cloth trade had declined; and, in the face of Southampton's rivalry, Winchester could make no progress in the wool trade. In the period covered by the book, about 1400–1550, there was no virility either in material or non-material culture.

The introduction to *The Black Book* is brief and of little help. Since elongations of the words in the text are not indicated, the careful scholar must still go for a final reading to the original manuscript in the British Museum. We are grateful to the editor, however, for putting down the exact or approximate date of each document. The glossary is made up of explanations from old and in some cases doubtful sources.

The Ancient Usages of the same city are all found on one single piece of vellum, 21 inches by 19, reproduced here in facsimile. And yet they constitute the basis of a book, as a memorial to our expansive editorial scholarship. The customs here set forth were instituted not later than the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, being probably set down about 1275. They have been published in full twice and often noted by scholars. Neither logical in arrangement nor complete in detail, they tell the same story as *The Black Book*, though of course for an earlier period. One remarkable and still unexplained item in the *Usages* has reference to four houses in the merchant gild. The editor has done a good job in providing us with an accurate text. Failure to indicate elongation is not serious, because they have been few in number and obvious in meaning. The translation, notes, and introduction are all carefully done. Mr. E. W. Patchett of University College, Southampton, has provided a rather full glossary of interest to both historian and philologist. The volume is almost a model of scholarly work.

N. S. B. Gras,
Harvard University.

E. Hoepffner and P. Alfaric, edd., *La Chanson de Sainte Foy.* Tome Ier: *Facsimile du manuscrit et texte critique. Introduction et commentaire philologiques* par Ernest Hoepffner; pp. 80, viii, 376. Tome II: *Traduction française et sources latines. Introduction et commentaire historiques* Prosper Alfaric; pp. 80, vi, 206. (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg: Fascicules 32 et 33). Paris: Société d'Edition; Les Belles Lettres, 1926.

This book, a product of the collaboration of two eminent scholars and members of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Strassburg, is, in respect of its methods, one of the most searching and one of the most truly comprehensive studies that have ever appeared in the domain of Romance Philology. Few have surpassed it in minuteness of attention to linguistic, literary, and historical detail. Professor Hoepffner has anticipated the possible criticism that the work done by him and his colleague may seem too vast for the subject. He is right in maintaining the validity of their task, and all Romance scholars should welcome their accomplished labor as a model of its kind and as an extremely useful tool for Romance Seminaries. The little Provençal poem on Saint Fides, although not published in its entirety until after its discovery in 1901, by the noted Portuguese savant, Leite de Vasconcellos, is a Romance document of prime importance in view of its early date (the 11th century). This fact was apprehended as far back as 1581, when Claude Fauchet first called attention to it. Fauchet was not able to allocate the document linguistically, but, on the basis of a fragment published by him, the Provençal specialist, Raynouard, rightly adjudged it to the Provençal language and literature. After his happy rediscovery in 1901 of the complete poem in a manuscript of the Library of the University of Leyden, Leite de Vasconcellos made it public in volume 31 of *Romania* (1902). He contemplated another and definite edition, but relinquished the task to one of the most thoroughly competent of living students of Provençal and a master of all branches of Romance philology, the veteran professor of the University of Paris, Antoine Thomas. As a volume of Mario Roque's very valuable series of *Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, Thomas put forth, in 1925, his admirable edition with a facsimile, a modern French translation, notes, and a glossary. Messrs Hoepffner and Alfaric had engaged in the preparation of their edition without knowledge that Professor Thomas had his in hand, and the result is that now we have two editions subserving different and useful ends.

In the first of the two volumes before us, Hoepffner begins with a paleographical study of the unique manuscript, and then enters into a full discussion of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of its language. The methods of versification applied by the anonymous poet, his general technique, and his personality are next considered. Eleven photographic plates give us a facsimile of the MS., which is followed by the critical text,

a Glossary, and an Index of Proper Names. The Text shows some 593 verses of rhymed octosyllables in 55 stanzas; Thomas's edition has them arranged in 49 stanzas. Alfaric concerns himself, in Volume II, with an attempt to localize the composition of the document and to establish the date of composition. Thomas was content to place the date in the second third of the 11th century; Alfaric inclines to fix it in the neighborhood of 1060. The sources of the Provençal poem, says Alfaric, embrace, among others, a Latin poem on the Saint (*Passio Metrica Sanctorum Fidis et Caprasii*) and a Latin prose account of her passion, both of which he prints. He carries further the examination of the personality and aims of the author which Hoepffner makes in Volume I, and he adds a complete modern French translation with copious and elaborate footnotes.

Not a little interest attaches to the Appendix (II, 173–176) in which Alfaric passes in review certain of the ideas expressed in Thomas's edition, which came to his cognizance too late to be utilized in the body of his own work. Alfaric has the satisfaction of finding that there is no wide divergence of views respecting the place and date of the composition of the poem between himself and his collaborator on the one hand and Thomas on the other. As to the sources of the poem Alfaric has to differ with Thomas; he rejects the idea of dependence upon the *Breviarium* of Eutropius held by Thomas and argues for a connection with the work, *De mortibus persecutorum* of Lactantius. He points out that Thomas makes no mention of the Latin poem on Saint Fides, and insists that it was certainly one of the sources. There are briefly mentioned some other differences of opinion between them. In particular, Alfaric does not deem the poet so pedantic or incoherent as Thomas seems to think him, and he believes that Thomas has not given adequate attention to the historical setting of the poet's work. To this we may say that limits of space naturally imposed by the exigencies of the series in which he published his edition precluded Thomas from making so full a study of the bearings of the Provençal poem as the two Strasbourg professors with their unlimited opportunity were able to make. Limits of space will also prevent us from reporting more in detail upon the thorough-going studies of Hoepffner and Alfaric. Before closing, however, we cannot refrain from indicating that the interpretation of the verb form *declin* (pres. subj. 3d sing. of *declinar*) in the fourth line of the poem may help to decipher the meaning of the form of the verb *decliner* which occurs in the last line of the *Chanson de Roland*. Our Provençal poem begins:

Legir audi sotz eiss un pin
Del vell temps un livre latin;
Tot l'escoltei tro a la fin:
Hanc non fo senz q'el non.l declin.

That is: 'Under a pine tree I heard read a Latin book on olden times. I listened to it to the very end; there was no meaning that it did not explain.' Hoepffner comments (I, 253): 'L'emploi de *declinar* antérieur à la *Chanson de Roland*, dans le sens de "faire connaître, révéler," est de nature à mettre fin à la controverse engagée au sujet du dernier vers du *Roland* (cf. Holbrook, *Modern Philology* XX, 1923, 155, et J. Salverda de Grave, *Turoldus*, dans *Mededeelingen der Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, 57, A, No. 1, 1924).' Those who favor the interpretation 'sets forth,' or something of the sort, for the verb in the *Roland* will not be displeased to find at least a little corroboration of their view in the evidence presented by our poem on Saint Fides.

J. D. M. Ford,
Harvard University.

H. C. Lawlor, *The Monastery of Saint Mochaoi of Nendrum*, with a foreword by R. A. S. Macalister, Belfast: The Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, 1925. Pp. xxviii, 187.

It is doubtful whether the excavations at Nendrum, never a monastery of the first importance, quite justify the labor Mr Lawlor has expended upon them. They were undertaken chiefly because Nendrum is privately owned, whereas such major sites as Clonmacnoise or Monasterboice are inaccessible to the archeologist because of the recent cemeteries which cover them.

The work, however, did disclose some interesting facts. The discoveries range in date from about the sixth to the sixteenth centuries. Surrounding the monastic precincts are three concentric cashels, which may date even from pre-Christian times. There is the stump of a round tower, of slight architectural character, for which no closer date has been conjectured than the customary [1] 'eighth or ninth century'; and the foundations of a rectangular church which conform to the usual Irish plan. Of greater interest, however, is a number of smaller objects, among them a Runic inscription, the second to be discovered in Ireland; an iron sanctuary bell, which bears evidence of a very early date; a sundial with curious markings; several short knife-blades; and the fragments of a number of stone tablets, incised with drawings of animals and familiar Celtic designs in spirals and interlaces. These last were found on the site of a building which Mr Lawlor takes to have been a schoolhouse. He conjectures further that the short knife-blades were used for wood carving. If he is right we have evidence of the existence of an art which, considering the prevalence of wood architecture, one would expect to have flourished in early Christian Ireland.

[1] *Life of St Columba, Founder of Hy*, written by Adamnan and edited by William Reeves, Edinburgh, 1875.

The excavations, as Mr Lawlor describes them, were careful and complete. His book evidences comprehensive research on the documentary history of Nendrum, and on the life of St Mochaoi as well. And he confirms the conjectures which Bishop Reeves had already made from literary sources on the internal economy of an Irish monastery and adds some new and significant details.

Isaac Watkins,
Harvard University.

Eleanor Prescott Hammond, *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, Being Examples of Conventional Secular Poetry, exclusive of Romance, Ballad, Lyric, and Drama, in the Period from Henry the Fourth to Henry the Eighth, edited with Introductions and Notes.* Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1927. Pp. xii, 591. $6.50.

Though lying somewhat outside the main interests of Speculum, Miss Hammond's recently published anthology of formal English verse from *ca.* 1400 to *ca.* 1550 should be noticed by all readers of these pages; for we have here for the first time in commonly accessible form a rich collection of material illustrating important, yet in the past somewhat neglected, literary genres of the later — one might almost say latest — Middle Ages in England.

A general Introduction — where social and literary conditions and social and literary changes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as certain important technical problems of the metrics of the period are most suggestively analysed — prepares the reader for almost five hundred pages of text selected from Walton, Hoccleve, Lydgate, Burgh, Shirley, Hardyng, Ripley, Hawes, Nevill, Copland, Barclay, Skelton, Cavendish, Henry Lord Morley, and among the anonymous writings, translations of Palladius on *Husbandry* and of Charles d'Orléans, *The Lover's Mass*, *Libel of English Policy*, and the *Court of Sapience*. In printing the texts themselves, the editor, in many cases also copyist, has followed the best available MS. *verbatim et literatim* and without modern punctuation, thus leaving the student to share as much as possible in the editorial problems. Rich notes and a select glossary are included.

Special mention should be made of the 'List of Authorities and Select Reference List' (pp. 540 ff.), as well as the special reference lists and bibliographies included in the capital introductions to the individual authors and works. Pending the appearance of a bibliography of fifteenth-century English literature, this last constitutes an invaluable feature.

The choice of selections and of individual pieces to be included in such an anthology is not a matter to enter into here; yet in connection with the influence of Boccaccio, might not a specimen of the anonymous metrical paraphrase (*ca.* 1440) of part of the *De Claris Mulieribus* (ed. Gustav

Schleich, *Palaestra* 144, Leipzig, 1924) perhaps find place in a second edition? Would it not be worth while to mention in the 'Select Reference List' F. J. Snell's useful outline of the period in his *Age of Transition;* also under ten Brink to specify Brandl's revision of Bernard ten Brink's *Geschichte der Englischen Literatur?*

The present work cannot but stimulate research in the literature and language of this pedestrian period, in many respects however, as emphasized in the General Introduction, so important for a rounded view of the Middle Ages and their relation to the Renaissance. Miss Hammond's name on the title-page virtually guarantees the scholarship; the exceedingly attractive form of the volume corresponds to what we have come to expect from the issuing press.

F. P. Magoun, Jr.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

K. Bartsch, *Wolframs von Eschenbach Parzival und Titurel*, Vierte Auflage bearbeitet von Marta Marti, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1927. Pp. lxiv, 371.

J. C. Boyce, *The English-German Nation in the University of Paris during the Middle Ages*, Bruges: The Saint Catherine Press, Ltd., 1927. Pp. 232.

B. D. Brown, ed., *The Southern Passion*, edited from *Pepysian MS. 2344* in the Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Early English Text Soc., Orig. Ser., 169, London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1927. Pp. cxii, 124. $6.00.

W. E. Brown, *The Achievement of the Middle Ages*, London: Sands & Co., 1928. Pp. 240. 5/-.

M. W. Bundy, *The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Mediaeval Thought*, University of Illinois, Studies in Languages and Literature, Vol. XII, Nos. 2–3, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1927. Pp. 289. $3.00.

J. L. Connolly, *John Gerson, Reformer and Mystic*, Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1928. Pp. xiii, 408.

M. V. Hay, *A Chain of Error in Scottish History*, London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1927. Pp. xx, 243. $4.20.

A. Hoffmann, *Liturgical Dictionary*, Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1928. Pp. vi, 186. $2.25.

Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, Walter Goetz zu seinem 60. Geburtstage dargebracht von Fachgenossen, Freunden, und Schülern, Leipzig: Teubner, 1927. Pp. iv, 567.

C. G. Lowe, ed., *A Byzantine Paraphrase of Onasander*, Washington University Studies, New Series, Language and Literature, No. 1, St. Louis: Washington University, 1927.

F. A. Ogg, *Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences*, Report of a Survey conducted for the American Council of Learned Societies, New York: The Century Co., 1928. Pp. viii, 454.

L. J. Paetow, ed., *The Crusades, and Other Historical Essays, presented to Dana C. Munro by his former Students*, New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1928. Pp. viii, 419. $5.00.

C. Robinson, ed., *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Third, Michaelmas 1230 (Pipe Roll 74)*, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, New Series, Vol. IV (1927), Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1927. Pp. xxxii, 472. $10.00.

M. Roone, ed., *Libro del Poema Chiamato Citta di Vita Composto da Matteo Palmieri Florentino*, transcribed from the *Laurentian MS. XL, 53* and compared with *Magliabechian II, ii, 41*, Part I: Books I–II, xv, Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol. VII, Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1927. Pp. xxiii, 241.

J. C. Russell, *Three Short Studies in Mediaeval Intellectual History*, Colorado College Publication, Social Science Series, Vol. III, No. 2. Colorado Springs: Colorado College, 1927. Pp. 22.

J. T. Shotwell, L. R. Loomis, *The See of Peter*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1927. Pp. xxvi, 737. $10.00.

J. Siemienski, *Les Symboles Graphiques dans les Editions Critiques de Textes*, Warsaw: Fondation J. Mianowski, 1927. Pp. 50.

K. Strecker, ed., *Die Apokalypse des Golias*, Texte zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters, No. 5, Rome: W. Regenberg, 1928. Pp. 39.

W. Sturdevant, *The Misterio de Los Reyes Magos: Its Position in the Development of the Mediaeval Legend of the Three Kings*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1927. Pp. vii, 130. $1.25.

J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. xxiii, 710. $5.00.

A. Zawart, *The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers, 1209–1927: A Biobibliographical Study*, Franciscan Studies, No. 7, New York: J. F. Wagner, Inc., 1928.

THOMAS FREDERICK CRANE, 1844–1927

THROUGH the death of Professor Thomas Frederick Crane, December 10, 1927, American scholarship has lost its dean in mediaeval literary studies. He was born in New York City, July 12, 1844. He has, himself, given a charming account of his early life in an article entitled 'How I became a Professor,' published in the *Cornell Era*, in 1909. He received his early education in Ithaca, N. Y., and in Elizabeth, N. J., and then was a student at Princeton, where he graduated in 1864, receiving from the same institution the degree of M.A. in 1867, of Ph.D. in 1883, and of Litt.D. in 1904. To prepare himself for the legal profession he entered the Columbia Law School, but having been called in January, 1865, by the illness of a relative, to Ithaca, he continued his law studies there, in the office of Mr F. M. Finch, later dean of the Cornell Law School, he was admitted to the bar in May, 1866, and began the practice of law. But the demands on his time were not so exacting as to prevent him from fulfilling in turn the duties of Assistant-Deputy-Collector of Internal Revenue, and of a sort of secretary of Cornell University, on the eve of its formal opening. From boyhood an omnivorous reader, he had continued his study of French, commenced at college, and had made substantial progress in his independent study of German and Spanish, so that such unusual interests in a lawyer led Mr Andrew D. White, the president of the newly founded university, to offer him the position of Assistant Professor of Spanish and German, on the opening of the university in October, 1868. He served with that rank, with various changes of title, until 1873, when he became Professor of Spanish and Italian. In 1884, he was appointed Professor of Romance Languages, and head of the department, a position he filled efficiently until his retirement in 1909. From 1896 to 1902 he was Dean of the College of Arts, and from 1902–1909, Dean of the University Faculty, while in 1909 and 1912–13, he was Acting-President of the university. Mr Crane was elected a Fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America on April 30, 1927.

Professor Crane did not need to allege his teaching and administrative duties as an excuse for not doing his share of productive scholarship. His solid reputation for scholarship rests primarily on the work he did in a field of mediaeval literature, on which he was the first to lay due emphasis in his 'Medieval Sermon-Books and Stories,' read before and published by the American Philosophical Society in 1883. His edition of *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, published by the Folk-Lore Society in 1890, became at once an authoritative work, on account of its well-informed introduction on the development and authors of this type of literature, and the rich garner of analogues gathered together in the notes. Supplementary to this work of such value to students of both mediaeval literature and of folk-lore, he published, several years later, other contributions to a special branch of the field, in his edition of 'Miracles of the Virgin,' *Romanic Review* II (1911), 235–279, and in his last book, published in 1925, an edition, with introduction and notes, of the rare *Liber de Miraculis Sanctae Dei Genetricis Mariae, published at Vienna, in 1731 by Bernard Pez.* In the more general field he not only called attention in generous reviews to works devoted to the subject, but also wrote articles based either on the most important of these contributions, such as those on 'Mediaeval Story-Books,' *Modern Philology* IX (1911), 225–237, and 'New Analogues of Old Tales,' *ibid.* X (1913), 301–316, for which J. A. Herbert's indispensable third volume of the *Catalogue of Romances* and J. Klapper's *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters* formed respectively the basis, or presented an orientation of the whole field in his 'Medieval Sermon-Books and Stories and their Study since 1883,' fittingly published in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* LVI (1917), 369–402.

But his scholarly interests were not confined to mediaeval folk-lore as is shown by his numerous articles and reviews of collections of popular tales and poetry, published in a number of journals in the course of over fifty years, by his position as co-editor of the three volumes (1888–1890) of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, and by his *Italian Popular Tales* (1883). The last mentioned is not only one of the best selections of stories for the young: its introduction

and notes provide an attractive and informing guide to the comparative study of the genre for older readers.

His wider interests not only in literary but also in cultural history are shown in his seven-hundred page *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century, and their Influence on the Literatures of Europe* (1920). If his editions of *Les Héros de Roman, Dialogue de Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux* (1902), and of *Jean Rotrou, Saint Genest and Venceslas* (1907), and his collections of selections: *Tableaux de la Révolution Française* (1884), *Le Romantisme Français* (1887), *La Société Française au XVII Siècle* (1889), and *Chansons Populaires de la France* (1891) were published primarily as college text-books, they all bear the stamp of his conscientious, industrious scholarship.

No one could be more meticulous and methodical than was Professor Crane in collecting and arranging the material not only for his published works, but also for a number of projected but unfinished articles and books. His separate note-books for the many subjects in which he was interested, in which he would jot down a new item as he came across it, his alphabetically arranged list of analogues to a thousand and one stories, written on slips, or in loose-page note-books, enabled him to use promptly for his own purposes, or to communicate to other scholars the results of his wide readings. On a small salary he succeeded in collecting a well-stocked library, including perhaps an unparalleled collection of books on mediaeval exempla, through which Cornell University Library was enriched some years before his death.

If such were his character and career as a teacher, administrator and scholar, he was personally a courteous gentleman of the old school, whose social, conversational, and oratorical powers made him an important figure in every university, civic, and church movement with which he was associated.

George Livingstone Hamilton,
Cornell University

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

LIFE AND I[1]

By EDWARD KENNARD RAND

MY friend Gamaliel Bradford, whose friendship is one of my proudest possessions, has recently produced a book that you either have read or are meaning to read at the first possible chance. It bears the fascinating title *Life and I* and unfolds a subject on which the author is amply qualified to write. After baring many souls, some fresh, some damaged, he now treats all souls compositely; the sub-title of his work is *The Autobiography of Humanity*. This is a large order. It befits this undaunted age of ours when human beings push their way to the North Pole, hop over it, flash words and pictures across continents, fly over oceans, and soon will be flying in the face of the Sun on wings joined with some new patent wax, warranted not to melt. We have also belted the world of thought and found new worlds for the thinker. I do not have in mind the airy fancies of philosophers, but the solid contributions of science to philosophy. Not content with roaming beyond the flaming ramparts of this world through those other stellar systems of which Lucretius dreamed, the human spirit turns from the infinite to the infinitesimal, accomplishes what Lucretius said never could be done, dissects the atom and finds new stellar systems there. A new reading of the world appears, in terms rather of force than of matter, electrical force, perhaps, — or what? Something at any rate that can be measured mathematically by the number of atoms, — the new

[1] Presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America, April 28, 1928.

atoms — that combinations contain. What more can be done? *Omnia iam uulgata.*

Mankind has reached a moment of triumph, then, and appropriately sits for its picture before an accomplished artist. But what an audacious undertaking — the autobiography of humanity! — theme unattempted yet in prose or rhyme. Surely there is nothing mediaeval about it. The Middle Ages were a smug little period, confined to a toy universe, readily operated, like the orrery of Archimedes, by a toy God. Fancies they had, little operations of thought, games with syllogisms, fat volumes of *summae* in plenty, enough to give Mr Bradford what he calls an intellectual nightmare, as he turns the pages of Aquinas. We do have mediaeval discourses *De Uniuerso* (*et quibusdam aliis Rebus*) but who ever ventured an autobiography, or an autopsychography, of humanity?

For all this, as I devoured Mr Bradford's pages, delectable with the author's wit and with honeyed wisdom culled from many gardens old and new, I had a curious feeling. Speaking as a member of the Mediaeval Academy of America, I felt curiously at home. The opening chapters of the work are entitled 'Love and I,' 'Power and I,' 'Beauty and I,' 'Thought and I.' The author, speaking in the person of the human soul, faces the different fascinations, or ideals, that constantly hover before it. In the frankest possible way he discusses the appeal of sex, — called Love by our crude forefathers, who assumed, without advertising, what everybody knew. The rewards of Love, Mr Bradford finds, are not without alloy. Nor can Power or Riches or Beauty, or even the triumphs of constructive Thought, satisfy forever.

Once more, as I turned these thoughtful pages, I felt at home. This is a discourse on the Vanity of Human Wishes, I thought, though not quite in the style of Dr Johnson, or Johnson's model, Juvenal. What is it? Instinctively I reached round towards a familiar shelf for a copy of old Boethius. Verily Mr Bradford soothes his struggling I with the same medicine that philosophy administers to the sick Boethius in his dungeon. Love, Riches, Power, Sovereignty, Fame, Pleasure, Friendship, Nobility, Beauty — all these worrying ambitions of the soul are passed in review by

Boethius. His list is less extensive than Mr Bradford's. It cannot be so modern. He makes no mention of the sovereign, though temporary, delight of the hero of football or baseball. He has nothing to say about the latest modes of female dress, there revealing, I believe, an ignorance, pardonable in a mere philosopher, about some of the more important developments of his times. For surely there were women, and therefore latest styles, in the days of Boethius. However, the gist of the matter is the same. Here are certain specious desires which powerfully affect mankind. Boethius does not condemn them; he classes them with goods, *bona*. Yet each in and for itself is insufficient.

If I may single out just two for a passing word, the reader of Mr Bradford may profitably note what Boethius says about Love, or what he calls *corporis uoluptates*. His discussion is frank enough to merit the crowning compliment of 'modern.' He even uses the modern word *libido*, though not, I am confident, agreeing with Freudians praising Freud or parsons damning him, in their accentuation of the word on the wrong syllable. He praises, of course, if somewhat calmly, the happiness of married life and the joy of the wedded pair in their children, but he also talks, in Mr Bradford's way, on the sorrows that children may bring. I am not sure whether in those good old days children maintained, at the best, an 'attitude of respectful indifference' towards their parents, concerning themselves little with the wishes and the ideas of 'antique progenitors.' The *patria potestas* still had something of its ancient strength. Still would the father inform his young hopeful that he had engaged him to a certain young lady of good family rather than, as he might today, himself read in the paper of his young hopeful's divorce and thus infer his previous marriage. The sons of Boethius, apparently, had had successful careers. They rose to the consulship together and their father pronounced the double panegyric upon them. Yet the epigrams on children quoted by Mr Bradford from Thomas Moore and Charles Darwin are matched by Boethius with the phrase of an anonymous author who declared children the invention of some torturer, and by the dictum of Euripides who called the childless person lucky in ill-luck.

One point in the argument of Boethius is so profound that I may be pardoned for dwelling on it somewhat, especially since I do not find the like of it in Mr Bradford's book. The philosopher has submitted the love of riches to a searching analysis. He calls them 'poor and scant,' since the majority of mankind cannot possess all of them, and since they cannot come to one without impoverishing the others.

> And what of gleaming gems? [he asks]. Do they attract thine eyes? But if there is aught of note in their glitter, it is the light not of men, but of jewels, which I exceedingly marvel that men should admire. For what is there wanting life and members that may justly seem beautiful to a nature not only endued with life but also with reason? Which, though by their maker's workmanship and their own variety they have some part of basest beauty, yet it is so far inferior to your excellencey that it did in no sort deserve your admiration.

Here is an interesting doctrine of aesthetics for the source of which I have long looked in vain. Did Boethius find it in one of the works of the master of those that know? And did it form an element, later, in one of the nightmares of Aquinas? Its essence is, if I understand it, that genuine beauty does not exist outside the creative intellect of man. If a jewel has beauty, it is because a man has helped to fashion it. The proper adoration of the aesthete, therefore, is the mind of man and not a jewel. Boethius proceeds to apply this reasoning to nature.

> Doth the pleasant prospect of the fields delight you? Why not? For it is a fair portion of a most fair work. So we are delighted with the calm face of the sea, so we wonder at the sky, at the stars, the sun, and the moon. Do any of these belong to thee? Darest thou boast of the beauty which any of them have? Art thou thyself adorned with May flowers? Or doth thy fertility teem with the fruits of summer? Why rejoicest thou vainly? Why embracest thou outward goods as if they were thine own?

This is a highly intellectualized view of meadow, stream, and grove that would find scant favor with romantic lovers of nature, yet it is not alien to some of Mr Bradford's remarks, after Flaubert, about the appeal of well-known sites. 'Nature thus regarded,' he

declares, 'in its homely, perennial beauty, is at once full of the I, since it gets its magic from all the tangled threads of memory entwined about it.' *Ne te quaesiueris extra* — that is to say, *quod extra esse uidetur, in te quaere;* γνῶθι σεαυτόν. To that at least Boethius would agree and so would Professor MacDougall, whose counsel our author follows more than once.

Boethius goes on to show, — and here his goal is identical with that of Mr Bradford — that the goods have a meaning, not when each is pursued for itself, but only when each is related to that which is deepest in the seeker's own nature, namely to the one and the first and the highest, — *quod unum et primum et summum est,* — to God.

This merging of the minor ideals in something universal was nothing new when Boethius wrote. He is following Cicero and Aristotle in this part of his discourse, and back of them all stands Plato, who flashes broken lights in his early dialogues, catching them up later in the white radiance of the Idea of the Good.

We must not tarry too long with Boethius. In fact we must abruptly part company with him. For one of Mr Bradford's chapters is on 'Thought and I.' Thought, no less than Beauty, is to him one of the temporary ideals, satisfying for the moment but not ultimately satisfactory, that the I must replace with something larger still. Boethius is writing a consolation of Philosophy, in which Thought is his sovereign guide. Philosophy's consolation is not one of the ladders to be cast aside when it has brought the I as high as it will reach. She leads him all the way.

For all that, the outcome is the same. After picturing the fourfold striving of the good for Love, Power, Beauty, and Thought, and its fourfold ultimate defeat, Mr Bradford hints at a solution, identical with that of Boethius, in the merging of these partial goods in an all-embracing and eternal Good. Again we have a four-fold approach, and in each case the ultimate Good is associated by our author with the name of Christ — Christ and I, Christ and not-I, Christ and more-than-I, and Christ-and I-and God. Of this there is nothing in Boethius, who mentions neither the name of Christ nor anything directly suggestive of Holy Scripture or Christian dogma.

He is writing a consolation of philosophy, not theology, and sticks to his subject with systematic thoroughness. In fact, some have been audacious enough to call him the first of the scholastics.

Mr Bradford's ultimate categories should find favor in mediaeval eyes. For one who professes to stand without the gates, his homage of the name of Christ is significant. He picks up the New Testament to read it, so far as one can see, like a new book just imported from a strange land, and he reads it with the same candor with which he would examine the record of some human soul that had previously escaped his attention. He bothers neither with the verdicts of ancient piety nor with the latest 'results' of the Higher Criticism. He absorbs the Gospels with an open mind, ready to condemn or to reject, and ready to fall prostrate before a light that baffles scrutiny. The higher critic will not infrequently applaud; at times he will find the treatment sadly traditional. Mr Bradford's analysis suggests, to one layman, that the safest way for either the critical or the devout to analyze the Gospel narrative is the way that Livy treated the early history of Rome, — not to analyze it at all.

Whatever its disappointments, the religion of Christ, our author finds, 'must be counted supreme, at any rate for us, among the agencies that do battle with this I.' He proceeds to deal with it 'more amply and analytically,' in its effort to deny itself the petty interests and temptations, the Not-I, and in its plunge into the larger activities, the philanthropies and patriotisms and reforms that make up the More-than-I. Finally the soul, with Christ's help, loses itself and finds itself in the circumambient entity of God. Even when the chill analysis of the intellect intervenes, — I quote the inspiring passage at the close — 'the I continues to assert, to worship and to glorify, and to abominate itself, and after all its infinitely weary struggle, and efforts, and despair, it asks but one thing, illimitable hope, which no power in the universe can altogether deny it.'

I return perforce to Boethius and to the noble words with which he brings the *Consolation of Philosophy* to an end.

> Neither do we in vain put our hope in God or pray to Him; for if we do this well and as we ought, we shall not lose our labour or be without

effect. Wherefore fly vices, embrace virtues, possess your mind with worthy hopes, offer up humble prayers to your highest Prince. There is, if you will not dissemble, a great necessity of doing well imposed upon you, since you live in the sight of a Judge who beholdeth all things.

Surely Mr Bradford mounts skyward with the same guide, if less serenely. He may drop her hand now and then, pick forbidden flowers, play on the edge of a precipice, naughtily vow that he will run away, but instead runs back again.

Tu excitas ut laudare te delectet, quia fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te.

Mr Bradford does not fail to quote these words, and to pay incidental tribute to St Augustine, who is something of a rival in autopsychography. To say nothing of the *Confessions*, the *Soliloquies* starts off in a fashion strikingly similar. This work is a dialogue between the author and Reason. *Ratio et Ego* he might entitle it, if he lived to-day. Boethius took a leaf from this book, and enlarged the fancy to a talk between himself and Philosophy. Augustine tells us that because, after all, it is only one person who is thinking these thoughts, he calls the work *Soliloquies*. Reason brings her questions.

'What then dost thou desire to know?'
'God and the Soul I wish to know.'
'Nothing more?'
'Nothing at all.'

Why indeed, when these answers would include an autobiography of humanity?

The conversation that follows traverses some of the ground that we have observed in Boethius and Mr Bradford. One section deals with *amor nostri* — 'Love and I,' or rather 'Love of the I,' the little I and its little pleasures and cravings, — riches, love, honors, social standing, food, drink, and, adds Augustine, the bath, somewhat agreeing, it would seem, with Tacitus's inclusion of this modern necessity among the *delenimenta vitiorum*. The discussion of riches is less acerb than what Boethius says. If our Lord was ignorant of the ways of society and the better side of wealth, as would appear to Mr Bradford, His follower Augustine thought it not inconsistent

to mix Christian naïveté with the worldly wisdom of Cicero, who declared that riches should not be sought but supposing that they came, they should be administered with understanding and discretion.

Among the temptations that beset the I, — the I of Augustine — is the thought of marriage.

> What dost thou think of a wife? [asks Reason]. Art not thou drawn now and then to the desire of one who is beautiful, chaste, obedient, educated (or who readily can be educated by thee), and since thou thyself despisest riches, one who brings thee sufficient dowry to make her no burden at all to thy leisure, especially if thou has a good and certain hope that thou shalt suffer no vexation from her?

Readers of Mr Bradford will remember the story of Lady Byron who once looked in on her spouse when he was writing verses and on asking, 'Do I interrupt?' received the reply, 'You do, most damnably.' Augustine forestalls such infelicities by responding that, however alluringly Reason may picture the not-impossible She, there is nothing that he will more resolutely eschew than matrimony, since nothing there is that can more effectively cast down the masculine mind from its citadel than that inevitable concomitant of marriage, a woman's charms, *blandimenta feminea*. There is a current term which exactly translates St Augustine's phrase, but I am not young enough to use it. He goes on to remark that if a philosopher marry simply and solely for the purpose of rearing a family, 'he may well arouse my admiring wonder, but never my imitation. For there is more danger in making the attempt than satisfaction in seeing it through.'

I will not follow further Augustine's discourse with Reason. He turns ultimately to a discussion of immortality, which is, of course, one of Mr Bradford's important themes, but unhappily, the work is incomplete. We may note merely that his argument points towards the same solution as that of Boethius and Mr Bradford, for he declares that nothing should be sought save in so far as it leads to the Highest Good. I must add also that St Augustine furnishes a comment on one of those mishaps described by Mr Bradford that clip the wings of high-soaring thought.

Moreover [declares the modern psychographer], when the abstraction is most intense, want and loss and misery come, or just simple toothache, for there was never yet philosopher who could endure the toothache patiently, and the I is thrown down from its airy height with a sharp, harsh thud upon its homely, hateful, narrow basis in this tormented world.

Now St Augustine in his varied searching knew anguish of spirit, as readers of the *Confessions* and the *Soliloquies* are well aware, and he also describes the anguish of toothache; he briefly discourses on Toothache and I. I would not imply that Mr Bradford had cribbed his remarks from St Augustine. This is no second-hand toothache of our author's. Here as in certain other problems of literary imitation, I think we should say that the experience is probably real and independent, all the more because St Augustine asserts that one can at least partially endure this acid test of philosophic calm. A toothache visited him when he was writing the *Soliloquies* and he duly includes it (unless it was some other one) among his *Confessions*,— it has been well said, I believe, that the *Confessions* include too much rather than too little.

Since [he declares] I was tortured in those days with a most violent toothache, I was not suffered to turn over anything in my mind save what I had haply learned before. I was completely estopped from learning anything new, for which the unimpaired operation of the mind was necessary, and yet it seemed to me that if the gleam of clear truth should reveal itself to my thought, either I should not have felt that pain or at least I should have endured it as something non-existent.

I believe we may say that if during the intensity of toothache, St Augustine thought merely about what was already in his mind, he had something to think about. And in the *Confessions*, he states that by constant thought upon the Highest Good and by prayer he conquered the torture. Tell it not in Gath, lest St Augustine be proclaimed an advocate of *scientia Christiana*. Little danger, however, for he immediately declares, in agreement with Celsus (and, we may add, in partial agreement with Mr Bradford), that the Highest Good is philosophic thought (*sapientia*) and that the Highest Evil (or Lowest Evil) is physical pain (*dolor corporis*).

With Augustine, Boethius, — and Mr Bradford, — as guides, we may profitably follow the course of mediaeval thought (though not in the crowded moments of this morning) and observe not a few endeavors on the part of mediaeval thinkers to adjust the I to the universe. We may find not infrequently that a sober, theological title like *De Deo et Anima* conceals an autobiography of humanity. St Anselm has a soliloquy, or *Monologium*, in which the solitary soul beats about to find its true satisfaction, and when by a novel argument it has found this, it takes part in a bold conversation, or *Proslogium* with God, a God who is not only supreme wisdom and power, but harmony, fragrance, sweetness, and pleasantness to the touch. Mr Bradford concedes that Augustine and Aquinas hit the essential truth, though the latter 'seeks to make theoretical proposition out of what would seem to be more fitly spiritual experience,' and that both illustrate, though less markedly than Swedenborg, an 'unbridaled ratiocination let loose to work its disastrous way among the delicate and evanescent raptures of the mystical ecstasy.' Let us not forget, incidentally, that St Thomas could also be a mystic and a poet, or that Dante could present in his letter to Can Grande, a most scholarly, not to say scholastic, analysis of the poetry of his own *Paradise*. When St Thomas, like Dante, and like Boethius, wrote philosophy, he settled down to business. 'There is a time,' said Solomon, 'for everything under the sun.' I certainly will not infer that Mr Bradford would ignore reason in his approach to find truth; if so, he has forgotten the sweet reasonableness of his own pages. At least, we must say that in St Thomas's vast nightmare there is ample place for his own dream.

Nor must we forget the mediaeval allegorizers and what they had done with the ancient poets. Fulgentius had led the way with his amazing exposition of the 'Contents of Virgil,' a work that I am tempted to call a nightmare, being confident that the ancient poet would have called it by some term at least as strong. Bernard Sylvester in the twelfth century followed closely in the tracks of the ancient interpreter in a commentary of which only a part has been printed. For him as for Fulgentius, Aeneas is the I; his career, properly allegorized, presents a most minute soul-history of you and

me. The poet *qua* philosopher *scribit*, he says, *humanae uitae naturam*, — an autobiography of humanity. Under the wrappings of his imagery (*sub integumento*) he describes *quid agat uel quid patitur humanus spiritus in humano corpore temporaliter positus*.

Another autobiography of humanity under the wrapping, was written by one who, possibly with an allegorized *Aeneid* somewhat in mind, said of the inner meaning of his work *subiectum est homo*. Mr Bradford naturally is well aware of this aspect of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The poem reveals to him, as to many of us, the philosophy of the scholastics in a form which we at least think we can understand; as it passes through Dante's mind and into our minds through his poetry, it is no longer the logical leger-de-main, the tithing of intellectual cummin, that some had led us to expect, but a profound and comprehensive reading of life. Thought-and-I, and Poetry-and-I become identical chapters.

Moreover, in Dante's vision of the ultimate peace of the soul there is one beauty not conspicuous in that of Boethius or of Augustine, — and I think not in that of Mr Bradford. What has become of human love? Boethius is anything but a lover. Philosophy comes to him in the guise of a woman, but she is sadly lacking in *blandimenta feminea*. Her first task is to disinfect the sick man's cell of all womanly suggestion by driving the Muses out, and after the first few chapters, one forgets that it is a nurse and not a doctor who is restoring her patient's health of mind. She attaches to the story of Orpheus and Eurydice the moral that one whose face is set to the light should not look back at the caverns of Hell. But any lover will tell you, — Browning, for instance — that Orpheus looked back not at Hell but at Eurydice. For Boethius, love is a passion to crush and transcend. For him, the task seems none too difficult.

It was harder for Augustine. He rued with a great bitterness the passion of his youth, and resolved, as we saw, to drive the thought of women and the contact with her from his existence. For all that, he did not stifle passion. He rid it of human sweetness and drove it towards God. The ultimate vision for Augustine is not bare or colorless. Mr Bradford does him some injustice in weakening his

description of heaven by underscoring the negatives that it contains. He remarks:

> See how curiously and ably the negation creeps into heaven, as depicted by one of the greatest of the older doctors of the Church: 'And the life to come is what we have represented to us by the following character, that it is eternal in duration and a blessedness to all eternity, a state where is the most profound security and tranquility, pleasure without passion, love without fear, love in perfection, day without night, activity and strength without possibility of decay, perfect unanimity, all the souls in it rapt with the contemplation of God, and past all apprehension of being ever deprived of his beatific presence.' Remove the withouts from that passage and there is something left, but the shrinkage is considerable.

Let us remove them, — or rather interpret them, for they add an affirmative, not a negative, intensity to the picture. 'Pleasure without passion' is not a negative pleasure, but pleasure without alloy. 'Love without fear' is love not diminished but perfected, since perfect love casteth out fear. So with the rest. The phrases with 'without' contain a negative that is denied. By the unfailing laws of algebra, they contain nothing but affirmation. Heaven is a place of immortality, security, tranquility, pleasure, love, day, activity, strength, unanimity, the rapt, eternal, and beatific contemplation of God. Each of these positive delights is characterized by a clause meaning 'without imperfection'; this does not shrink but fulfils.

Satisfying as this picture is, one coloring is lacking to its splendor, at least for those who would enthrone *das ewig weibliche* among the ultimate verities. At one point in his *Soliloquies*, Augustine stands at the parting of the ways. It follows not long after the excoriation of matrimony to which I forced you to listen. The seeker now turns to the truer love of the soul.

> Now we ask this [he declares (or Reason declares)], what sort a lover of truth art thou, whom thou dost desire with pure eyes to see naked, with no garment interposed, and to hold her in a pure embrace, with the beauty in which she reveals herself only to few and chosen lovers.

Truth is likened to a beautiful woman who will not surrender till she is sure that she is loved.

Why, then [replies Augustine], am I still kept in wretched suspense and tortured with deferment? . . . I love Wisdom alone, for her own sake. All else I hope may be added to me or fear that I may lack them solely for her sake, — life, peace, friends. What end can there be of the love of such beauty in which I have no jealousy of others, but even seek as many as may be to count her with me, to yearn for her with me, to hold her with me, and to enjoy her with me. Aye, the more we love her in common the more they will be my friends.

Here is the starting-point, in crude and even comic imagery, from which the mind of Augustine might have advanced to a refined and spiritual conception of a more than human love in which earthly affection is not obliterated but absorbed into the substance of the divine. He preferred the other course. It was reserved for Dante, after the rich passion of the mediaeval hymn and the ardent cult of the Blessed Virgin, to inscribe the book of his autobiography of humanity *Incipit Vita Noua* and to write of Beatrice that which was never said of any woman.

Mr Bradford has written a book for our times. He ends his story in a vain of indomitable hope. Faith he has, despite his protests, and abundant charity he has, born not of sentimental ethics but of the wisdom of the comic spirit. I am sure that our illustrious member will understand me when I pay him the highest compliment that I know in calling his book thoroughly mediaeval. Nor would I imply that I am discovering him to himself. He has been waiting for his readers to see the point. Once it is grasped, we can applaud with understanding the skilful art with which he has adapted a mediaeval theme to the interests of the hour.

I had hardly written these words when the postman brought in the latest book of another distinguished member of our society, Henry Osborn Taylor, on *Human Values and Verities*. There is no sub-title, but the Preface starts off with the sentence, 'People have always imagined what humanity might be in its completion and wholeness.' Surely these are happy days for humanity, blest with an autobiography and a *Summa Humanitatis*. I have refrained, with a more than Stoic self-control, from reading Mr Taylor's book on the spot. Had I done so, the abler orators of the day would have

had no time at all. It will be exciting to compare the reports of these two travellers in the realms of gold. By different routes, they have gone round the universe. I venture to predict that the author of *The Mediaeval Mind*, though he may now look down on the Middle Ages as a little threshing-floor *sub specie humanitatis*, will still be kind to its virtues. And we, fellow-members, loyal and obtuse, will remain to its faults a little blind. The men of those days had not travelled far in the stellar stretches of the sky or those within the atom. But the heart, the mind, that lie behind what men discover in the outer world, had the same heights and depths, which we may not know any better or so well. Whatever the varying pursuits, the varying attainments of the ages, the I may still purge itself of its baseness ledge after ledge, adjust its ideals and resolve its little worries in the vision of the mystic Rose, *ante faciem Illius qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum.*

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UN INDOVINELLO VOLGARE SCRITTO ALLA FINE DEL SECOLO VIII O AL PRINCIPIO DEL IX

Per PIO RAJNA[1]

NEL 1924 Luigi Schiaparelli pubblicava nell'*Archivio storico italiano* alcune pagine 'Sulla data e provenienza del cod. LXXXIX della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona (l'Orazionale Mozarabico).'[2] Ben noto il codice ai paleografi; e d'ora innanzi pochi dubiteranno che esso deva realmente ritenersi scritto avanti l'anno ventesimo di Liutprando (giugno 731–giugno 732), sicchè sia il più antico codice databile di scrittura visigotica. La nota da cui ciò resultava è stata dallo Schiaparelli letta ben più correttamente che non si fosse mai fatto. Ma altro assai si è avuto dalla sua consumata dottrina e perizia paleografica e diplomatica; tanto da potersi ora dir stabilito 'che il codice, scritto nei primi anni del secolo VIII' (poco verosimilmente prima) nella Spagna, di là, attraverso a Cagliari, passò, 'come sembra, a Pisa, dove doveva trovarsi nel 731–732; e pare che alla fine del secolo VIII fosse già a Verona.'[3]

Il soggiorno pisano resulta dalla nota stessa che fornisce il termine *ad quem* per la datazione: il cagliaritano è attestato da un'altra nota, ancor essa prima mal letta. Una terza ne rileva lo Schiaparelli; ed essa gli fornisce l'argomento da cui è indotto a ritenere che sul finire dell'ottavo secolo o giù di lì, il codice fosse già pervenuto al termine della sua peregrinazione:

> Al f. 3.[r], in alto, una mano della fine del secolo VIII o dei primi del IX scrisse su tre righi parole in minuscola corsiva, dove è usata una caratteristica forma di *e* in legatura con lettera seguente — il tratto ascendente, per formare l'occhiello superiore, si rivolge prima a sinistra, sicchè la *e* appare come una *c* sormontata da una specie di 8 aperto in basso —, la quale forma si ritrova precisamente in altri codici veronesi. . . .

[1] [Il Senatore Rajna ebbe completato questo saggio nel mese d'ottobre, 1927; gli editori l'ebbero nelle mani nel febbraio, 1928. Si vede, — e gli editori ne sono molto dolenti, — che le bozze corrette dal Senatore Rajna tornavano troppo tardi da poter stampare l'articolo nel secondo fascicolo (aprile) del Speculum. — *Red.*]

[2] Anno LXXXII, Serie VII, vol. I, pp. 106–117.

[3] *Art. cit.*, p. 116.

Tralasciando il seguito dell'illustrazione paleografica, soggiungo subito la trascrizione della nota, che, data in facsimile insieme alle altre in una tavola posta fra le pp. 112 e 113, è decifrata a beneficio dei lettori appiè della p. 113. Essa dice:

+ separeba boues alba pratalia araba et albo uersorio teneba et negro semen | seminaba. | + gratias tibi agimus omnipotens sempiterne Deus

L'ultimo rigo, della stessa mano che il resto, nulla ci insegna di speciale. I due che precedono fermarono l'attenzione di quel sagacissimo e dottissimo indagatore anche d'altro che di storia del diritto che è Nino Tamassìa, il quale, invertite le prime parole, ci vide 'il principio della più antica canzone italiana del bifolco:

boues se pareba
alba pratalia araba
et albo uersorio teneba
et negro semen seminaba

E spiegava: 'Il bifolco si preparava i buoi (*parabat sibi*), i prati bianchi arava, e teneva il bianco aratro, e nero seme seminava'.

Intorno a ciò il Tamassìa scrisse a Michele Scherillo, invitandolo a seguitar lui il discorso. Lo Scherillo comunicò la lettera all'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, aggiungendo le osservazioni proprie, nell'adunanza del 27 novembre 1924.[1] Per *pratalia* lo Scherillo addusse opportuni riscontri toponomastici; e quanto a *versorio*, potè dire che esso 'è ancor vivo nei dialetti emiliani e veneti per significare il vomero dell'aratro: ciò che potrebbe essere un indizio del territorio dove questi versicoli erano cantati'. Conchiuse, d'accordo col Tamassìa, trattarsi 'senza dubbio d'un frammento di una più lunga cantilena'. Mostrò tuttavia di dissentire poco o tanto nel giudizio sul linguaggio; giacchè, mentre quegli, come s'è visto, aveva osato chiamare 'italiana' la canzone di cui riteneva esserci dato il principio, lo Scherillo diceva il frammento 'un notevolissimo e singolare monumento di quel rozzo volgare latino e di quei primitivi tentativi di poesia ritmica, che annunziarono di lontano, assai di lontano, di tra la foschìa antelucana, l'aurora del nuovo Volgare e della

[1] E lettera e osservazioni si possono vedere a stampa nei *Rendiconti* di quell'Istituto, vol. LVII della Serie II, pp. 734–36.

nuova Poesia'. E in fronte alle tre pagine della comunicazione egli pose qual titolo, 'Un'antichissima cantilena georgica in latino volgare'.

Nè questa nè altre varietà secondarie di apprezzamento avrebbero tolto che il documento dovesse apparire importante agli occhi di ogni romanista. La 'Nota' dello Scherillo fu segnalata nel *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, LXXXV (1° semestre, 1925), 389–90; ed ivi Giulio Bertoni soggiunse 'alcune postille', di cui avrò da tenere gran conto. Ma l'importanza del trovamento s'è accresciuta non so dire di quanto, in seguito all'apparizione nello stesso *Giornale storico* XC (2° semestre, 1927), 197–204, di uno scritto di Vincenzo De Bartholomaeis. L'accrescimento viene da una osservazione sottoposta al giudizio del De Bartholomaeis da una sua scolara del 1° anno universitario di Lettere: la sig.na Lina Calza di Borgo San Donnino. Con grande peritanza gli palesò 'che que'versi', di cui nella scuola s'era fatta la lettura,[1]

non le riuscivano affatto nuovi. Gliene ronzavano per il capo di altri simiglianti, tra le reminiscenze della sua infanzia, ne' quali era ugualmente questione di prato bianco e di seme nero. Si trattava, diceva, di un umile indovinello, in cui il prato bianco significava nient'altro che *la carta da scrivere* e il seme nero *l'inchiostro*. Non era la stessa cosa il ritmo di Verona? La giovane si mostrava tutta timorosa di aver detto una sciocchezza: ella, invece, aveva colto nettamente nel segno.

Così pensa il De Bartholomaeis, e tutti concorderanno con lui. Mi tengo sicuro che si saranno affrettati ad assentire e il Tomassìa e lo Scherillo, riconoscendo di essersi troppo facilmente appagati, l'uno che fosse nera la sementa, l'altro che fosse bianco il terreno che s'arava; l'uno soggiungendo al 'nero' un temperatore 'o per lo meno oscuro'; [2] questi rappresentandosi i prati 'ricoperti di brina'. Ragionevolmente ammissibile poteva bensì parere la bianchezza del *versorio* inteso per vomere, grazie all'affinità che ha col color bianco la lucentezza prodotta nel ferro dallo strofinamento.[3] Ma ognuno

[1] Il De Bartholomaeis li aveva riferiti in una sua recentissima raccolta scolastica di *Rime giullaresche e popolari d'Italia* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1926).

[2] La semente sarebbe stata nera solo se fosse lecito vederci il *polygonum fagopirum*, che in Lombardia è chiamato pertanto, del pari che *fràina, formenton negher*. Ma questo è un cereale di estensiene geografica limitata e d'introduzione recente.

[3] *Sumit per detrimenta fulgorem*, dice del vomere Isidoro, *Etymol.*, xx, 14.

vede quanto le cose tornino meglio, se in funzione di vomere, ed estensivamente di aratro, abbiamo la penna d'oca, che il nostro testo induce a supporre. Che supporre si possa, basta a mostrarcelo Isidoro, vi, 14, 3; e riesce gradita questa nostra testimonianza precoce di un largo uso. Dalla penna è sparso il nero inchiostro; ed è sparso sopra una superficie a cui, per l'opposizione, ben conviene l'epiteto di bianca anche quando sia soltanto biancheggiante.

Un linguaggio persuasivo parlano dunque le cose; ed esso diventa addirittura imperativo per forza di riscontri. Fra gl'indovinelli che così copiosi corrono sulle bocche del popolo in ogni paese e di cui è molto ricca l'Italia,[1] quello a cui alludeva la sig.na Calza è comune assai. Che da Carlo Piancastelli, folklorista appassionato, fosse stato fatto oggetto di uno studio ampio e sagace, dato fuori a Faenza nel 1903 in edizione non venale,[2] ignorò e poteva ignorare il De Bartholomaeis, e ignoravo io pure.[3] Anche senza attingere a questa fonte, undici varianti italiane, quasi tutte del tipo che fa propriamente al caso nostro, ne addusse il De Bartholomaeis. La forma sostanzialmente più schietta è, secondo me, da riconoscere nella versione raccolta nel Canton Ticino da Carlo Salvioni:

Campo bianco,
Semenza negra,
Düü ca guarda
E trii ca mena.[4]

[1] Nella letteratura nostra intorno a questa materia occupa il primo posto, a grande distanza dal resto, il volume *Indovinelli, Dubbi, Scioglilingua del popolo siciliano raccolti ed illustrati da* Giuseppe Pitrè *e preceduti da uno studio sull'Indovinello* (Torino-Palermo, 1897), pp. ccxii e 469.

[2] *Commento a un indovinello romagnolo* (Tipo.-Lit. Montanari): elegante opuscolo in 8° gr. di 44 pagine. La trattazione comincia alla p. 7. Sono riferite venti versioni italiane, sette francesi, dieci della Spagna, tre del Portogallo, quattro rumene tradotte in francese, ed altre dieci spettanti a otto nazionalità.

[3] A me l'indicazione venne, quando già lo scritto mio stava per essere licenziato alla stampa, da un buon articolo di Emilio Lovarini ('La prima poesia italiana'), pubblicato il 15 novembre ultimo scorso nel giornale quotidiano Bolognese *Il resto del carlino*, e tirato a parte, con qualche ritocco, quale opuscolo di 15 pagine (Bologna: Stab. poligr. riuniti).

[4] *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari* IV (Palermo, 1885), 550 (n. 85). Stando al Piancastelli, p. 13, noi l'avremmo si può dire identica anche da Verona. Ma di dove l'ha egli ricavata? — Non davvero dalla raccolta a cui, con intitolazione mal corrispondente, rinvia appiè di pagina. Ben si capisce che a me interessasse di chiarirmi. Ma per quanto abbia fatto, non ci sono riuscito.

I due che guardano (manifestamente le dita che rimangono oziose, furono malamente interpretati da parecchi già in antico per gli occhi;[1] e ne venne che altrettanto male i 'tre che menano' diventassero cinque, ossia tutte quante le dita.[2] Il vecchio errore ha portato anche il De Bartholomaeis a scambiare per gli occhi 'che guardano l'azione' i *Boves* dell'indovinello su cui egli gettava così vivida luce, mentre è ben chiaro essere essi le dita che tengono e conducon la penna. E sì che i buoi in questo senso erano in due delle versioni riferite, in una delle quali 'tre buoi lavorano,' e nell'altra s'hanno 'tre buoi per arare.'[3] Viene così ad essere un di più il rilevare che l'introduzione degli occhi, dovunque ci è data, non solo complica, ma snatura l'indovinello, allontanandolo dalla rappresentazione di ciò che ne costituisce l'oggetto; snaturamento portato ancor più oltre, quando, come segue in un tipo, s'introduce addirittura la mente pensatrice. Così accade in versioni siciliane; e la comunanza di questo tratto con lezioni francesi[4] non vorrà davvero attribuirsi nè ad incontro fortuito, nè ad origine popolare.

Il non esservi luogo a dubbi riguardo a ciò che i buoi raffigurano, non toglie che ce ne siano quanto al modo di presentare l'azione che li concerne. Sta inconcusso (parlan chiaro le rime così facilmente avvertibili nel piccolo testo) che con piena ragione il Tamassìa convertì in *boues se pareba* il *separeba boues* del manoscritto. Ma come interpreteremo *se pareba*? Il Tamassìa ci vide *parabat sibi*, e lo rese 'si preparava.' Sagacemente il De Bartholomaeis pensò a un uso speciale del *parare* italiano per 'guidare al pascolo,' 'spingere innanzi': uso più limitato e determinato nella Toscana, più ampio nell'Emilia, ancor più generico nel dialetto veneziano. A complemento dei ragguagli addotti posso aggiungere, grazie all'antico scolaro veronese

[1] Da una stampa fiorentina del 1558 il De Bartholomaeis toglie questa lezione: 'Campo bianco e lingua nera; Gli occhi la guardano e la lingua mena.' Qui, corretto il primo 'lingua' in 'semenza,' si rimane ancora imbarazzati dal secondo. Nè dall'imbarazzo ci trae l'occorrere che la lingua fa in una lezione francese (*Parle sans langue*, Piancastelli, p. 15) e in una spagnuola (*Habla sin lengua, ibid.*, p. 17).

[2] Lo stesso Salvioni riferisce come variante della sua lezione 'Due la guardano e cinque la menano.'

[3] Cinque in quattro versioni castigliane ed una catalana (Piancastelli, pp. 16–17); e in una sesta essi diventano 'cinco yeguas.' Con ciò si è fatto strada ad altre innovazioni.

[4] Piancastelli, pp. 11–12 e 14–15.

Vittorio Mistruzzi, che proprio anche nell'applicazione che qui importa l'uso è vivo e abituale nel territorio di Verona: *parar i bò* vi si dice (e par bene esser detto in tutto il veneto[1]) del bifolco che spinge avanti i buoi che trascinan l'aratro. Ben giustificata quindi l'interpretazione data alla prima frase: 'Si spingeva innanzi i buoi.' [2]

Eppure le cose non corrono lisce come sembrerebbe. Che per dare il senso indicato riesca per noi di troppo il *se* premesso al verbo, è una difficoltà affatto secondaria: potè con esso volersi indicare che chi agiva, agiva in servigio proprio, pur non essendo lecito richiamarsi al *Tibi aras, tibi occas, tibi seris, tibi eidem metis*, detto dal padre al figliuolo nel *Mercator* di Plauto (i, 1, 71), dacchè ivi il pronome ha un motivo speciale che qui manca. Ma ben altro ostacolo è che s'abbia *pareba*, e non *paraba*. Il De Bartholomaeis dice cosa che mi guarderei bene di ripetere, scrivendo, '*Pareba* è ovvia forma metaplastica per *paraba*'. Il passaggio dalla 1.ª coniugazione alla 2.ª è tutt'altro che ovvio, e vuole giustificazioni specifiche, che, a buon conto, il territorio veronese, nemmeno in età posteriori di parecchi secoli, non mi fornisce. E sì che i documenti del suo parlare abbondan non poco.[3]

Ma il guaio maggiore sta nel fatto che a *pareba* tengono dietro, morfologicamente inalterati, *araba* e *seminaba*. E intanto dell'autenticità del *pareba* s'ha una solenne guarentigia. Il nostro documento è rimato; ed *-eba* nel primo verso è richiesto dal *teneba* che gli fa riscontro nel terzo. O come si spiega una così grave inconseguenza?

Dopo aver tentato varie vie (nè una spiegazione di *pareba* da *parēre*, nè una sua sostituzione, nè una surrogazione di *teneba*, nè l'ipotesi di una licenza per ragion della rima, mi parvero partiti

[1] Il Mistruzzi ne ha poi avuto l'attestazione positiva per Treviso.

[2] In una nota sul nostro Indovinello, pubblicata, mentre il lavoro mio si viene stampando, da Raffaele Corso, nel fascicolo Gennaio–Marzo 1928 (pp. 151–54) della rivista *Il Folklore* italiano da lui diretta, si afferma che 'il verbo *pareba* non ha questo significato, bensì quello di *formare el paio*', appaiare i buoi. A un derivato da *par* non avevo mancato di pensare ancor io; ma ci rinunziai di fronte all'uso idiomatico positivo dei paesi in cui dobbiamo aggirarci, e alla mancanza di ogni legittimo riscontro per un *parere*, o *parare*, appaiare. Resta soltanto la possibilità che chi appose nel codice l'enimma abbia, lui, personalmente, inteso in tal modo.

[3] Ha interrogato per me i suoi ricchi spogli anche il Mistruzzi. A nulla servono, badiam bene, nè le forme di verbi quali *stare, dare, andare*; nè le prime persone plurali del presente indivativo; nè gl'imperfetti (dal più che perfetto latino) del soggiuntivo; nè i participi presenti.

sodisfacenti), mi sono convinto che la strada buona è quella per cui si mise il Bertoni già prima che l'indovinello fosse riconosciuto per ciò che è.[1]

Quanto Verona ci nega, ci è dato, se ci portiamo ad oriente, da territorî che incorniciano il seno settentrionale dell'Adriatico. L'*-eva* per l'imperfetto dell'indicativo di prima coniugazione, o schietto, o ridotto ad *-ea*, o alterato in *-iva*, persiste sulle rive della Livenza [2] e in parlate Istriane; [3] ed era uno dei tratti caratteristici di quel dialetto indigeno triestino, che, non ancor spento in città un secolo addietro, si può dire vissuto fin verso lo spirare del secolo scorso nella parlata della prossima Muggia.[4] Penso che questo *-eva* — morfologico, si badi bene, non fonetico — si sia propagato da *habebam*; e sono persuaso che abbia avuto assai maggior diffusione di quella ora accertabile, senza tuttavia che ad esso partecipasse il friulano schietto, nel quale altrimenti ben verosimilmente si sarebbe mantenuto. Dall'antico territorio dell' *-eva* ritengo dunque pervenuto il nostro cimelio, convenendo sostanzialmente col Bertoni, che ne pone la patria 'nella zona veneto-friulana'. Anche gli *-aba* dovranno allora essere convertiti in *-eba*, e l'indovinello, modificato per questo solo rispetto, assumerà questa forma:

Boues se pareba,
Alba pratalia areba,
Et albo versorio teneba,
Et negro semen semineba.

Passando dalle regione dell'*-eba -eva* a quella dell'*-aba -ava*, fu serbato uno dei tre *-eba* metaplastici, perchè *teneba* richiedeva una consonanza; ma gli altri due dovettero sgombrare il campo. Unicamente

[1] V. p. 293.

[2] Il Bertoni ne aveva fatto cenno alla p. 109 della sua *Italia dialettale* (Manuali Hoepli; Milano, 1916); e tre esempi (*pensea, lassea, sfoghea*) offre nella versione di Sacile (p. 526) la novelletta della 'gentil donna di Guascogna' dentro alla ben nota raccolta del Papanti: *I parlari italiani in Certaldo alla festa del V Centenario* (Centenario di morte) *di Messer Giovanni Boccacci.*

[3] Nel volume del Papanti indicherò le versioni di Pola (*laghiva*, da *lagava*, lasciava, p. 617) e Rovigno (*supurtiva*, p. 618; e vi si veda la nota 2).

[4] Per l'*-eva* in questo linguaggio, dall'Ascoli chiamato *tergestino*, additerò quanto da lui è detto alla p. 464 del t. X° dell'*Archivio Glottologico*. E *l'Archivio*, coi 'Testi' raccolti e publicati da Jacopo Cavalli nel t. XII°, pp. 268 sgg. dell'*Archivio Glottologico*, fornisce esempi muggesi quanti mai si vogliono.

così mi pare che l'incongruenza ottenga una spiegazione piena e non artificiosa.

Tratta fuori questa fastidiosissima spina, che avrebbe impedito di avere poi perfettamente libero l'uso della mano, posso volgermi a una questione più essenziale e studiarmi di determinar bene il linguaggio del documento.

Se non nell'intenzione, va coll'espressione un po' troppo oltre il Tamassìa, usando, come s'è udito,[1] la frase 'canzone italiana'; rimane molto al di là del giusto lo Scherillo parlando di 'volgare latino' e soggiungendo ciò che da lui si soggiunge;[2] gli si mette a fianco il Bertoni, dicendo che 'il componimento' (si ricordi che si credeva di non aver altro che un frammento) 'doveva essere in latino rustico'; ma non mi appaga abbastanza neppure il De Bartholomaeis, che scrive: 'Semivolgare dirò anch'io' (materialmente l'epiteto non era uscito da altre bocche) 'quel testicciuolo; ma, in realtà, lo si potrebbe dire addirittura volgare, perchè quel tanto di latino che vi fa mostra, è dovuto evidentemente alle abitudini ortografiche e grammaticali dello scriba. A viva voce esso sonava alquanto diversamente da come fu fissato sulla carta.'

Il contesto mi porta a credere che la diversità, posto che ci sia stata, s'immagini considerevolmente maggiore del vero. M'inganno io pensando che 'dovuto evidentemente alle abitudini . . . grammaticali dello scriba' si giudichi il *boves?* — Ora, non mi è lecito affermar nulla per Verona; ma quanto al territorio d'origine, non dubito che *boves* fosse la forma abituale, dacchè la terminazione *-s* per il plurale apparisce ben salda nel 'tergestino' per il genere femminile e solo coll'andar del tempo vi si è andata perdendo per il mascolino.[3] — Plurale neutro latino in origine *alba pratalia*; ma per chi lo scrisse potè essere, e secondo me ebbe ad esser piuttosto, femminile singolare. — A *semen*, neutro e però forma comune ai due massimi casi, nulla vietava la conservazione di una consonante finale da cui la parlata non rifuggiva punto. — Quanto alla congiunzione copulativa, chi ricorra al facsimile,[4] la vedrà rappresentata dalla consuetissima sigla. — E così di graficamente latino, per ciò che concerne morfo-

[1] V. p. 292. [2] Ibid. [3] *Archivio Glottologico*, I, 518, n. 2, e X, 461.
[4] Dove sia data, ho detto alla p. 292.

logia e fonetica, ci troviamo ridotti ad avere solo il *b* intervocalico di *-eba -aba*, che tuttavia potè sonare in modo da dar luogo, non foss'altro, a incertezze. Si pensi allo spagnuolo.

Volgendoci dal lato opposto, si considerino i tratti schiettamente volgari che a noi si offrono: *e* da *i* breve tonico in *negro*; *-o* da *-um* atono di uscita in *albo, uersorio, negro*; caduta del *-t* in *paraba, araba, teneba, seminaba*; *se*, proclitico; verosimilmente in funzione di dativo.

Ma anche sul lessico è da fissare l'attenzione; e la richiamano le voci *pratalia, versorio, albo, alba.*

Per *pratalia* è giusto che si desideri di più che le allegazioni toponomastiche, anche se dateci nelle carte in maniera da mostrarci la denominazione concepita come un *Pratalia, -lie.*[1] In essa v'è pur sempre un carattere fossile; e nella dizione 'Badia a Prataglia', usuale tuttora per la più nota delle Prataglie, noi sentiam riecheggiarci un *Abbatia ad pratalia.* Neppure ci basterebbe, anche moltiplicandosene gli esempi, il *pratale* che il Glossario du-cangiano ha da una carta del 983 della diocesi di Apt in Provenza. Ma non manca il *prataglia* nome comune; e ce ne accresce geograficamente il valore l'esserci dato dal Boiardo. Alle citazioni che trovo in vocabolarii, *Orl. Inn.*, I, xxvi, 13, e II, v, 13, aggiungasi II, v, 48.[2]

Non tralascerò di rilevare che veramente si arano i campi, anzichè i prati, od anzi, volendo tenersi più stretti al valore da assegnarsi per ragione analogica a *prataglia*, le praterie. Chi cercasse di giustificare la cosa ricorrendo all'idea della trasformazione di prati in campi, s'inerpicherebbe là dove è da camminare per il piano. Varrà meglio dedurne che s'ha a far con persona che, non contadino, non ha qui lo scrupolo dell'esattezza.

Versorium, non attestato negli scritti a noi pervenuti dall'antichità,[3] risalirà nondimeno al tempo nel quale furono inventati gli

[1] Nel *Regesto di Camaldoli*, che fa parte dei *Regesta chartarum Italiae* pubblicati dall'Istituto Storico, e di cui uscì nel 1907 (Roma: Loescher) il Vol. I, nonchè innumerevoli esempi di *mon[ast]. de Pratalia*, s'incontra fino dal 1008 (num. 12) *iusta Prataliam.*

[2] 'Là giù nel piano all'aperta prataglia'; 'Come fu in terra, tutta la prataglia Dintorno intorno cominciò a tremare'; 'E fuggito ne è via per la prataglia'.

[3] Plauto ha bensì *versoria*, nel *Mescator* v. 876 e nel *Trinummus* v. 1026: sostantivo femminile, o piuttosto aggettivo di *funis* usato in genere femminile. Designa la fune con cui si gira la vela.

aratra che da Palladio (i, 42, 1) sentiam dire *aurita*. E forse indicò in origine determinatamente la parte che i nostri chiamano 'orecchio', ufficio della quale è di rovesciare, *versare*, la zolla che il vomere ha sollevato. *Versoir* la denominano tuttora i francesi. Ma nella Francia stessa il significato ebbe ad essere anche più ampio; giacchè altrimenti non s'intenderebbe l'esempio cavato nel *Du Cange* dagli *Statuta Castri Redaldi*, dove apparisce come strumento agrario per sè stesso: — *plaustra, aratra vel versoria, ligones.* Penso dunque che sia stato detto *versorium* l'aratro con vomere munito di uno o due orecchi: varietà conveniente alle terre grasse. Tali essendo quelle di molta parte del Veneto, si capisce ottimamente che essa vi avesse largo uso. E il vocabolo vi si perpetuò; e da Verona alla Livenza diventò, e continua ad essere la denominazione per l'aratro in genere,[1] mentre in territori contermini, a ponente e a mezzogiorno, il posto è occupato da un *piò* di provenienza longobarda, che dalla latinità medievale ci è presentato copiosamente nella forma, prossima all'origine, *plovum*. E poichè Verona, anche se l'indovinello si manifesti importato, conserva sempre per noi importanza speciale, riferirò come nel *Piccolo Dizionario del dialetto moderno della città di Verona* di G. L. Patuzzi, G. e A. Bolognini (Verona, 1900) si abbia: 'Versor, s. m. Vomere, Aratro', rilevando la circostanza che, insieme col tutto, la parola seguiti a disignare anche ciò che in esso dovett'essere così chiamato dapprima. Nè mi staccherò da *versor*, senza badare al verbo da cui dipende, cioè il *teneba*, e senza citare un passo di Columella, ii, 2, 25, in cui esso occorre analogamente con *aratrum*: . . . *Bubulcum autem per proscissum ingredi oportet alternisque versibus obliquum tenere aratrum, et alternis certo plenoque sulcare.* Non mi sfugge che questo *tenere aratrum* converrebbe a noi maggiormente senza l'*obliquum*.

Chi giudicasse ricercato l'aggettivo *albo*, commetterebbe uno sproposito madornale. Si aspetterebbe egli forse invece, non diciam *bianco*, ma *blanco*? Che questo sia voce germanica, è noto a tutti. Ma credo di poter anche affermare che nel dominio romanzo, dove è riuscita poco meno che a soffocare la rivale latina e ha spento la

[1] A ciò che, tenendosi sulle generali e non bene esattamente aveva detto lo Scherillo, ha aggiunto indicazioni specifiche e precise il Bertoni.

coscienza del suo vero valore in quell'opportunissimo e vitalissimo neologismo che fu nella latinità più o men tarda il sostantivo *alba*,[1] la sua propagazione avvenne da una sola regione. A ciò m'induce la considerazione che il germanico *blank* si riferisce alla luminosità anzichè al colore. Il passaggio alla significazione acquisita fu dunque un fatto speciale, da attribuirsi pertanto a uno speciale territorio. E che questo sia stato la Francia del Nord, non è dubitabile. Ivi appunto la sparizione di *albus* è più completa che altrove; e deve pertanto essere ritenuta anche più precoce.[2] Stando le cose in questa maniera, non altro che *albo*, *alba*, potremmo avere nel nostro testo; e l'avercelo è una riprova di antichità.

Accanto ai fatti d'ordine positivo deve esserne rilevato uno negativo. Nei quattro versi non apparisce punto l'articolo, mentre lo usa tre volte nell'interpretazione sua il Tamassìa[3] e a 'buoi' lo dà allo stesso modo il De Bartholomaeis nella sua traduzione del solo primo verso.[4] Orbene: se 'prati' o 'prato' e 'aratro' non ne hanno bisogno più che non ne abbia 'seme', a cui non fu dato, 'buoi' vi avrebbe diritto, e la mancanza ha sapore latino. Sennonchè nelle stesse precise condizioni si trovano i *Giuramenti di Strasburgo*, tanto che un tempo s'era potuto immiginare che l'uso dell'articolo fosse nella Francia principiato nell'intervallo fra il loro profferimento e la composizione della *Santa Eulalia*, dove invece l'articolo è in pieno vigore. E non è già questa la sola traccia latina che nei *Giuramenti* si abbia; sicchè se ad essi, nonostante ciò, si attribuisce l'epiteto di 'volgari', 'volgare' col medesimo, e anzi con maggior diritto, dopo tutto ciò che s'è visto, dichiareremo senza le altrui riserve l'indovinello del codice veronese. Che se in esso occorrono cose che forse, e in un caso con certezza, non erano del parlar locale della città in cui,

[1] Sostantivo, dopo essere stato, beninteso, aggettivo, con un sostantivo che il rumeno *ziua alba* conforta a credere essere stato *dies*, piuttosto che *lux*, suggerito dal virgiliano *Regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem vidit* (*Aen.*, iv, 586). *Albescente die* occorre del resto in Ammiano Marcellino, xix, 7, 3, e in un Sermone di S. Agostino. Che nei parlanti latino si sia sentito il bisogno di una parola che esprimesse la fase intermedia fra il crepuscolo e l'aurora, ben si capisce. Sentirlo dovettero specialmente, e provvedere, i campagnuoli, sempre mattinieri.

[2] V. Ott, *Etude sur les couleurs en vieux français* (Parigi, 1899), p. 1.

[3] V. p. 292. Naturalmente non è da tener conto del supplemento 'Il bifolco.'

[4] V. p. 296.

secondo ogni verosimiglianza, fu messo in iscritto, l'importanza linguistica del cimelio, invece di scemare, viene ad essere accresciuta. Appunto quel *pareba* che colla sua discordanza dava tanta noia, dimostra la remota antichità di una spiccata caratteristica dialettale, che si poteva credere assai più tarda. Ciò che il documento perde per un rispetto, è riacquistato per un altro in misura maggiore d'assai.

Chiaro pertanto quanto importi la sua determinazione cronologica. Mi affida pienamente quella data dello Schiaparelli,[1] nel quale alla perizia somma ed alla oculatezza si accompagna una grande prudenza. E si rifletta come qui ci troviamo in possesso di quella nozione topografica, di cui la mancanza è una delle cause precipue d'incertezza e di errori nelle datazioni dei paleografi.

Abbiamo dunque un documento, che, venendosi a porre sui confini del secolo ottavo e del nono (vogliamo noi dire fra il 780 e l'820?), toglie il primato ai *Giuramenti*.[2] Rimane loro quello della solennità. Ma il nuovo venuto si avvantaggia per altri rispetti.

In primo luogo abbiamo dei versi: tali ci si mostrano in modo inoppugnabile col fatto della rima. E dalla considerazione della rima torna opportuno che si principii.

Esatta e bisillaba, porta un contributo apprezzabile alla storia tuttora mal nota e lacunosa di questo che ben deve dirsi un elemento essenziale della versificazione romanza. Ci attesta che intorno all'ottocento esso era usato volgarmente in Italia tale e quale fu poi sempre presso di noi.

Sotto un altro riguardo essa muta di aspetto, a seconda che si consideri quale, previa la semplice e inoppugnabile posposizione di *separaba* a *boues*, è offerta dalla lezione diplomatica, oppure nel testo che si è stati condotti a restituire dall'indomito *pareba*.[3] Nella forma restituita la rima è continua e unica; e non suscita osservazioni. Nella diplomatica, oltre ad essere duplice, è incrociata: disposizione su cui fissò molto l'attenzione il De Bartholomaeis, per essa soprattutto venendo a convincersi che i quattro versi corressero sulle

[1] V. p. 291.

[2] Della data dell'842, che sempre si assegnò al testo romanzo, non mi ha punto indotto a dubitare lo scritto di J. W. Thompson nello Speculum, I (1926), 410–438.

[3] V. p. 297.

bocche in altro ordine che quello in cui li troviam scritti.[1] Non si dica che qui non c'è più materia disputabile se l'incrociamento non è originario. Originario o no, nella regione veronese esso esiste; ed io non sono propenso ad attribuirlo col De Bartholomaeis a smemoratagine di chi scrisse. Lo ritengo voluto; e con ciò mi impongo l'obbligo di guardare se non ne venga un ostacolo alla datazione che ho accolto, dovendosi riconoscere come stabilito che la rima fu a lungo consecutiva prima che incrociata.[2] Incrociarla fu raffinatezza. Possiam noi supporla per un tempo necessariamente poco o tanto anteriore a quello in cui i versi, con una alterazione patente, furono apposti sul codice, e propriamente per il tempo in cui dalla regione dell' *-eba* passarono a quella dell' *-aba*?

Io credo che sì. Naturalmente solo in testi latini può essere cercata la storia della rima nell'età romana e durante i primi secoli del medioevo. Ora, che l'idea dell'incrociamento tardasse tanto ad affacciarsi quanto si vorrebbe, non mi sembra verosimile. A buon conto un esempio — sia pur mosca bianca — s'incontra fino dal secolo settimo.[3] E qualche cosa di ben atto a suggerirlo si ebbe da quando gli emistichii dell'usitatissimo tetrametro trocaico catalettico e dei suoi riflessi ritmici furono dall'innografia cristiana convertiti in versetti, che alternativamente si vengono succedendo con uscita piana e sdrucciola.[4] Va poi considerato che l'indovinello della scrittura comunque concepito ed espresso, spetta in particolar modo alla

[1] Pp. 202, 203.

[2] Si veda, per non citar altro, Wilhelm Meyer, 'Der Ludus de Antichristo und Über die lateinischen Rythmen', nelle *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittelalterlicher Rythmik*, I, 195, e prima nelle *Sitzungsber. der bayer. Akad. der Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1882, p. 70.

[3] *Versiculi familiae Benchuir:* W. Meyer, *Ges. Abh.*, I, 192 e 222; *Sitzungsber.*, 66 e 96.

[4] Commenti le mie parole Beda (672–735), *De arte metrica*, col. 173 nel t. XC della *Patrologia latina* del Migne:

'*De metro trochaico.* Metrum trochaicum tetrametrum, quod a poetis graecis et latinis frequentissime ponitur, recipit locis omnibus trocheum, spondeum omnibus praeter tertium. Currit autem alternis versiculis ita ut prior habeat pedes quatuor, posterior pedes tres et syllabam. Huius exemplum totus hymmus ille pulcherrimus:

Hymnum dicat turba fratrum,
Hymnum cantus personet;
Christo regi concinentes,
Laudes demus debitas.'

L'errore metrico in cui Beda è incorso e rispetto al quale gioverà rinviare al Meyer, *Ges. Abh.*, II, 348–49, qui non ci tocca.

scuola. Col Piancastelli che lo riguarda come cosa di popolo,[1] non molti, credo, vorranno consentire. Basta che il popolo, dove più dove meno, quando più quando meno, e in molti luoghi e soprattutto in lunghi periodi, anche punto, se lo sia fatto proprio. Per conseguenza è ammissibile che la rima incrociata, sebbene tuttora artificiosa e non consueta, fino dal secolo ottavo venisse in esso a introdursi.

Con questo discorso mi è accaduto di indebolire un sostegno per l'opinione del De Bartholomaeis riguardo all'ordine genuino dei quattro versi. Egli inverte il secondo ed il terzo, e propone:

Boues se pareba
Et albo uersorio teneba;
Alba pratalia araba
Et negro semen seminaba.

Viene dal De Bartholomaeis anche la disposizione tipografica.

Il vantaggio, a cui attribuisce gran peso, di ottenere, convertendo in baciata la rima incrociata, 'una costituzione ritmica' che gli pare 'affatto conforme a quella della poesia popolare', non solo, dopo quanto son venuto dicendo, ha perduto d'importanza, ma, per il nostro indovinello, cozza contro la tradizione. Delle undici versioni da lui riportate due sole hanno rime baciate; e di esse una appartiene al tipo artefatto, che intrude il pensatore.[2] In tutte le altre la rispondenza che s'abbia, e che generalmente s'ha di fatto (che voglia essere di assonanza, non nuoce punto), è del primo verso col terzo e soprattutto del secondo col quarto.[3] Essa ha dunque carattere d'incrocio.

Alla ragione ritmica invalidata, può tuttavia sostituirsene una d'ordine affine. I quattro versi variano nella misura. Si direbbe che s'aggruppino a due a due: più corti i due primi, l'uno di sei, l'altro di sette sillabe, ma tali che l'orecchio li può equiparare; più lunghi, e propriamente novenarii, giusta la terminologia nostra, il

[1] In tutta la trattazione indicata a p. 294; e poi, *ex professo*, pp. 311 sgg.: 'Adesso si affaccia una questione. Si è sempre fin qui sottinteso che autore sia stato il popolo. . . .'

[2] V. p. 295. Convengono sotto il rispetto della rima, e per lo stesso motivo mancano di valore, anche gli altri esemplari del medesimo tipo.

[3] Serva d'esempio la lezione che, senza punto mirare a ciò di cui ora si tratta, addussi alla p. 294.

terzo e il quarto. Orbene: dall'ordinamento che il De Bartholomaeis propugna, resulta un effetto ritmico più sodisfacente che quello della condizione tradizionale; a coppie di versetti di misura differente che si succedono, sono certo preferibili gruppi che, costituiti di elementi diversi, come segue, poniamo, nel decasillabo francese (4 + 6 , oppure 6 + 4), si faccian riscontro. Può parlare agli occhi la disposizione tipografica usata dal De Bartholomaeis e da me riprodotta.

Vero altresì che, come dice il De Bartholomaeis, 'sarebbero più armonicamente collocate le due proposizioni coordinate', cioè quelle precedute da *et*; nè va taciuto che se al primo *et*, manifestamente inopportuno, sarebbe facile mettere rimedio, togliendolo, la soppressione guasterebbe gratuitamente la uniformità di misura del terzo e quarto verso.

Per ultimo riconoscerò col De Bartholomaeis un vantaggio nella successione degli atti: vantaggio a cui nulla detrae la retta interpretazione del *boves*: *boves-dita* e *versorio-penna*, *prato-carta* e *aratura-scrittura*, stanno meglio in immediato contatto che disgiunti.[1]

C'è dunque realmente una certa verosimiglianza che una disposizione diversa sia preceduta a quella resultante dal codice.[2] La possibilità è data innegabilmente dalle tante bocche per le quali l'indovinello, in quanto tale, era passato via via.

Ed ecco che appunto dobbiamo ora considerarlo come documento folkloristico. È il primo, assolutamente il primo del suo genere che ci si affacci in volgare neolatino; e si è perpetuato per altri undici secoli nelle memorie e nella tradizione. Che al popolo, come ho accennato poco addietro, sia da ritenere venuto dalle scuole, non fa che aggiungere una manifestazione di più per quella gran verità, che non so quanto di ciò che corre tra il popolo non è sua creazione.

Eleviamoci al di sopra di esso, veniamo fra la gente colta, e teniamoci ben sicuri, anche prima di essercene accertati, che l'indovinello nostro non può mancare nella letteratura latina di quel

[1] Le cose bensì muterebbero (e il Corso lo dichiara) coll'interpretazione da questi voluta. V. p. 296, n. 2.

[2] Non so se le osservazioni mie indurrebbero il Lovarini (v. p. 294, n. 3) a modificare il suo atteggiamento nettamente contrario all'ipotesi del De Bartholomaeis (pp. 13–15 nell'estratto-opuscolo).

primo medioevo, che, in certi luoghi, tanto si compiacque di tal fatta di esercizi.

Il non occorrere esso fra i cento di quel Sinfosio (Symphosius) che fu maestro del genere alle età immediatamente successive, è a mio vedere una conseguenza, e può dirsi un indizio di più, che questi, come porta l'opinione prevalente, vuol essere assegnato all'antichità: quarto secolo o quinto. Sinfosio, quando usava l'*atramentum*, scriveva ancora col *calamus*, non colla penna. Se la penna, che, bianca, geme il nero inchiostro, sopra una superficie più o meno bianca ancor essa, fosse stata nella sua mano, dalla penna, anzichè dal *graphium*, ossia dallo stilo, del quale

Altera pars reuocat quidquid pars altera fecit,

vedremmo cominciare la sua raccolta.

Fra i riscontrì medievali assegno cronologicamente il primo posto al numero 9 di una collezione di dodici enimmi, che il Dümmler allogò nell'Appendice ai *Carmina* di Bonifazio, l'evangelizzatore della Germania (*Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, t. I), e stimò (p. 3) dovuta a un autore del suo tempo e della sua nazione, facendola con ciò anglosassone e della prima metà del secolo VIII, o giù di li. Esso consta di tre soli versi, quanti ne hanno sistematicamente tutti quelli di Sinfosio. Lo riferisco:

Candida uirgo suas lacrimas dum seminat atras,
Tetra per albentes linquit uestigia campos,
Lucida stelligeri ducentia ad atria coeli.

Anglosassone potrà essere l'autore, sebbene ciò non sia affermabile colla sicurezza colla quale vuol essere dichiarato cristiano ed ecclesiastico; ma a me non par dubbio che, al contrario di quanto mostra di ritenere il Dümmler, egli precedette, e non seguì, Aldelmo, che sappiam nato nel 709. Ciò mi sembra apparir manifesto dal confronto coll'enimma corrispondente nella centuria che, emulando e sopraffacendo Sinfosio, Aldelmo compose con un numero di versi grado grado crescente. Eccolo:

De penna scriptoria

Me pridem genuit candens onocrotalus [1] albam
Gutture qui patulo sorbet de gurgite lymphas.
Pergo per albentes directo tramite campos,
Candentique uiae uestigia caerula linquo,
Lucida nigratis fuscans anfractibus arua.
Nec satis est unum per campos pandere callem,
Semita quin potius milleno tramite tradit,
Quae non errantes ad coeli culmina uexit.

La comunanza delle espressioni *albentes campos* (v. 2 e v. 3), *lucida* (v. 3 e v. 5), *vestigia* (v. 2 e v. 4), la rispondenza prossima di *linquit* (v. 2) e *linquo* (v. 4), e la convenienza del concetto finale, non ovvio e dove pure è comune il *coeli*, mettono fuor di questione uno stretto rapporto; nè esso può essere concepito, secondo me, in altra maniera che questa: l'enimma di Aldelmo è amplificazione di quello dell'Anonimo.

Questo dovett'essere noto anche a un Eusebio, enimmatico lui stesso. Giudichi il lettore:

De penna

Natura simplex stans, non sapio undique quicquam,
Sed mea nunc sapiens uestigia quisque sequetur;
Nunc tellurem habitans, prius ethera celsa uagabar;
Candida conspicior, uestigia tetra relinquens.[2]

Qui il concetto fondamentale è diventato secondario; ma l'ultimo verso si può dire tutto derivato dall'Anonimo.[3]

Personaggio ben conosciuto Tatwine, o, con un poco di abuso, Tatuino, morto nel 734, dopo essere stato per tre anni arcivescovo di Canterbury. Egli è venerato qual santo. Anche fra i suoi quaranta enimmi ce n'è uno che non è inutile riportare:

[1] Nel Migne, da cui trascrivo (*Patr. lat.*, LXXXIX, 192), *onocratalus*. Degli *onocrotali* Plinio, x, 131, dice: 'Gallia hos septentrionali proxima Oceano mittit'. Il verso che segue mi fa dubitar tuttavia che Aldelmo abbia nella mente un altro uccello. Cf. p. 309.

[2] *Berichte über die Verhandl. der k. Sächs Ges. der Wissensch. zu Leipzig*, 1877, p. 49.

[3] Mal poteva accorgersene l'Ebert, editore, dacchè l'Anonimo era tuttora inedito. Ciò gli fece erroneamente credere ed affermare che Eusebio avesse *benutzt* Aldelmo.

De penna

Natiua penitus natione, heu! fraudor ab hoste;
Nam superas quondam pernix auras penetrabam:
Vincta tribus, nunc in terris persoluo tributum;
Planos compellor sulcare per equora campos;
Causa laboris amoris tum fontes lacrimarum
Semper compellit me aridis infundere sulcis.[1]

Il quarto verso è da ravvicinare al terzo di Aldelmo; il secondo e terzo manifestano col terzo di Eusebio un'affinità, nella quale il prima e il poi non appaiono manifesti.[2]

Accanto agli enimmi della Penna ce ne sono altri di argomento affine, da cui prendo ora qualche cosa, serbando il meglio per un altro momento.

All'Inchiostro l'Anonimo, dopo averlo fatto parlare della sua composizione, mette in bocca:

Lucifica nigris tunc nuntio regna figuris,
Late per innumeros albos si spargas agellos.

E in Tatuino, *De litteris*, vuol essere rilevato il verso

Tosta ministrantes nitidis et fercula mensis,[3]

nel quale è ben da scorgere il contrasto di colore fra lettera e carta; contrasto apertamente significato in un altro *De litteris* — di Eusebio[4] — colla frase *nos tetre ludimus albis*; e nell'altro suo *De membranis*; [5] le quali, mute prima, diventano eloquenti,

Candida . . . cum arua lustramur millibus atris.[6]

Salvo il dubbio concernente l'Anonimo, ci siamo sempre aggirati nel mondo anglosassone; al quale, con Aldelmo, Tatuino, Eusebio, appartiene anche Bonifazio, autore di una serie di enimmi, che tutti hanno per soggetto virtù e vizi. Giustamente fu detto che 'nessuna

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 33–34. Non sarò, credo, il solo a non appagarmi del penultimo verso, anche se l'Ebert non vi appone nessuna nota.

[2] Che Eusebio dipenda più o meno da Tatuino, e non vice-versa, è in genere opinione non infondata dell'Ebert, pp. 27–28.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[6] Un'antica chiosa spiega *litteris*. Aldelmo (v. qui dietro) induce piuttosto a credere che si voglia riferirsi ai righi.

nazione dell'occidente, per quanto sappiamo, si è tanto dilettata a quel giuoco di spirito e fantasia che diciamo *indovinello*, come nel secolo ottavo gli Anglosassoni'.[1] Ed essi ne ebbero in quel tempo anche una ragguardevole collezione nel linguaggio loro proprio,[2] nella quale non mancano gli argomenti nostri. S'abbia qui tutta intera la traduzione dell'enimma in cui domina la penna:[3]

> Io vidi quattro mirabili esseri
> viaggiare insieme: scure erano le loro tracce,
> le impronte nerissime. Era veloce nel viaggio,
> più forte degli uccelli; colei che si libra nell'aria
> si tuffò sotto l'onda. Indefesso lavorava
> il lottante guerriero che indicava il cammino
> a tutti e quattro sopra lo spesso oro.

Dubito che s'inganni il Trautmann, dotto illustratore, vedendo significato nell'ultima frase 'L'ornamento d'oro all'orlo superiore del calamaio'; e a torto di sicuro egli ravvicina la prima frase del quinto verso col *sorbet de gurgite lymphas* del *De penna scriptoria* di Aldelmo, riferendo alla penna, soggetto indubitabile del periodo nel testo anglosassone, ciò che il verso latino dice dell'*onocrotalus*.[4] Rettamente nel 'lottante guerriero' si sarà veduto il braccio; rettamente i 'quattro che insieme viaggiano' saranno intesi come la penna e le tre dita che la maneggiano. E nonostante il raddoppiamento e una certa discordanza, la scrittura, del pari che nelle 'impronte nerissime' del terzo verso, è da riconoscere nelle 'tracce oscure', del secondo, respingendo l'idea di vedere significato in questa il trascorrere della penna;[5] idea suscitabile dal fatto che nell'enimma del calamaio[6] la

[1] Traduco il primo periodo del proemio dell'Ebert a Tatuino ed Eusebio: *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[2] Sono ricorso per lumi a un valente conoscitore dell'anglosassone: il prof. Aldo Ricci, del quale la Casa editrice Sansoni ha pubblicato di recente (senza data) il volumetto 'Cynewulf': *Il sogno della Croce: Cristo: antichi poemetti anglosassoni, riveduti nel testo, con versione a fronte, introduzione e note.* Da lui ho così saputo che nell'attribuzione degli enimmi a Cynewulf quasi nessuno persiste. E ne ho avuto la versione letterale ed esatta di quelli che per me potevano presentare interesse.

[3] 52° (Tupper), 51° (Wyatt), o 49°, a seconda degli editori.

[4] Ha egli creduto che fosse da correggere la lezione? Se il *qui* si lascia facilmente mutare in *que*, *sorbet* non può, anche solo per ragione del metro, essere convertito in *sorbeo*.

[5] Che sia da respingere, ho dal Ricci; il quale mi insegna che la ripetizione, giusta le abitudini della poesia anglosassone, conferma ciò a cui parrebbe mettere ostacolo.

[6] 93°, o 91°.

penna, invece che bianca, come siam soliti vederla, apparisce nera.[1] E bruna, anzichè bianca, ci è rappresentata la 'superficie' su cui scorre la penna, nell'altro enimma [2] che ha per soggetto un codice, e propriamente, si crede, un codice della Bibbia.

In altre regioni ci trasporta, sola ed unica per un'età così antica, una raccolta pervenutaci in un numero considerevole di manoscritti, della quale l'ultima e migliore edizione s'è avuta da Wilhelm Meyer.[3] Considerazioni ritmiche lo portano ad attribuirlo al territorio longobardo; [4] e di andare oltralpe ben si può dire che vietino certi soggetti, e in primo luogo il baco da seta. Quanto al tempo, non si può venire più in qua dell'ottavo secolo (il Meyer non esclude il settimo), se ad esso appartiene realmente uno dei codici.[5] Che tutti i 62 enimmi abbiano un numero identico di versi, sarà dovuto all'esempio di Sinfosio; e il numero sarà di sei per effetto di raddoppiamento:[6] i tre versi diventan tre coppie.

Patria verosimile e cronologia m'inducono a dare per disteso il numero 25 *De litteris*, sebbene soltanto i due primi versi abbiano importanza per noi:

> Nascimur albenti loco, sed nigrae sorores;
> tres unito simul nos creant ictu parentes.
> Multimoda nobis facies et nomina multa,
> meritumque dispar, uox et diversa sonandi.
> Nunquam sine nostra nos domo detinet ullus,
> nec una responsum dat sine pari roganti.

Ed ora che abbiamo raccolto questo materiale, serviamocene come termine di confronto per l'indovinello nostro.

Esso rappresenta l'azione dello scrivere coll'immagine dell'aratura. Nei riscontri addotti questa ci è data soltanto, e con ben minor rilievo, da Tatuino: *compellor sulcare campos*; *aridis sulcis*. Ma la corrispondenza diventa spiccata, se in Aldelmo, invece che l'enimma *De penna scriptoria*, ne consideriamo uno *De pugillaribus*,[7] riguar-

[1] Vv. 26–27: 'Ora il mio tesoro lo custodisce un nemico rapace, il quale una volta portò lontano il compagno del lupo.' E il Trautmann annota: 'Il *compagno del lupo* è il corvo, quindi si tratta di una penna di corvo'; e aggiunge che 'già al v. 25 si allude al fatto che questa penna è nera', intendendo di riferirsi all'espressione 'qualcosa di scuro', che il calamaio dice di 'ciò che piomba su' di lui 'dal di sopra'. [2] 27°, 26°, o 24°.

[3] *Abh.*, II, 162–79. Precede un proemio di 8 pagine (154–62).

[4] P. 161. [5] P. 155. [6] V. qui dietro, p. 306. [7] Migne, LXXXIX, 193.

dante cioè, invece che la scrittura con penna ed inchiostro, quella con stilo, su tavolette cerate. Ivi, dopo che si sono indicati la cera, il legno, il cuoio col quale più tavolette si riunivano insieme, si prosegue:

> Nunc ferri stimulus faciem proscindit amenam,
> Flexibus et sulcos obliquat ad instar aratri.

Ecco qui il nostro *araba*; ecco il *versorio*; i quali alla stessa maniera ci sono offerti da Eusebio nel più semplice suo enimma *De cera* colle parole iniziali

> Equalem facie, scindit me uomer acutus.[1]

Si osservi e si rifletta. Prenderà saldezza di convincimento e di cosa dimostrata l'idea, che l'indovinello dell'aratura-scrittura sia stato concepito in origine per la scrittura con lo stilo su cera, alla quale soltanto propriamente conviene. Questa verità fu vista molto bene dal Piancastelli, che ne trattò in parecchie pregevoli pagine della sua memoria (25–32), viziate solo dal preconcetto della schietta popolarità di ciò che popolare mal potè nascere, ma solo, e relativamente, divenne.[2] Assai opportunamente egli cita espressioni e passi, agevolmente accrescibili, da cui appare manifesto come il ravvicinamento fra lo scrivere sulla cera e l'arare fosse familiarissimo ai latini. Già, basterebbe a dimostrarlo la storia del vocabolo *exarare*.

L'indovinello nostro è dunque un adattamento. Nel trapasso, all'aratura s'è aggiunta la semina, che allo scrivere con lo stilo era estranea, tanto che al verso citato poco fa Eusebio aggiunge quest'altro,

> At sulcata manens, semper sum seminis expers.

Ciò non tolse che essa fosse nel *De pugillaribus* introdotta da Aldelmo per vestire un concetto di cui conosciamo l'origine.[3] Dopo i due versi riferiti abbiamo da lui questi altri:

> Sed semen segeti de coelo ducitur almum,
> Quod largos generat millena fruge maniplos.

Ma anche senza dover cascare dal cielo, il seme ci è offerto dai riscontri. Ci è dato dal più antico Anonimo, prima nell'enimma

[1] *Berichte*, p. 48. [2] V. qui indietro, p. 304. [3] V. p. 306.

per noi principale col *seminat*, seguito da *campos*, e poi in quello dell'inchiostro, collo *spargas*, associato ad *agellos*. Seme è appunto normalmente l'inchiostro. Ma siccome l'inchiostro è liquido, ne viene che all'idea del seme possa accoppiarsi o sostituirsi quella delle lagrime. Così accade nel medesimo Anonimo, dove la *Virgo* in cui è figurata la penna, *lacrimas seminat*. E non altrimenti colei che, velata, parla in Tatuino, è costretta *fontes lacrimarum . . . infundere sulcis*.

Seme, o lagrime, o che altro si voglia, l'essenziale è il color nero: *negro semen* per noi. *Atras* dice l'Anonimo le lagrime che la Vergine semina, e *nigris figuris* fa cosperger gli *agellos* nell'enimma dell'Inchiostro; *nigratis fuscans anfracitibus arva* appare la penna di Aldelmo; [1] *vestigia tetra* lascia quella di Eusebio; *vestigia* che, personificate nel suo enimma *De litteris*, si professano *tetre* esse medesime, e che sono espresse *millibus atris* nell'altro suo *De membranis*; che se le lettere sono soltanto *tosta* presso Tatuino, sono *nigrae sorores* nell'Anonimo ritenuto italiano; e di 'impronte nerissime' parla il verseggiatore in linguaggio anglosassone.

Al nerume del seme si contrappongono nell'enimma nostro due bianchezze: della *pratalia* e del *versorio*. Cominciamo dal raccogliere i riscontri della prima.

L'Anonimo da cui siam soliti muovere ci dà *albentes campos* nella Penna, *albos agellos* nell'Inchiostro; Aldelmo, oltre a far eco alla frase *albentes campos*, pone di suo *candentique viae* e *lucida arva*; i piatti di Tatuino sono imbanditi *nitidis mensis*; *candida arva* ci mette innanzi Eusebio e la sua *tetre* creature si transtullano *albis*; le *nigrae soreres* del supposto italiano nascono *albenti loco*. Molto relativa di certo in molti casi la bianchezza che viene così ad essere attribuita alla pergamena; nè dobbiam quindi meravigliarci che nell'enimma anglosassone sul Codice della Bibbia la pergamena sia rappresentata, come s'è visto, qual 'bruna superficie.'

[1] Nel verso precedente mi hanno dato da pensare i *vestigia caerula*. Che l'epiteto indichi colore e che non entri qui per nulla una confusione colla cera delle tavolette, provano il contesto e il contrapposto *candenti*. Ma come si conciliano questi *vestigia caerula* coi *nigratis anfractibus* che tengon subito dietro? — Verosimilmente i primi saranno da riferire a lettere ornate e ghirigori eseguiti ancor essi con la penna. L'uso di un inchiostro azzurro per la scrittura ordinaria presso gli Anglosassoni è affatto ignoto allo Schiaparelli; e quand'anche si volesse ammettere o supporre, farebbe contro per noi il disaccordo coll'altro verso.

Veramente candida bensì, quando, come suole, è bianca e non d'altro colore, la penna. Eccola *candida virgo* nel primo Anonimo; eccola *albam* e figliuola di un *candus onocrotalus* in Aldelmo; *candida conspicior* dice essa stessa per bocca di Eusebio. I silenzi possono derivare da cause diverse, visibili in certi casi.

Termino con ciò che nell'enimma di Verona sta primo: i *Boves*, che sappiamo essere le dita che menano la penna.[1] Queste ci sono date da Tatuino, quando dice che la penna adempie il servigio impostole sulla terra *Vincta tribus*; sono i *tres parentes* che *unito ictu* generano le lettere nell'enimmologo italiano; sono comprese nei quattro viandanti dell'anglosassone che parla il suo linguaggio.

Vengono così a manifestarsi per l'indovinello del codice veronese numerose parentele nell'età sua stessa. Eppure rimane sempre più stretta quella che lo lega alle forme che corrono tuttora nel nostro popolo. Dalle quali, grazie ad esso, noi possiamo con sicurezza spingerci dentro a un passato ancor più remoto d'assai. Quando l'enimma dello stilo-aratro che il suo rampollo presuppone sia stato immaginato primamente, non presumo di saper dire: la nascita dell'altro assegnerei al quinto, o forse piuttosto al sesto secolo. Essa richiede, per un rispetto che di buona, di nitida pergamena ci sia ancora una certa abbondanza; per un altro, che della penna si sia divulgato largamente l'uso.

Principalmente dal contenuto resulta, beninteso, la saldezza del legame che unisce la versione veronese dell'enimma con quelle vive tuttora. Ma anche la forma aggiunge qualche cosa che non vuol essere trascurato. Comune la quadripartizione; ed essa si concreta allo stesso modo in quattro brevi versetti. Se non dall'origine, è verosimile che i quattro siano stati di buon'ora collegati fra loro da consonanza.

Chi avrebbe mai immaginato che da una postilla priva affatto di appariscenza e che solo da un occhio espertissimo ha potuto esser letta con sicura esattezza, avesse da sprigionarsi tanta luce?

[1] V. p. 295.

Firenze.

UN MANUSCRIT DE BEDE A LENINGRAD

PAR OLGA DOBIACHE-ROJDESTVENSKY

LA Bibliothèque Publique de Léningrad possède, sous le chiffre *Q. v. I. 18*, un manuscrit très ancien de Bède le Vénérable (672?–735), qui contient son ouvrage *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (terminé en 731). Les destinées en ont été assez singulières.

Il a été décrit, en 1880, très brièvement, par Gillert qui le date du VIII[e] siècle,[1] ainsi qu'Arndt [2] (qui en a donné deux facsimilés), attribution qui a été adoptée par Potthast.[3] Mais le catalogue de Staerk,[4] de 1910, l'attribue au IX[e] siècle et, ce qui est encore plus singulier, M. Charles Plummer le passe sous silence dans son édition critique de l'*Historia Ecclesiastica*.[5] Le fait a été noté en 1909 par M. Alexandre Malein dans une brève notice insérée au *Journal* de l'ancien ministère russe de l'instruction publique.[6] Ayant confronté la disposition générale du texte du *Q. v. I. 18* avec l'étude de M. Plummer, M. Malein aboutit à la conclusion que le manuscrit de Léningrad appartient à la meilleure famille dans la tradition de Bède, se trouvant très proche du manuscrit Moore, le manuscrit très ancien, conservé dans la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Cambridge, et que, sur la foi de gloses marginales, on date de 737.[7]

Professeur M. W. Lindsay donne, à propos de ce manuscrit,[8] la notice suivante: '*Q. v. I. 18*, *Bedae Historia* (from the Harlay Library), *saec.* VIII, anglo-saxon minuscule, by more than one scribe, fol. 161.' Il parait que M. Lindsay a de certaines doutes quant à la date du manuscrit.

[1] K. Gillert, 'Lateinische Handscriften in St Petersburg,' *Neues Archiv* V (1880), 260.

[2] W. Arndt, *Schrifttafeln zur Erlernung d. latein. Palaeographie*, I. Heft (Berlin, 1887), Taf. 9.

[3] A. Potthast, *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi*, 2. Aufl. I, 138, s. v. *Beda*.

[4] A. Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du V[e] au XIII[e] siècle . . . de St-Pétersbourg* (1910).

[5] *Venerabilis Bedae Historia Ecclesiastica* . . . (Oxford, 1896), I, lxxx et suiv. ('les Manuscrits').

[6] *Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения*, Нов. Сер. XXIII (Сент., 1909), 441, 442 ('Петербургская Рукопись *Церковной Истории* Беды').

[7] C. Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, p. lxxx, lxxxix et suiv.

[8] *Notae Latinae* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 487.

dominicae autẽm incarnationis
anno dccxxxi · sncunr nẽno
pãpẽtuo cultũ tẽnu
ẽconiugiulunte impide dur
bnittannia lactãtium inrulie
multae ẽconpiteantun
mãnonice rẽitatir dur ·

Ubum eaquae tẽmponum
diutinctione latur dizẽtu
runt ob mãnonum cõmãnum
dum bneuitũ pẽcapitulum
placuit ·

Anno iznun ante incarna
tionẽm dominicum rxuzẽnno
zuur miur cũrun pnimur
nomunonum bnittannur
bello pulraut ẽmcit nec
tamẽn ibi nẽznum potuit
obtinẽre ·

Anno ubincarnationẽ dñi
xlm clmdur rẽundur
nomunonum bnittannur
adidur plummum inrulie
pantẽm indictionẽm pẽcẽnt
ẽroncadur quoq inrulur
nomãno adidit impẽuio ·

Anno incarnationis dominicae
clxum eleuthũ nomie pnimul
pactur xu annor ẽcliqium ,
zlomoniyrime pẽnit cui bnittẽur
nec bnittannie-luour mittẽur
ut xpianur ẽpiscẽtum pẽcent
ẽmpẽtnunt ·

Anno ab incarnatione dñi
clxxxum reuẽur impẽuton
pactur xuu annr nẽznunt
qui bnittannum nullo unum
urque admune pnidecexit ·

Anno ccclxxxi maximur imbnit
tanu cneatur impẽuton
mzullium tnumpnit ẽzmutiu
num intẽnpẽcit ·

Anno cccevm nomu uzothir
pnuctu ẽzquo tẽmpone nomun
mbnittannia nẽznunre cẽpunnt ·

Anno cccexxx pallidur adrcottor
mxim cnedãrtẽ· aciel ẽrtino
papa pnimur mittitur hircepur ·

Anno cccxlum mupciunur
cum ualẽntiniano impẽnum
purcipiẽr um unmr tenuit ·
quonum tẽmpone anzli abnet
tombur uccẽntri bnittannum
udiẽrunt ·

Planche I

Léningrad, Bibliothèque Publique (Гос. Публ. Библ-ка), *MS. lat. Q. v. I. 18*, fol. 159r

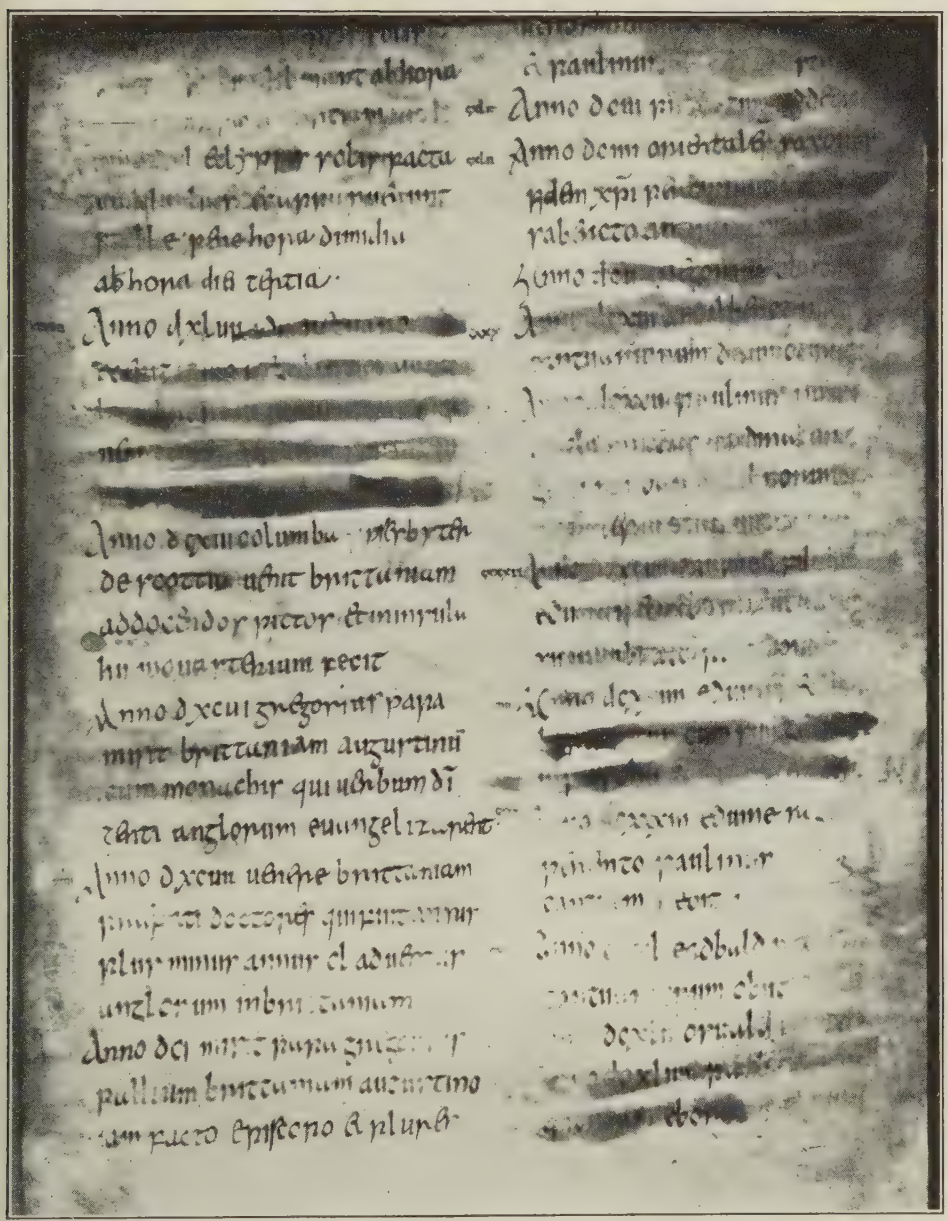

PLANCHE II

Léningrad, Bibliothèque Publique (Гос. Публ. Библ-ка), *MS. lat. Q. v. I. 18*, fol. 159v

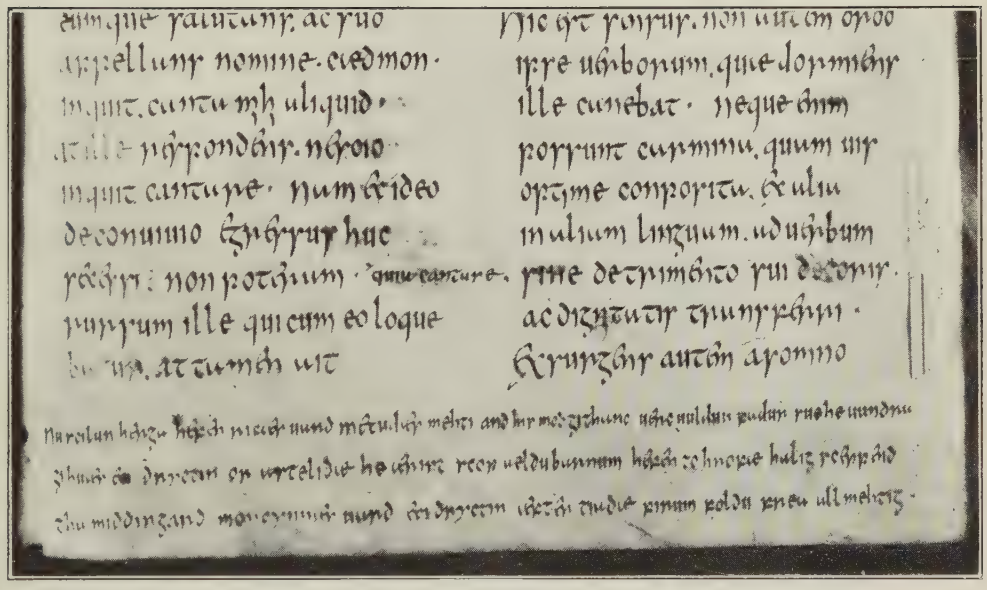

Planche III

Léningrad, Bibliothèque Publique (Гос. Публ. Библ-ка), *MS. lat. Q. v. I. 18*, fol. 107r

Pour nous, l'attribution des Gillert-Arndt et la conclusion du M. Malein, basée, celle-ci, sur l'examen philologique du texte, se trouve confirmée et précisée, jusqu'à aboutir à une date exacte, par des observations relevées sur le manuscrit même.[1]

Le manuscrit *Q. v. I. 18* est un volume en parchemin très fort, bien conservé, dans une reliure de peau brune, aux armes d'Achille Harlay [2] et avec le monogramme 'ADHCDB' sur la souche.[3] Il contient (en dehors de quatre feuilles de papier et deux de parchemin, plus fin que le reste de volume, qui sont blanches), 162 feuilles de texte. La numérotation moderne donne l'indication '161' au dernier feuillet. Mais il faut tenir compte de ce que l'indication '51' est répétée sur deux feuilles voisines. Le feuillet du titre, s'il y en avait, manque, et le numéro '1' se trouve là ou le texte commence par 'INCIPIT PRAEF. BEDAE FAMULI $\overline{\text{XPI}}$.' Le texte finit, au fol. 161, par 'EXPLICIT $\overline{\text{DNO}}$ IUUANTE LIBER QUINTUS HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE GENTIS ANGLORUM BEDA FAMULUS $\overline{\text{DI}}$ INDIGN. . . .' Fait défaut, également, le feuillet qui aurait dû suivre le fol. 159. Le texte de ce folio s'arrêtant au passage: *anno DCLIIII Paulinus quondam Eboraci* (cf. Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, 354, l. 5), le fol. 160 qui le suit est inauguré par les mots: *reuerendissimo abbati Benedicto* (Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, 357, 9). Cette perte est d'autant plus regrettable, que précisément cette feuille-ci aurait pu contribuer à dater le manuscrit.

Ce manuscrit, où était-il écrit? A cette question nous ne saurions pas répondre, ainsi qu' à d'autres: est-ce que, pendant les années 1755 ou 1762, il est entré à Saint-Germain avec d'autres manuscrits de Harlay, pour être en 1791 acquis par Pierre Dubrovsky? [4] fut-il acheté par lui séparément, pour devenir ensuite un trésor inestimable de la Bibliothèque Publique de Léningrad? [5]

En ce qui concerne la dimension du manuscrit, celle de la feuille est 27 cm. × 19 cm., celle du texte, 22 cm. × 15 cm. Malgré Staerk,

[1] La copie du texte proche du manuscrit Moore aurait pu être tardive.

[2] Deux colonnes d'or sur un écu entouré de guirlande et superposé d'une couronne.

[3] Les lettres entrelacées 'ADHCDB' signifient: Achille de Harlay, comte de Beaumont. Cf. J. Guigard, *Armorial du bibliophile* (Paris, 1870–1873), II, 4.

[4] Cf. Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* (Paris, 1868–1881), II, 101–103.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

qui indique 21 cahiers: 'Q. XXI,' le manuscrit n'en contient que 20, de 8 feuilles (*quaternio*) chacun, plus 3 feuilles. Il faut noter, en outre, que les sept premiers cahiers n'ont aucune trace de numérotation ancienne, par *quaterniones*, et que celle-ci ne commence qu'à partir du verso du fol. 63 (Q. VIII), pour être continuée jusqu'au cahier XIX (fol. 151). Le 'Q. XX' ne se retrouve pas au fol. 159.

Excepté la mention '*Ex museo Petri Dubrovsky*,' aux fol. 1 et 161v, le manuscrit n'en contient aucune pouvant aider à reconstituer son histoire.

L'écriture du manuscrit est une belle minuscule hiberno-saxonne pointue, dont l'aspect général la fait dater du VIII[e] siècle. A partir du fol. 67, elle devient plus négligée. Le système des abréviations est excessivement sobre: suppression (non systématique) de *m* et *n* finales, abréviations ordinaires de *per*, *pro* et *prae*, de *qui*, *quae* et *quod*. Pour les contractions il n'y a que $\overline{ihs}$, $\overline{xps}$, $\overline{ds}$, $\overline{dns}$, $\overline{scs}$. Ni *ecclesia*, ni *episcopus*, ni *euangelium* ne sont jamais écrits autrement qu'en toutes lettres.

Très sobres aussi la décoration et coloration du manuscrit. Un G énorme du fol. 1 est fait au minium et décoré d'une série de points. Au fol. 3 le mot entier de BRITTANIA, disposé sur fond de marqueterie, est décoré d'enterlacs et de ramages. Les compartiments isolés de marqueterie sont coloriés de rouge: d'autres, sans doute destinés à l'être de bleu et de jaune (v. ci-dessous), sont restés blancs.

Le fol. 26 est inauguré par un 'HIS' énorme qui est décoré (incipit du Livre ii[e], chap. 1; v. Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, 73). Mêmes entrelacs decoratifs et même marqueterie, coloriés de bleu, jaune, rouge. Le 'H' embrasse la figure (buste) d'un saint (nimbe rouge), qui est évêque (crosse avec une croix, un pallium bleu sur la soutane jaune) et missionnaire (un livre dans sa main gauche). L'inscription 'AGUSTINUS' est, peut-être, postérieure.

Des gloses marginales et interlinéaires, résultats de corrections postérieures, se trouvent au bon nombre de feuillets. Entre celles-là, au fol. 107, à la marge d'en bas, au dessous du texte latin qui raconte l'épisode de Cædmon, on lit une glose en vieil anglais (v. facsimilé — planche III):

Nu scilun herga hefenricæs uard, metudæs mehti and his modgithanc, uerc uuldurfadur, sue he uundra / gihuæs, eci dryctin, or astelidæ. he ærist scop ælda barnum hefen to hrofæ, halig sceppend, / tha middingard moncynnæs uard, eci dryctin, æfter tiadæ firum foldu⟨n⟩, frea allmechtig.[1]

Cette glose n'est indiquée dans aucune description du manuscrit, non plus que les autres, celles du fol. 159 (planches I et II), qui sont, sans doute, contemporaines du manuscrit.

Le texte de *l'Historia Ecclesiastica* est suivi, dans notre manuscrit, comme partout, d'un résumé chronologique dont la fin est, malheureusement, perdue. Aux marges de ce résumé on discerne dans notre manuscrit des notices faites en écriture plus minuscule, mais, sans doute, de la même main que le texte: ce sont les chiffres romains, que tout d'abord on prend pour les indications de chapitres.[2]

La première de ces notices, en face de la ligne 8[e] ('*Verum ea quae temporum distinctione*'), qui est 'XXVIII,' n'a, sans doute, pas d'autre sens. Plus mystérieuse est celle qui la suit: '*ante annos DCCCVI*,' en face du texte du résumé: '*Anno igitur ante incarnationem dominicam sexagesimo*.' La tentation a été grande de voir dans cette glose les traces d'un calcul que le copiste aurait fait *en rétrogradant*, c'est à dire *en partant du terme auquel il écrit*. Interprété selon cette hypothèse, le chiffre 'DCCCVI,' si l'on en extrait le nombre 60 (*ante* J. Ch.) *aurait fixé ce terme à l'an 746*. Ce serait la date vers laquelle *Q. v. I. 18* serait achevé. Conclusion trop séduisante et qu'il faudra vérifier.

La seconde notice qui se trouve en face de l'année '*XLVI post incarnationem*,' n'apporte que des déceptions. Si notre hypothèse était vraie, on devrait s'y attendre à 'DCC.' Or, on y voit 'DCCCXV,' et jusqu' à présent nous n'avons pu en comprendre le sens.

En revanche, la dernière notice de la colonne gauche qui est DLXXVIIII nous justifie: additionée au CLXVII du résumé, elle donne 746. Pour la colonne droite dont la marge est coupée,

[1] La place de ce texte parmi ceux du *Hymne de Cædmon* sera indiquée prochainement par un specialiste du vieil anglais (v. Plummer, II, 251, 252; aussi le feu A. S. Cook, *Speculum* II, [1927], 67–72, traduction anglaise, p. 71).

[2] Confronter l'examen qui suit avec le facsimilé, planche I.

le résultat est moins sûr. Le texte du résumé donne le chiffre CLXXXVIIII. En marge on ne peut discerner que DL. En raison de la coupure, on peut conjecturer un VII supprimé. En additionnant 189 et 557, on obtient 746. C'est la même chose pour la notice suivante, où, ayant dans le résumé CCCLXXXI et dans la glose CCCLX, on y doit conjecturer un V coupé, pour obtenir 746. En face de CCCCVIIII on a CCCXX[XVII?], ce qui aurait donné 746. Pour le verso les choses vont mieux. Dans la

Colonne Gauche

au DXLVII du texte répond, dans la glose, CXCVIIII
DXCVII . . . . . [CX]LVIIII

Colonne Droite

au DCIII CXLIII
DCIIII CXLII
DCXVI CXXX
DCXXV . . . . . C[XXI?]
DCXIV CXXXII
DCXXVII . . . . . [CX]VIIII
DCXXXIII CXIII
DCXL CVI
DCXLII CIV

En somme, les chiffres des colonnes gauches (dans notre table) [1] croissent, pour aboutir, idéalement au moins, à celui de 746. Ceux de la droite diminuent, en descendant vers le zéro (0). L'année 0 = 746, est celle où le copiste a achevé son travail. Où s'arrête réellement la correspondance, on ne le sait guère, la fin du résumé ayant été arrachée, pour provoquer, toujours peut-être, la curiosité des érudits.

En tout cas, sauf le chiffre énigmatique DCCCXV et quelques conjectures qui, du reste, dans le cadre de l'ensemble de la notation marginale, sont plus que probables, l'année 746 se dégage comme celle de l'achèvement du manuscrit.

[1] Elles sont 'droites' dans le manuscrit.

Est-ce chose fréquente que ce système de supputation marginale qui, faute de date finale, *post Incarnationem*, l'aurait remplacée si heureusement?

Les matériaux dont nous disposons ne nous permettent guère de l'établir avec précision et sûreté. En ce qui concerne plus spécialement la tradition de Bède, Plummer donne une indication un peu énigmatique:

> M[oore] . . . the standard MS. . . . Written . . . probably about the year 737, as seems to be shown by the *chronological entries at the end.*[1]

Là-dessus on a une notice plus explicite dans l'édition (1722) de Bède par John Smith, chanoine de Durham:

> Codex MS. omnium uetustissimus . . . hodieque in Bibliotheca Regia Cantabrigiae asseruatur, antiquioribus literis Anglo-saxonicis exaratus circa annum 737, post nostri auctoris obitum secundum, ut patet *ex quibusdam notulis chronologicis* ad calcem libri positis, quae in hunc annum concurrunt.[2]

Les *notulae*, les coïncidences, citées par Smith, et qui sont, dans sa référence, moins nombreuses que celles du *Q. v. I. 18*, leur sont symétriques:

> Baptisauit Paulinus ante annum CXI.

C'est, sans doute, le baptême d'Eanfled qui est entendu, ayant eu lieu en 626.[3] Or 626 + 111 = 737, etc.[4]

Il parait donc évident que les deux manuscrits appliquent le même système. Daté d'après ce système, le MS. *Q. v. I. 18* serait de neuf années plus jeune que le manuscrit Moore. Il serait de onze années postérieur à la mort de Bède. Cette date établie, on obtient, en même temps, celle de cette minuscule dans laquelle le *Q. v. I. 18* est écrit, comme celle de la décoration coloriée. Le nombre de

[1] Plummer, *op. cit.* I, lxxxix.

[2] Smith, *ed. cit.*, Praefatio, sig. C, fol. 2r, *ad fin.*

[3] *Hist. Eccl.* ii, 9 (Plummer I, 99; v. Index, II, 452, 453); cf. *Hist. Eccl.* v, 24 (*ed. cit.*, I, 353).

[4] Smith (dans *Patr. Lat.*) cite encore la notice *ante an. LVIII*, celle de la mort d'Ælfwini qui a eu lieu *anno DCLXXVIII post Incarnationem* (Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, 354, 385); 679 + 58 = 737. Mais d'autres gloses citées par cette édition ne donnent pas ce chiffre.

points de repère pour la datation de ces eléments se trouve multiplié par un fait précis.

A ce qui est dit nous voudrions ajouter quelques considérations plus générales et formuler une question à laquelle répondront peut-être des investigateurs mieux armés.

On connait l'importance de l'œuvre de Bède pour les idées et les systèmes chronologiques de son époque. La *De Temporum Ratione* qui devint le schema, la partition, pourrait-on dire, de cette symphonie sublime de l'univers et de l'histoire humaine que le génie puissant de Bède a embrassée, fut l'objet de l'admiration du monde latin. Dans les calculs de ses chroniques, dans les systèmes de ses calendriers ce monde latin s'appuya, des siècles durant, sur les modèles donnés, ou censés être donnés, par Bède.

On sait très bien: c'est en Angleterre que, le plus tôt de l'Europe transalpine, on a commencé à dater les chartres d'après l'ère chrétienne.[1] Bède fut le premier qui, après avoir fait le calcul des tables de Pâques jusqu'à 1063,[2] a appliqué ce mode de supputation à son œuvre historique. La satisfaction du fait nouvellement accepté se ressent dans la sympathie avec laquelle il indique les usages analogues de Rome: [3]

> Denique anno ab eius Incarnatione iuxta Dionysium septingentesimo primo, indictione quarta decima, fratres nostri qui fuere Romae hoc modo se in Natale Domini in cereis sanctae Mariae scriptum uidisse, et inde descripsisse referebant: 'a passione Domini nostri Iesu Christi anni sunt DCLXVIIII.' [4]

N'est-il pas tout-à-fait naturel que les problèmes et les considérations chronologiques aient trouvé un écho dans les cercles des fidèles et des amis de Bède? Peut-être des applications variées de

[1] A. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), p. 89; voir aussi ci-dessus, J. Earle, *A Hand-Book to the Land-charters, and other Saxonic Documents* (Oxford, 1888), pp. xxviii–xxxvi.

[2] 'Quod ut apertius clarescat, placuit eundem plenario ordine circulum praesenti opusculo praeponere, sumpto exordio a quingentesimo tricesimo secundo dominicae Incarnationis anno, ubi primum Dionysius circulum coepit et perducto opere usque ad millesimum sexagesimum tertium eiusdem sacrosanctae Incarnationis annum, quatenus legentes . . .' (v. p. 321 *infra*). *De Ratione Temporum*, lxv, *Patr. Lat.* XC, 520.

[3] Cf. Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, xl, xli, et *ibid.*, II, 348–353.

[4] *Patr. Lat.* XC, 495.

la supputation récemment inventée furent tentées dans cette époque, pleine d'audace d'expériences computistes:

Quatenus legentes quique non solum presentem uel futurum prospicere, sed et preteritum omnem . . . statum temporis inenarrabilem possent intuitu respicere, atque ad dilucidationem priscae lectionis annos omnes qui aliquando ad questionem uenerant, quando uel quales fuerint euidenter agnoscant.[1]

En est-il resté, peut-être, de traces dans plus d'un manuscrit, si proche de Bède, comme ceux de 737 et 746 l'étaient, et issu du berceau même de cet enthousiasme computiste qui fut excité par le maître, récemment défunt, de la *De Temporum Ratione?*

[1] Voir p. 320, n. 2.

Léningrad.

SUR LE *IESU DULCIS MEMORIA*

Par ETIENNE GILSON

BARTHÉLEMY HAURÉAU a rendu de grands services à l'histoire de la philosophie médiévale; il l'aimait assurément et la servait, mais à sa façon, et l'on reste parfois déconcerté devant la manière dont il croyait devoir la servir. C'est ainsi que, pour défendre la mémoire de S. Bernard, il entreprit un jour de démontrer l'inauthenticité de tous les poèmes publiés sous son nom. Par quelle suite curieuse de raisonnements il en était venu à cette conclusion, on va pouvoir en juger:

> Saint Bernard fut l'ennemi le plus acharné de nos amis, les philosophes, sectateurs d'Aristote ou de Platon. On nous pardonnera de lui en garder rancune. Mais ce ressentiment ne nous empêche pas de porter le plus vif intérêt à sa gloire littéraire, et elle nous semblait gravement compromise par les copistes et les éditeurs qui s'étaient arrogé le droit de nous offrir sous son nom tant d'œuvres de fabrique étrangère, indignes, pour la plupart, de voir le jour. Le vrai saint Bernard n'était pas seulement un homme d'un esprit supérieur; c'était encore un écrivain, qui s'était fait, en lisant beaucoup, une langue personnelle; en lisant Sénèque non moins peut-être que saint Jérome et saint Augustin. Cette langue n'est pas, à la vérité, sans défauts; il y a de la rudesse et de l'enflure; mais toujours on y reconnait l'intention, toujours on y constate l'expérience littéraire. Notre devoir était de montrer que cet écrivain n'a rien de commun avec les plats rimailleurs dont on a mis les œuvres à sa charge, et ce devoir il nous a plu de le remplir.[1]

Tel est Barthélemy Hauréau — sévère mais juste. Ce saint Bernard, qui a fait condamner Abélard et persécuta le père du rationalisme moderne, ne lui dit rien qui vaille; les ennemis de nos amis sont nos ennemis et, entre Hauréau et lui, un compte reste à régler. Mais d'autre part, saint Bernard est un bon prosateur et Barthélemy Hauréau est une conscience droite; il argumentera donc à peu près ainsi:

[1] B. Hauréau, *Des poèmes latins attribués à Saint Bernard* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1890), pp. 97, 98; cf. E. Vacandard, *Revue des questions historiques* XLIX (1891), 218 f.

Un bon prosateur ne saurait écrire de mauvais vers
Or saint Bernard est un bon prosateur
Donc il n'a pas écrit ces mauvais vers.

Ayant dit, la dialectique de Barthélemy Hauréau va rejoindre sa conscience morale, pour jouir avec elle d'une satisfaction méritée.

Cette extraordinaire suite d'arguments est d'autant plus incompréhensible que, sur le fonds de la question, Hauréau avait probablement raison et que, sans elle, il aurait eu largement de quoi prouver l'incertitude des attributions traditionnellement acceptées. Ce qui résulte en effet de son mémoire c'est que, dans l'état actuel de la question, aucun des poèmes attribués à S. Bernard ne lui est attribué par un témoignage manuscrit antérieur au XIV^{e} siècle; les manuscrits plus anciens ne contiennent ces poèmes que sans nom d'auteur; Hauréau pouvait donc légitimement conclure de l'enquête très consciencieuse et très étendue à laquelle il s'est livré que pas un seul des poèmes traditionnellement attribués à S. Bernard ne présente une réelle garantie d'authenticité.

Malheureusement pour lui cet excellent érudit avait une conscience incorruptible et c'est cette conscience qui l'a perdu. Car pour venger complètement la mémoire littéraire de ce S. Bernard qu'il n'aimait pas, Hauréau n'a pas jugé suffisant de prouver que rien ne garantissait l'attribution de ces poèmes à S. Bernard, il a cru devoir prouver encore que les poèmes ne pouvaient absolument pas lui être attribués. Dans ces conditions le problème devenait évidemment beaucoup plus compliqué, car même en admettant l'étonnante majeure qu'un tel raisonnement implique, il reste encore à se mettre d'accord sur le fait que les poèmes en question sont mauvais. Le sont ils?

Efforçons nous à notre tour d'être juste; beaucoup d'entre eux, presque tous même, le sont, et nous aimerions mieux les voir attribués à Cornificius qu'à S. Bernard. Mais il en reste malgré tout quelques uns dans le nombre qui ne nous semblent pas si méprisables, et il en est un surtout, où nous avons toujours eu la faiblesse de voir l'une des expressions le plus émouvantes de la piété médiévale, le *Iesu dulcis memoria*. Nous n'avons jamais pu lire cette pièce sans admirer

la vivacité de ses images, sans jouir pleinement de sa musicalité si raffinée, de son mouvement aisé, fluide, et surtout sans être ému de l'exquise tendresse religieuse dont elle est pleine. Or qu'en pense Barthélemy Hauréau?

Cette pièce, déclare-t-il sans hésiter, 'si longue qu'elle soit, n'offre aucun trait original. L'inspiration en est pieuse, d'une piété vive et soutenue; mais, ce qui fait le mérite d'un poème, l'invention, le charme du style, le judicieux emploi des figures, tout cela manque dans cette amplification mystique.' On tremble en pensant à ce que pourrait être un 'judicieux emploi des figures' selon la *Rhétorique* de José-Victor Le Clerc et le goût de Barthélemy Hauréau. Mais il faut aller plus loin. Après avoir établi que l'attribution du poème à S. Bernard, quoique tardive, avait eu une fortune telle que Horstius, en 1641, n'avait admis que celui-là comme authentique, et que Mabillon, sans avoir appris rien de sûr à son sujet, n'avait pas cru pouvoir l'exclure de son édition, Hauréau ajoute: 'Nous croyons être en mesure de prouver qu'ayant acquis une si parfaite connaissance du style propre à l'abbé de Clairvaux, Mabillon a judicieusement pensé qu'un tel écrivain ne devait pas être considéré comme l'auteur certain d'un si méchant poème.' [1] Ainsi l'érudit n'entend plus seulement établir que le poème ne peut pas être authentique, mais encore que Mabillon n'a pu croire qu'il l'était. Et en voici les raisons. D'abord le poème n'est attribué à S. Bernard que par des manuscrits dont la plupart sont du XV^e^ siècle et dont 'les plus anciens paraissent du XIV^e^.' Il serait intéressant de savoir si 'paraissent' signifie que les manuscrits pourraient être à la rigueur du XV^e^ ou au contraire du XIII^e^. Mais passons ce point, car ce n'est pas une considération de ce genre qui pourrait faire hésiter Hauréau; il sait *a priori* que la pièce n'est pas authentique; elle était, avant le XIV^e^ siècle, quoique très goûtée, d'un auteur ignoré. 'Il fallait s'en tenir à cette ignorance; il le fallait, nous le répétons, dans l'intérêt bien entendu de saint Bernard. *Toute cette pièce est, en effet, de la plus grande inconvenance* et nous hésitons même à croire qu'elle soit du rimeur tudertain (J. de Todi).' Puis ayant rappelé une parole de Bayle qui reproche aux poètes religieux de faire tort à l'Evangile par leurs vers

[1] B. Hauréau, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

pleins d'extravagances, de bassesses et de fictions ridicules, Hauréau conclut: 'Si Bayle avait connu les poèmes dévots du XIV^e^, du XV^e^ siècle, il les aurait certainement jugés, pour la plupart, encore plus extravagants et plus ridicules que ceux de son temps.' [1]

Nous n'avons nullement l'intention de prouver que le *Iesu dulcis memoria* soit de S. Bernard, car nous considérons avec Hauréau que, dans l'état actuel de la question, son authenticité ne présente aucune garantie; nous n'entendons pas établir non plus que le poème soit beau, car ce sont là questions d'esthétique sur lesquelles on peut argumenter mais non prouver; nous voudrions simplement montrer que, authentique ou non, ce poème est entièrement animé de l'esprit de S. Bernard, qu'au lieu d'être une 'amplification mystique,' il est au contraire la somme où se trouve condensé en formules rigoureusement précises tout l'enseignement de l'abbé de Citeaux et que par conséquent, bien loin d'être 'de la plus grande inconvenance,' cette pièce d'abord anonyme devait nécessairement apparaitre à toute la tradition comme éminemment convenable au génie de S. Bernard. Le poème n'est peut-être pas de lui, mais il peut en être et il est même naturel qu'on le lui attribue, à lui ou à quelque disciple imprégné de son esprit. Nos conclusions n'iront pas au delà, et nous ne commettrons pas l'indiscrétion de sonder les intentions secrètes du vénérable Mabillon.

Sans vouloir donner le *Iesu dulcis memoria* pour un modèle de composition, on peut observer qu'il comporte cependant un certain ordre, et que, sans doute par ignorance de la doctrine mystique à laquelle il correspond, Hauréau ne l'a même pas soupçonné.[2]

Le poème débute par une introduction qui définit la présence mystique de Dieu dans l'âme comme la joie suprême. Nous donnons ce début en entier pour permettre à ceux qui ne connaissent pas la pièce de s'en former quelque idée:

Iesu dulcis memoria Dans uera cordi gaudia;
Sed super mel et omnia Eius dulcis praesentia.

Nil canitur suauius, Nil auditur iucundius
Nil cogitatur dulcius, Quam Iesus Dei filius.

[1] B. Hauréau, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[2] Nous citerons d'après le texte de l'édition de Mabillon, *S. Bernardi opera omnia* (1667), II, 288. Cf. Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CLXXXIV, 1317.

Iesu spes poenitentibus, Quam pius es petentibus
Quam bonus te quaerentibus, Sed quid inuenientibus?

Iesu dulcedo cordium, Fons uiuus, lumen mentium,
Excedens omne gaudium, Et omne desiderium.

Nec lingua ualet dicere, Nec littera exprimere,
Expertus potest credere, Quid sit Iesum diligere.

Suit une invitation à aimer ce Dieu si aimable et à lui rendre amour pour amour; elle va de la strophe:

Iesum quaeram in lectulo, Clauso cordis cubiculo,

à la strophe:

Sic amantem diligite, Amoris uicem reddite.

L'âme, docile à cette invitation, commence alors une longue série d'appels et d'invocations à Jésus, qui se font de plus en plus pressantes:

Desidero te millies Mi Iesu, quando uenies?
Me laetum quando facies? Me de te quando saties?

O Iesu mi dulcissime, Spes suspirantis animae,
Te quaerunt piae lacrymae, Te clamor mentis intimae

jusqu'à ce qu'enfin, vaincu par tant de larmes et de ferveur, Jésus se laisse toucher et consent à descendre dans cette âme aimante. Joie suprême, ardeur totale:

Iam quod quaesiui, uideo; Quod concupiui, teneo.
Amore Iesu langueo, Et corde totus ardeo.

Mais, hélas! ce n'est qu'un éclair, et Jésus est déjà reparti, laissant l'âme pantelante d'un amour qui ne s'éteindra plus:

Hic amor missus caelitus, Haeret mihi medullitus
Mentem incendit penitus, Hoc delectatur spiritus.

O beatum incendium, Et ardens desiderium,
O dulce refrigerium, Amare Dei filium!

Séparée d'un bien sans lequel elle ne peut plus vivre, l'âme veut du moins suivre celui qui s'en va loin d'elle. Qu'il emporte notre cœur s'il ne veut y demeurer; ou que nous partions avec lui s'il ne veut rester avec nous:

Sequar te quoquo ieris, Mihi tolli non poteris
Cum meum cor abstuleris, Iesus laus nostri generis.

Jésus est parti, il s'en va, et l'âme aimante invite les bienheureux à l'accueillir:

Caeli ciues occurrite, Portas uestras attollite,
Triumphatori dicite, Aue Iesu rex inclyte!

L'hymne joyeux s'élève encore; il accompagne le sauveur dans sa remontée vers le ciel. C'est fini. Pour longtemps encore Jésus est rentré dans sa paix inaccessible, dans cette gloire béatifique à laquelle nous aspirons, dont l'union mystique n'était qu'une prémice fugitive et qui ne sera définitivement nôtre qu'après la mort:

Iesus in pace imperat, Quae omnem sensum superat;
Hanc mea mens desiderat, Et ea frui properat.

Iesus ad patrem rediit, Caeleste regnum subiit,
Cor meum a me transiit, Post Iesum simul abiit.

Quem prosequamur laudibus, Votis, hymnis et precibus
Ut nos donet caelestibus Secum perfrui sedibus.

Mélancolie de l'âme voyagère qui soupire après la Patrie: 'loin d'elle son cœur est passé, après Jésus s'en est allé.' Il n'y a certes point là cette 'invention' ni ce 'judicieux emploi des figures' que regrettait Barthélemy Hauréau; mais le moine inconnu qui se servait de son latin de tous les jours pour exprimer ainsi les nuances les plus délicates de sa vie intérieure était certainement une âme d'une qualité exquise et il faut avoir un manuscrit à la place du cœur pour ne pas sentir que c'était un artiste.

Or, ce que cet artiste exprime, c'est exactement la mystique de S. Bernard, et il suffit de connaître la doctrine des *Sermons sur le Cantique des Cantiques* ou du traité *De l'amour de Dieu* pour être à même de s'en assurer. Peut-être n'est il pas inutile d'observer d'abord que, non seulement Hauréau, mais même les anciens éditeurs du poème n'en ont pas aperçu le véritable sujet. Le titre donné par Mabillon: *Iubilus rhythmicus in commemorationem Dominicae passionis* n'a, comme on l'a vu par l'analyse qui précède, rien de commun avec le contenu du poème. On peut en dire autant des titres rapportés par Hauréau et contre lesquels il n'élève aucune

protestation: *Iubilus de nomine Iesu,* — *Iubilus uel stimulus compassionis de nomine Iesu.* Ce n'est ni de passion, ni de compassion, ni du nom de Jésus qu'il s'agit ici, mais simplement de l'amour de Dieu; le vrai titre du poème serait celui du célèbre traité de S. Bernard: *De diligendo Deo.*[1]

Cet amour de Dieu, l'auteur du poème le conçoit en effet exactement comme S. Bernard; ce n'est pas simplement une aspiration plus ou moins vague vers une récompense problématique, c'est la joie parfaite elle-même. L'amour de Dieu n'est pas la promesse d'un bien, c'est le bien: *Bonum mihi diligere Iesum, nil ultra quaerere* Au moment où le poète jouit enfin de l'union mystique, c'est encore l'amour qui constitue la substance de son bonheur même: *Amore Iesu langueo, Et corde totus ardeo.* C'est donc ici une seule et même chose que de parler de l'union mystique, ou de la joie parfaite, ou du souverain bien, ou de l'amour de Dieu.

En second lieu le poème insiste à différentes reprises sur ce caractère essentiel de l'union mystique; on ne peut la décrire et celui-là seul qui l'a éprouvé peut savoir en quoi elle consiste. Le terme technique par lequel le poète désigne cette connaissance directe de l'amour de Dieu et de la joie ineffable qu'il confère c'est: expérience. *Nec lingua ualet dicere, Nec littera exprimere; Expertus potest credere, Quid sit Iesum diligere.*

Un troisième caractère de l'amour béatifiant de Dieu, c'est qu'il se refuse à ceux qui ne le cherchent pas avec ardeur ou qui le cherchent avec les yeux du corps au lieu de le chercher avec les yeux intérieurs de l'âme: *Iesum quaeram in lectulo, Clauso cordis cubiculo.* — *Clamore cordis querulo, Mente quaeram, non oculo.* — *Te quaerunt piae lacrymae, Te clamor mentis intimae.*

Une quatrième conception mystique affirmée par le poète est que le désir n'est exaucé qu'au moment où l'amour de Dieu tient son objet, possède Jésus et jouit véritablement de sa présence. Les expressions qu'il emploie sont formelles à cet égard. C'est vers cette

[1] Ou encore, selon le titre que donne un manuscrit de Vaulx-Cernay: *Meditatio cuiusdam sanctae Virginis de amore Christi;* dans la *Patr. Lat.*, CLXXXIV, 1307. Cf. Vacandart, *art. cit.*, p. 227, note 1. Le fait que ce titre correspond exactement au contenu du poème inclinerait l'esprit à admettre l'origine féminine qu'il lui attribue; elle s'accorderait d'ailleurs bien avec le caractère de l'œuvre.

possession mystique que tend son désir: *Quam laetus cum inuenero! Quam felix cum tenuero!* C'est bien cette réussite qu'il proclame au moment de l'union mystique: *Iam quod quaesiui uideo; Quod concupiui teneo,* et surtout: *Iesu mi bone, sentiam Amoris tui copiam, Da mihi per praesentiam Tuam uidere gloriam.* L'amour de Dieu est un avant-goût de la vision béatifique.

Le cinquième caractère de cet amour c'est que sa pleine satisfaction est transitoire; il béatifie, mais pour un instant et il ne dure pas. Comment durerait il d'ailleurs, s'il est vraiment une prémice du royaume des cieux: *Tunc amplexus, tunc oscula, Quae uincunt mellis pocula, Tunc felix Christi copula, Sed in his parua morula.* [1]

Une sixième caractéristique de l'amour de Dieu c'est qu'une fois saisi par l'âme, elle ne l'abandonne plus; non pas en ce sens qu'elle en jouisse d'une manière permanente, mais en ce sens que l'union divine laisse en elle une soif toujours plus ardente de renouvellement: *Replens sine fastidio, Dans famem desiderio. — Qui te gustant esuriunt; Qui bibunt adhuc sitiunt,* et encore: *Affulge menti clarius, Iam expectatus saepius.* L'amour de Dieu se nourrit et s'enflamme de ses propres satisfactions.

Même pendant les intervalles où Jésus demeure absent et se refuse à l'âme, elle ne reste pas sans compensations. L'union mystique n'a pas en effet de résultats que dans l'ordre de la contemplation, elle en a aussi dans l'ordre de la perfection morale et religieuse. Le passage de Jésus laisse l'âme humaine meilleure et moins indigne de lui qu'il ne l'a trouvée; d'abord elle apperçoit plus clairement la vérité et progresse dans l'ordre de la connaissance; ensuite elle se retrouve plus complètement dépouillée de l'amour du siècle et détachée de la vanité du monde; enfin elle brule intérieurement de la flamme de la charité. Ces trois effets sont énoncés de la manière la plus précise dans la deuxième des strophes suivantes:

> Mane nobiscum Domine, Et nos illustra lumine,
> Pulsa mentis caligine, Mundum replens dulcedine.

[1] Nous ne voyons guère que ces expressions qui aient pu choquer Hauréau et lui faire trouver ce poème inconvenant. Faut-il rappeler qu'elles sont de l'ordre le plus habituel dans la littérature mystique du moyen âge et se rattachent directement au commentaire du *Cantique des Cantiques?*

Quando cor nostrum uisitas, Tunc lucet ei ueritas,
Mundi uilescit uanitas, Et intus feruet caritas.

Reste enfin une huitième idée, qui tient une place importante dans le poème, c'est celle qui nous indique la source et la raison de l'amour que nous devons porter à Dieu. Aimer Jésus, ce n'est que lui rendre une partie de son amour pour nous; amour qu'il a prouvé par sa passion:

Hoc probat eius passio, Hoc sanguinis effusio,
Per quam nobis redemptio Datur, et Dei uisio,

et que par conséquent nous avons le devoir de reconnaître en l'aimant à notre tour:

Sic amantem diligite, Amoris uicem reddite,
In hunc odorem currite, Et uota uotis reddite.

Telles sont les conceptions essentielles dont le développement constitute la matière du poème; cette 'amplification mystique' n'est peut-être donc pas aussi vide qu'elle semble à ceux qui ne discernent pas les doctrines mystiques sur lesquelles elle repose; nous allons montrer maintenant que ces doctrines et les formules qui les expriment sont celles mêmes de S. Bernard.

D'abord les premières strophes du poème sont littéralement empruntées à S. Bernard et M. l'abbé Vacandard qui pense avoir prouvé à son tour qu'aucune des proses ou hymnes attribués à saint Bernard n'est de lui, reconnaît cependant cette évidente filiation. S. Bernard a toujours considéré l'amour divin, porté à son degré le plus haut, comme la joie parfaite: *plane infusio gaudiorum.* [1] Or voici comment un *Sermon* de l'abbé de Citeaux, reproduit d'ailleurs par le *De diligendo Deo*, décrit cette joie: *Bonus es, Domine, animae quaerenti te. Si quaerenti, quanto magis inuenienti? Si tam dulcis est memoria, qualis erit praesentia? Si mel et lac dulce est sub lingua, quid erit super linguam?* [2] L'analogie est frappante entre ce texte

[1] S. Bernard, *In Canticum Canticorum*, II, 2.

[2] S. Bernard, *Sermones de diuersis*, IV, 1. Le même thème se retrouve dans *De diligendo Deo*, IV, 11, mais employé en sens inverse: *proinde quem suauem in memoria non sentitis, asperum procul dubio in praesentia sentietis.* — Ce thème se souvient peut-être du *Ps.*, 144, 7: *Memoriam abundantiae suauitatis tuae eructabunt* . . . et 8: *Suauis Dominus uniuersis* . . . — Le *super mel et omnia* évoque *Ecclesiasticus*, XXIV, 27.

et les première et troisième strophes du poème que nous avons citées plus haut; or ce sont là des thèmes familiers à S. Bernard: *Dei ergo quaerentibus et suspirantibus praesentiam praesto interim et dulcis memoria est, non tamen qua satientur, sed qua magis esuriant ut satientur.* Ou encore: *Bonus es, Domine, animae quaerenti te. Quid ergo inuenienti?* [1] Le *bonus es* appartient à l'Écriture autant qu'il est possible d'affirmer ces choses, mais le *quid ergo inuenienti* semble bien appartenir à S. Bernard et s'il n'est le poète qui l'a écrit il est le modèle que le poète a copié.

Cette joie est indescriptible et ne peut être connue que par expérience directe; après le *Iesu dulcis memoria* et le *quid inuenientibus*, c'est le thème de l'*expertus potest credere*. Rien de plus aisé que de trouver un texte où s'affirme l'expérimentalisme mystique de S. Bernard: *Hodie legimus in libro experientiae,* [2] ou encore: *Porro in huiusmodi non capit intelligentia nisi quantum experientia attingit.* [3] Ce n'est peut-être pas S. Bernard qui a mis cette dernière phrase en vers, mais s'il eût essayé il n'eût probablement pas fait mieux.

Que cette joie unique doive être cherchée par l'âme plutôt que par les yeux, c'est encore une doctrine sur laquelle a insisté l'abbé de Citeaux. Il n'admet l'amour sensible, imaginatif et, comme il le dit, charnel du Christ que pour nous élever à un amour supérieur.[4] Si l'on osait prononcer une parole en faveur de l'émouvant:

Salue caput cruentatum,
Totum spinis coronatum,
Conquassatum, uulneratum,
Arundine uerberatum,
Facie sputis illita,

pour lequel Hauréau n'éprouve que mépris,[5] on dirait qu'il correspond à ce premier moment de l'amour parfait. Le deuxième est celui vers lequel tend le poète du *Iesu dulcis memoria*, que peut seule

[1] S. Bernard, *De diligendo Deo*, VII, 22. (Cf. *Lamentationes Ieremiae*, III, 25.)— Voir aussi *De diligendo Deo*, IV, 12.

[2] S. Bernard, *In Cant. Cant.* III, 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXII, 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, XX, 6–8.

[5] 'Ajoutons que ce long poème est illisible. L'auteur s'est vraiment torturé, cela paraît bien, pour faire preuve d'esprit; mais il n'y a pas réussi; ce dont il a du se contenter, pour prix de toute sa peine, est ou grossier ou banal.' B. Hauréau, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

atteindre l'âme libérée des sens, et qu'elle n'atteindra d'ailleurs complètement qu'après la mort.[1]

Dans la mesure cependant où elle l'atteint dès ici-bas elle tient déjà son objet et saisit en quelque manière son Dieu; sur ce point encore nous constatons que le poète et le Docteur expriment la même doctrine. Le baiser dont parle le *Cantique des Cantiques: osculetur me osculo oris sui*, exprime précisément cette présence et ce contact: *sed ipse me osculetur osculo oris sui, cuius gratiosa praesentia et admirandae fluentia docrinae fiant in me fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam.* [2] Il désigne plus loin ce contact comme une *mira quaedam et quodammodo indiscreta commixtio superni luminis et illuminatae mentis.* Le célèbre développement du *De diligendo Deo: O amor sanctus et castus, o dulcis et suauis affectio . . . eo suauior et dulcior quo totum diuinum est quod sentitur; sic affici, deificari est*, avec toutes les comparaisons qui l'illustrent, exprime le même sentiment.[3] Ajoutons d'ailleurs que l'exclamation du *Cantique des Cantiques*, longuement commentée par S. Bernard: *Dilectus meus mihi et ego illi*, suffit à rendre compte des expressions dont use le poète: *quod concupiui teneo.*[4]

Que cet embrassement soit à la fois délicieux et fugitif, c'est encore un point sur lequel le poète suit fidèlement S. Bernard et qu'ils expriment exactement dans les mêmes termes. S. Bernard enseigne en effet: *Sed est locus ubi uere quiescens et quietus cernitur Deus, locus omnino non iudicis, non magistri, sed sponsi, et qui mihi quidem (nam de aliis nescio) plane cubiculum sit, si quando in illum contigerit introduci. Sed heu, rara hora, et parua mora!* [5] On a reconnu le passage du poème qui scandalisait Hauréau:

> Tunc amplexus, tunc oscula Quae uincunt mellis pocula;
> Tunc felix Christi copula, Sed in his parua morula.

De l'union mystique entre l'âme et Dieu naît un désir plus ardent encore de la renouveler; ce sixième thème du poème latin est encore

[1] S. Bernard, *De diligendo Deo*, X, 29.
[2] *In Cant. Cant.*, II, 2.
[3] *De diligendo Deo*, X, 28.
[4] *In Cant. Cant.*, LXVII, 1–3.
[5] *In Cant. Cant.*, XXIII, 15. Cf. à la fin de ce texte: *O si durasset!* Et aussi: *O modicum longum, ibid.*, LXXIV, 4.

emprunté à S. Bernard, et c'est même dans ces alternatives perpétuelles de présences divines et de désirs qu'il voit l'essence de la vie intérieure:

Verum quia haec omnia ubi abscesserit Verbum, perinde ac si ollae bullienti subtraxeris ignem, quodam illico languore torpentia et frigida iacere incipiunt, atque hoc mihi signum abscessionis eius, tristis sit necesse est anima mea, donec iterum reuertatur, et solito recalescat cor meum intra me, idque sit reuersionis iudicium. Tale sane experimentum de Verbo habens, quid mirum si et ego usurpo mihi uocem sponsae in reuocando illum cum se absentauerit, qui etsi non pari, simili tamen uel ex parte desiderio feror? Familiare mihi erit quoad uixero pro Verbi reuocatione reuocationis Verbum, quod utique *reuertere* est. Et quoties elabetur, toties repetetur a me, nec cessabo clamitare quasi post tergum abeuntis ardenti desiderio cordis ut redeat, et reddat mihi laetitiam salutaris sui, reddat mihi seipsum.[1]

Cette fois encore nous retrouvons une parole du *Cantique* et du poète: *Mi dilecte reuertere . . .*

Les effets bienfaisants de la présence de Jésus sont notés de la même manière par S. Bernard et par l'auteur du poème latin: charité, lumière, domination de la chair:

Viuum et efficax est, moxque ut intus uenit, expergefecit dormitantem animam meam, mouit et molliuit et uulnerauit cor meum, quoniam durum lapideumque erat et male sanum. Coepit quoque euellere et destruere, aedificare et plantare, rigare arida, tenebrosa illuminare clausa reserare, frigida inflammare . . . Tantum ex motu cordis, sicut praefatus sum, intellexi praesentiam eius, et ex fuga uitiorum, carnaliumque compressione affectuum aduerti potentiam uirtutis eius . . .[2]

Enfin S. Bernard ne connaît pas plus que le poète d'autre raison d'aimer Jésus que Jésus: *Causa diligendi Deum Deus est.*[3] Il s'est le premier donné à nous et pour nous, comment ne pas lui rendre son amour? *Quid enim melius seipso poterat dare uel ipse? Ergo si Dei meritum quaeritur, cum ipsum diligendi causa quaeritur, illud est*

[1] *In Cant. Cant.*, LXXIV, 7. Cf. également: 'Non est reuersus sponsus ad uocem et uotum reuocantis. Quare? Ut desiderium crescat, ut probetur affectus, ut exerceatur amoris negotium. Sane ergo dissimulatio est, non indignatio. Sed superest ut quaeratur, si forte reperiatur quaesitus, qui uocatus non uenit dicente Domino: *omnis qui quaerit inuenit.* Porro uerbum reuocationis tale est; *Reuertere* . . . Ad quam uocem dum non est reuersus, utique ob illas causas quae dictae sunt; hinc ista quae amat facta cupidior . . . etc., *ibid.*, LXXV, 1.

[2] *In Cant. Cant.*, LXXIV, 6.

[3] *De diligendo Deo*, I, 1.

praecipuum: quia ipse prior dilexit nos. Dignus plane quis redametur . . .[1] C'est exactement le thème du poète inconnu:

Sic amantem diligite, Amoris uicem reddite.

Quel est donc ce poète? Pas plus qu'Horstius, Mabillon et Hauréau nous ne sommes en mesure de le dire. Établir que le poème latin se meut entièrement dans le cercle des idées familières à S. Bernard ce n'est aucunement établir qu'il appartient à S. Bernard. Montrer que des expressions identiques ont été plusieurs fois employées par le poète et le mystique n'est pas prouver qu'ils ne soient qu'un seul et même personnage;[2] un poète, disciple de S. Bernard, peut avoir interprété librement les idées de son maître et repris quelques unes de ses expressions familières sans que rien nous permette de le distinguer de son maître. Nous n'affirmons donc pas que le *Iesu dulcis memoria* soit l'œuvre de l'abbé de Citeaux, mais nous osons affirmer par contre que l'œuvre n'est aucunement indigne de lui, qu'elle n'est pas un verbiage creux comme le soutenait Hauréau, que son contenu nous offre au contraire une poétique description de la vie mystique telle que S. Bernard la concevait et qu'enfin, jusque dans le détail même du poème et dans certaines des expressions caractéristiques dont il use, on peut retrouver l'empreinte laissée par le génie du grand mystique médiéval. Si ce n'en est assez pour légitimer l'attribution du poème à S. Bernard, c'en est assez du moins pour expliquer que des copistes et des éditeurs intelligents, retrouvant dans les strophes du poète la langue, la pensée et l'ardeur vive de S. Bernard, n'aient pas cru devoir hésiter à le lui attribuer.

[1] *De diligendo Deo*, I, 1. Et encore: 'Amat ergo immensitas, amat aeternitas, amat supereminens scientiae caritas, amat Deus . . . *cujus pax exsuperat omnem intellectum* (*Philipp. 4*) et uicem rependimus cum mensura?' *De diligendo Deo*, VI, 16. On a reconnu dans le *pax exsuperat* la source du poème: *Iesus in pace imperat, Quae omnem sensum superat.*

[2] On le peut d'autant moins qu'un grand nombre des images employées par Bernard et par le poète sont empruntées à une même source: la Bible. Ce qui serait plus surprenant, si l'on niait l'influence de Bernard sur ce poème, ce serait que, sur un même sujet, les deux auteurs aient indépendamment eu les mêmes idées et les aient indépendamment illustrées par les mêmes images bibliques.

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THE GREGORIAN MISSION AND ENGLISH EDUCATION

By PUTNAM FENNELL JONES

BEDE asserts that in the year 631 King Sigebert of East Anglia 'founded a school wherein boys should be taught letters,' and which was furnished with 'masters and teachers after the manner of the people of Kent.' [1] On this passage Leach bases his contention that, if Canterbury had a school which was a model in 631, it must have been established by St Augustine as an adjunct to the Cathedral of Christ Church in 598; [2] that the school there founded was a grammar school, modelled, not upon the schools of the Church, but upon those 'Græco-Roman institutions in which Horace and Juvenal, Jerome and St Augustine had learnt the scansion of hexameters and the accredited methods of speech-making and argument'; [3] and that its purpose was the dissemination of a general linguistic and literary education, 'as much needed by the statesman, the lawyer, the civil servant, and the clerk, as by the priest or cleric.' [4] Bright also sees education and religion as distinct functions of the early English church.[5]

It is my belief that the available evidence does not point to any such secularity and semi-independence of English education in Augustine's day. My aims in this paper are, therefore, first to show what educational purposes, if any, may be attributed to the Gregorian mission, and then to determine the nature of the education actually imparted by the missionaries. My conclusions rest upon a careful examination of two factors — the personalities involved in the mission, and the activities of Augustine and his followers after their landing in Kent. In that order I proceed.

[1] *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii, 18: Plummer's edition (Oxford, 1896), I, 162. The latter part of this statement affords virtually our only direct evidence of the existence of a school in Kent before the coming of Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian in 669.

[2] A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (New York, 1915), p. 3; *idem*, *Educational Charters and Documents, 598 to 1909* (Cambridge, 1911), p. xi.

[3] Leach, *Schools* [etc.], p. 13.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 7; and see pp. 2, 3.

[5] William Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History* (3rd ed., Oxford, 1897), p. 143.

The dominant figure in the Christianization of England is unquestionably Pope Gregory the Great (540 × 604), whom Bede, with almost affectionate reverence, calls 'our apostle.' [1] There is no need here to dwell upon the celebrated tale of Gregory's meeting, in the Roman market-place, with the fair-haired and fair-skinned Northumbrian slave-boys, and his consequent unsuccessful attempt to lead a mission to England (586 × 588).[2] Thereafter the conversion of the English was a project Gregory never relinquished.[3] There can be no doubt that by 596, when he was at last able to send out a mission to England, he had well considered both the type of persons he would choose as missionaries, and the instructions he would give them upon their departure. Our special interest lies in the Pope's probable behests in regard to the education of converts.

First, what of Gregory's own education? He seems to have been instructed early in the subjects of the Trivium — Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic.[4] Of the topics of the Quadrivium music is probably the only one we can be sure that Gregory studied; [5] whether, or to what extent, he occupied himself with the others is 'a matter of pure conjecture.' [6] Concerning the natural science of his day, meagre as it was, he apparently knew little.[7] The case is better for jurisprudence, because in addition to the fact that the Rome of Gregory's boyhood was a centre of legal study, it must be remembered that as one destined by birth to the service of the State he would scarcely neglect to master the Roman code.

Of another sort was the training bestowed upon Gregory by the members of his family, a stock which Bede calls 'not only noble, but religious.' [8] One of his ancestors had been Pope, and his mother, as well as his three aunts, took upon themselves lives of monastic

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 1; cf. Plummer, II, 67.

[2] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 1; F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great* (1905), I, 196–198.

[3] In 595, for example, he urged the priest Candidus, whom he had sent to Gaul to look after a small patrimony, to use part of the income from the estates in procuring 'English boys of about seventeen or eighteen years of age, who may profit by being given to God in monasteries' (*Gregorii I Registrum Epistolarum*, vi, 10: ed. Ewald and Hartmann, I, 389).

[4] Dudden, I, 72, who cites Paulus Diaconus, *Vita Gregorii Magni*, ii, and Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, x, 1. For a description of these studies see Cassiod., *De Artibus*, i–iii (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXX, 1152–1203).

[5] Dudden, I, 77.

[6] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 77, 78.

[8] *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 1 (Plummer, I, 73).

piety and seclusion.[1] In such surroundings it was inevitable that the future monk and Pope should receive a thorough schooling in the Scriptures and in the principles of right conduct.

This scheme of education, though not extensive, might have been expected to produce a friend to secular culture. Yet it did not do so in Gregory's case. What little worldly learning stayed by him during his life he converted to exclusively religious uses: rhetoric he employed in preaching, music in beautifying the services of monastery and church, and jurisprudence in ordering the affairs of Christian communities throughout the world.[2]

It may be argued that Gregory was forced merely by the exigencies of his position as Pope thus to lay aside any interest in liberal studies. But the difficulty lies deeper; Gregory seems to have viewed profane scholarship as not the least effective of the snares of Satan. This is manifest in a passage from the Introduction to his Life of St Benedict, where, after relating how young Benedict went to Rome to be educated, he continues:

> But when he saw that many of the students rushed headlong into vice, he withdrew from the world he had just entered, lest, in acquiring worldly knowledge, he might also fall down the same terrific precipice. Despising, therefore, the study of letters, he desired only to please God by a holy life. Accordingly, he departed from Rome, skilfully ignorant and wisely unlearned.[3]

From this general condemnation of secular learning we now turn to Gregory's attitude toward Grammar, the basic study of the mediaeval curriculum. The following extract is from his dedication of the *Magna Moralia* to Leander, Bishop of Seville:

> I beg that in going through this work you will not look for the foliage of eloquence, for by the Sacred Oracles commentators are expressly debarred from the vanity of empty wordiness, in that it is forbidden to plant a grove in the temple of God. And we all know that when a rank crop shows stalks that abound in leaves, the grains of the ears are least filled and swelling. Therefore I have not condescended to observe that art of speaking which is conveyed by rules of worldly training, for, as the tenor of this

[1] Dudden, I, 7, 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 79; cf. *Greg. Reg. Epist.*, xiii, 47, 49, 50 (II, 410–418).

[3] *Gregorii Dialogorum*, ii, Prolegomena (Migne, LXVI, 126); Dudden, I, 286, 287.

epistle will show, I do not avoid collisions of metacism [*metacismi*][1] or confusion of barbarisms, and I despise the observance of the position, force, or government of prepositions. For I account it very unseemly to submit the words of the Divine Oracle to the rules of Donatus. Nor have these rules been observed by the translators of any authorized version of the Holy Scriptures.[2]

This letter describes Gregory's own practice. That which follows — addressed to Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, on the occasion of the departure of the second group of missionaries for England — establishes what the Pope expected of others:

A report has reached me, a report which I cannot mention without a blush, that you are lecturing on profane literature [*grammaticam*] to certain friends; whereat I am filled with such grief and vehement disgust that my former opinion of you has been turned to mourning and sorrow. For the same mouth cannot sing the praises of Jupiter and the praises of Christ. Consider yourself how offensive, how abominable a thing it is for a bishop to recite verses which are unfit to be recited even by a religious layman. . . . If, hereafter, it shall be clearly established that the information I received was false, and that you are not applying yourself to the idle vanities of secular literature, I shall render thanks to God, who has not allowed your heart to be polluted by the blasphemous praises of unspeakable men.[3]

Such words leave small doubt of Gregory's enmity to the Grammar of his time,[4] and show how unlikely it is that he would permit Augustine to instruct the English in 'the scansion of hexameters and the accredited methods of speech-making and argument.'

In his commendation of one branch of learning, however, Gregory was enthusiastic, as is evident in the following extract from his lectures on the Book of Job:

Holy Scripture is incomparably superior to every form of knowledge and science. It preaches the truth and calls us to the heavenly fatherland; it turns the heart of the reader from earthly to heavenly desires; it exer-

[1] Cf. Ewald and Hartmann, I, 357, note *a. 1.*: 'I.e., *myotacismi* [repetition of the letter *m*], ut videtur. Alii interpretes coniciunt: *iotacismi* [repetition of the letter *i*]; alii: *metacismi* (a μετάχειμαι) = *transpositionis*.'

[2] *Greg. Reg. Epist.*, v, 53a (I, 357, 358); Dudden, I, 193, 194.

[3] *Greg. Reg. Epist.*, xi, 34 (II, 303); Dudden, I, 287.

[4] It is also worth notice that despite his six years at Constantinople, Gregory did not acquire even a smattering of the Greek language. See *Greg. Reg. Epist.*, vii, 29; xi, 55 (I, 476; II, 330); cf. Dudden, I, 153, 154.

cises the strong by its obscurer sayings, and attracts the little ones by its simple language; it is neither so closed to view as to inspire fear, nor so open as to be despised, but familiarity with it removes distaste for it, and the more it is studied the more it is loved; it helps the reader's mind by simple words and raises it by heavenly meanings; it grows, if one may so speak, with its readers, for the ignorant find therein what they already know, and the learned find therein something always new. I say nothing of this, however. I do not dwell on the importance of the subject-matter. But I do say that the Holy Scripture is superior to every form of knowledge and science even in the very manner of its speech. For with one and the same word it at once narrates a fact and sets forth a mystery. It can speak of the past, and, in so doing, predict the future. And, without any change of language, it can both describe what has been done, and in the selfsame words declare what is to be done.[1]

The Scriptures, then, are the chief subject for study. 'It is surely necessary that those who attend upon the office of preaching should not recede from the study of sacred lore. . . . When a pastor is inquired of by his subordinates on any spiritual matter, it is exceedingly ignominious, should he then go about to learn, when he ought to solve the question.'[2]

So much for Gregory, who, having enjoyed in his youth a schooling as complete as at that time was available, yet in his later years came to regard worldly knowledge as vanity, and the inculcation of Christian truth as the sole *raison d'être* of education.

Next in importance is to be reckoned the leader of the mission. Of Augustine of Canterbury 'literally nothing appears to be known . . . previous to his selection to head the mission.'[3] About all we can definitely say is that he had been Prior of Gregory's monastery of St Andrew on the Caelian;[4] but this modicum of information, trifling though it may appear, provides a means of drawing some conclusions.

In the first place, it enables us to reconstruct the main outlines of Augustine's previous training. Dudden informs us that 'though

[1] *Gregorii Moralium*, xx, 1 (Migne, LXXVI, 135); Dudden, II, 300, 301.

[2] *Gregorii Regulae Pastoralis Liber*, ii, 11 (Migne, LXXVII, 50).

[3] G. F. Maclear, in *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, I, 226.

[4] In a letter to Syagrius, Bishop of Autun (*Greg. Reg. Epist.*, ix, 222: II, 213), Gregory describes Augustine as '*quondam monasterii mei praepositum, nunc fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum.*'

the Rule of Benedict may not as yet have been adopted in its entirety in St Andrew's Monastery, still it formed the groundwork of Gregory's regulations, and its general spirit and leading principles were carefully conserved.'[1] Accordingly, Augustine must long since have become habituated to the fundamental Benedictine laws of Obedience, Simplicity of Life, and Constant Occupation. He was doubtless equally familiar with the more detailed of the Rule's provisions that Holy Scripture and other religious books should be perused at stated periods daily;[2] that the monks were to hear such books read aloud at meal-times;[3] and that the assembled brethren should sing the Psalms through every week, with particular attention to the excellence of the singing.[4] This brief glimpse of Augustine's monastic career in Rome satisfies us of the essential completeness of Gregory's terse characterization of him in his letter to King Ethelbert of Kent —'Augustine, trained up in the monastic rule, full of the knowledge of Holy Scripture, and, by the help of God, endued with good works.'[5]

It is significant that except in the above instance we do not find the slightest reference to Augustine's learning. To Gregory he is, above all, 'a servant of God,' 'of whose zeal and earnestness' he is well assured.[6] Bede is content with stock epithets — 'servant of God,'[7] 'man of God,'[8] 'beloved of God,'[9] 'holy,'[10] 'blessed father,'[11] 'most blessed,'[12] 'most reverend.'[13] We need not doubt that the first Archbishop of the English was all of these.[14]

Augustine's priorship of St Andrew's also betokens the agreement

[1] Dudden, I, 108; cf. II, 173, 177, 200.
[2] *Benedicti Regula Monachorum*, xlviii (ed. Woelfflin, 1895, pp. 48–50).
[3] *Ibid.*, xxxviii (pp. 41, 42).
[4] *Ibid.*, xix, xlv, xlvii, (pp. 31, 47, 48).
[5] *Greg. Reg. Epist.*, xi, 37 (II, 309); Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 32.
[6] *Greg. Reg. Epist.*, vi, 49 (I, 423, 424).
[7] *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 23, 25 (ed. Plummer, I, 42, 45).
[8] *Ibid.*, i, 27; ii ,2 (I, 48, 83).
[9] *Ibid.*, ii, 3 (I, 86).
[10] *Ibid.*, ii, 1 (I, 76, 78).
[11] *Ibid.*, iv, 27 (I, 270).
[12] *Epistola ad Ecgbertum Episcopum*, ix (Plummer, I, 412).
[13] *Hist Eccl.*, i, 28 (I, 62).
[14] Note how differently Bede later characterizes Archbishop Theodore (*Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 1): '*uir et saeculari et diuina litteratura, et Grece instructus et Latine*'; and Abbot Hadrian (*loc. cit.*): '*uir . . . sacris litteris diligenter inbutus, monasterialibus simul et ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutus, Grecae pariter et Latinae linguae peritissimus.*'

between himself and Gregory in matters of policy, for it is not likely that Augustine would have been advanced to this position of authority in the monastic community if he had seriously differed from the principles of its living and all-powerful founder. Any doubt on this score is laid at rest by the additional circumstance of the Pope's choice of Augustine to lead the long-projected English mission. Gregory always desired the election of bishops who held beliefs akin to his own, and who consequently would be apt to heed his counsels; occasionally he even exerted himself to bring about the choice of such a person.[1] It is the more likely, then, that when the time came to appoint a leader for the mission which, as has been said, was peculiarly dear to him, Gregory would take especial care to pick one who would be amenable to his suggestions.[2]

Augustine filled this requirement to perfection. If we may judge by the questions he sent to Gregory,[3] the missionary leader was one of those who would much sooner ask for more explicit directions than risk disobeying those already given. A person accustomed to making his own decisions would hardly have needed to inquire, for example, 'whether two full brothers may marry two sisters, who are of a family far removed from them,' or 'whether a bishop may be consecrated [by Augustine] without other bishops being present, if there be so great a distance between them, that they cannot easily come together.' [4] These queries are fair proof of Augustine's anxiety to pursue such a course as would meet with Gregory's full approval; and the care bestowed by the Pope upon his replies shows that he recognized Augustine's dependence, and was willing to take some pains to maintain it.[5]

[1] See *Greg. Reg. Epist.*, v, 51 (I, 350, 351) on the choice of Marinianus as Bishop of Ravenna; cf. Dudden, I, 440, 441. And see Dudden, I, 457–467 for Gregory's championship of Honoratus against Maximus in their contest for the bishopric of Salona.

[2] That Gregory was accustomed to give directions to his agents is indicated in the following excerpt from a letter to Peter the Subdeacon, Rector of the Patrimony in Sicily (*Greg. Reg. Epist.*, i, 39a: I, 53): '*Pergenti tibi ad Siciliam capitulare quod dedi adsidue relegendum est. . . . De monachis uero uel clericis, quae in eodem capitulare sunt insita, nequaquam estimo modo esse mouenda.*' Nor was the Pope slow to express his displeasure to subordinates who were lax in obeying his commands; see, e.g., Dudden, I, 313, 315.

[3] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 27.

[4] The answer is affirmative, of course, in each case.

[5] Gregory's keen interest in the details of the missionary work is also shown in his letter to Augustine (*Greg. Reg. Epist.*, xi, 39: II, 312, 313; Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 29) concerning the

Accordingly, it is a reasonable assumption that except when Augustine specifically asked for advice, virtually all the activities of the mission, and particularly such of them as could be anticipated in advance (educational policy, for instance), conformed either with Gregory's express directions given beforehand, or with the general tenor of Augustine's training in Gregory's monastery.[1]

We know even less about Augustine's fellow-missionaries than we do about the leader himself. Those who chiefly distinguished themselves — Laurentius, Mellitus, Justus, and Honorius, archbishops of Canterbury; Paulinus, the apostle of Northumbria and later Bishop of Rochester; and Peter, the first abbot of the Monastery of SS Peter and Paul — came from St Andrew's Monastery,[2] and hence much of what we have said about Augustine may be applied to them. Active though they were in missionary labors, none of them is marked as learned, none, so far as can be ascertained, was particularly interested in education. Like Augustine, they seem to have been selected, and rightly, for the sole purpose of converting the heathen English.

This brief examination of the personalities of those most closely connected with the evangelization of the English indicates the lack rather than the presence of any educational aims in the plan of the Augustinian mission. I have tried, moreover, to show that Gregory's view of the essential iniquity of secular learning was in all probability shared by the missionaries, and hence must have left its mark upon their teaching.

Now we turn to a short examination of the activities of Augustine and his followers after their landing in Kent. Our aim will be to familiarize ourselves with the conditions under which English edu-

consecration and distribution of bishops in England, and his letter to Mellitus (*Greg. Reg. Epist.*, xi, 56: II, 331; Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 30) with instructions to Augustine in regard to the use to be made of heathen temples.

[1] The single instance of Augustine's setting aside a command of Gregory's — the establishment of his episcopal see at Canterbury rather than at London, where Gregory had wished it (*Greg. Reg. Epist.*, xi, 39: II, 312, 313) — is accounted for by the place of landing and King Ethelbert's political supremacy.

[2] According to an inscription on the façade of the church of that monastery. The text of this inscription may be found in Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*, authorized translation (1867), III, 334, note 2.

cation came into being, and then to reconstruct, so far as this is possible, the actual educational organization that grew up.

The mission arrived in England in the spring of 597 and met with a kindly reception from King Ethelbert of Kent. Given permission to preach to the people, the monks used every pious means to gain converts, and within a month or so had induced a number of the natives to accept the faith.[1] On June 1, 597, Ethelbert himself was baptized, whereupon his subjects entered the fold in ever-increasing numbers.

Seeing the work well begun, Augustine hastened to Gaul, where he was consecrated Archbishop of the English by Virgilius of Arles and his fellow-bishops. When he returned to England, he there found ready for baptism many new converts, the fruit of the zeal of his subordinates. On December 25, 597, Augustine is reported by Gregory to have baptized more than ten thousand persons.[2] The conversion of such a number, even in a time of religious enthusiasm, is not the work of spare moments.

Nor did the activities of the missionaries stop with preaching. Early in 598 Augustine sent Laurentius and Peter to Rome with a letter announcing what the little band had accomplished and asking Gregory for advice and reinforcements.[3] Church-building also claimed much of Augustine's attention. His first project of this sort was the recovery and rededication of an old Roman church, which he consecrated 'in the name of the Holy Saviour, our Divine Lord Jesus Christ.'[4] Then he purified and restored another building which lay just to the east of Canterbury, and which had been used as a pagan shrine. This he dedicated to St Pancras, the young martyr whose family had once owned the land on which stood St Andrew's Monastery in Rome.[5] Near at hand Augustine also

[1] Bede paints a beautiful picture of the missionaries' devotion to their task (*Hist. Eccl.*, i, 26).

[2] *Greg. Reg. Epist.*, viii, 29 (II, 30). [3] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 27, 29.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, 33. This was the original of Christ Church, Canterbury. For the details of Augustine's reconstruction see Bright, p. 61.

[5] Bright, pp. 61, 62. For ingenious attempts to explain the dedication to St Pancras see Thomas of Elmham, *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, ed. Charles Hardwick (London, 1858), p. 80; Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury* (1855), p. 20; Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (1860–1879), I, 60.

began the construction of the famous monastery which we now know as 'St Augustine's.' Within its walls 'Ethelbert erected from the foundation the church of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and enriched it with divers gifts.' [1]

During this time Augustine had also vainly been trying to come to a working agreement with the British bishops.[2] When at last it became apparent that the Celts could not be brought into any scheme of church-organization, Augustine set about putting in order the ecclesiastical affairs of the people under his immediate jurisdiction. In 604 he ordained Mellitus missionary Bishop of the East Saxons, with his headquarters in London, and Justus Bishop of Rochester. For each of them Ethelbert, probably under Augustine's direction, built a church — St Paul's in London, and St Andrew's in Rochester.[3]

In 604 or 605,[4] on May 26, Augustine died, having previously consecrated Laurentius to succeed him in the see of Canterbury.[5]

This summary of the varied labors of Augustine and his fellows during their first seven years in England is necessarily brief; but it makes clear how little time or energy the missionaries can have had available for additional enterprise. It is difficult to believe that they would have been able, or willing, to add to their other tasks that of teaching the Seven Liberal Arts. These 'polite' studies of the Graeco-Roman curriculum had little to recommend them to earnest men whose days were spent in preaching and baptizing and building churches, and whose nights were devoted to prayer.[6] Indeed it is remarkable that the missionaries were able to give any instruction at all.

Yet education of some sort there must have been, for on virtually no other ground can we account for the sudden appearance, beginning with the Kentish Ithamar at Rochester in 644,[7] of native

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 33.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii, 3.

[4] See Plummer, II, 81; Bright, p. 105; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* (1869–1878), III, 4.

[5] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 4. On the consecration of a bishop by his predecessor see Plummer II, 82; Dudden, II, 145, note 3.

[6] Cf. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 26.

[7] *Ibid.*, iii, 14.

English bishops in all important sees.[1] Consecrated within a period of approximately ten years, they all, had they lived to-day, might have been members of the same college graduating class.[2]

What was the nature of the schooling these men received? Let us first consider the probable composition of the library at their disposal. Virtually all of the books that Augustine took with him to England must have been manuscripts of Biblical and Patristic writings; Gregory would have seen to that.[3] Two other volumes, however, were almost certainly taken — the *Benedicti Regula*[4] and Gregory's *Regulae Pastoralis Liber*.[5] The first would be indispensable to one who expected to institute the monastic life in a new land, while the second would be no less necessary to an inexperienced bishop. With the second group of missionaries Gregory sent, says Bede, 'many manuscripts.'[6] Thomas of Elmham (d. 1440?), the historian of St Augustine's Abbey, gives a list of such of these codices

[1] The others were Thomas, of the nation of the Gyrwas (inhabitants of the Fen country), Bishop of East Anglia (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 20); Bertgils, of Kent, Bishop of East Anglia (*loc. cit.*); Deusdedit, of Wessex, Archbishop of Canterbury (*loc. cit.*); Damian, of Sussex, Bishop of Rochester (*loc. cit.*). These men *may* have been sent to the Continent for their training, but Bede's silence on the subject is tolerably good evidence that they never left England.

[2] They were probably trained in the Monastery of SS Peter and Paul. If we assume Ithamar to have been 65 years old (or about the same age as Gregory and Augustine when they died: see A. S. Cook, 'Augustine's Journey from Rome to Richborough,' SPECULUM, I, 375) when he died in 655 (Plummer, II, 175; Haddan and Stubbs, III, 100), he would have been born in 590. If he entered the monastery at seventeen, the age recommended by Gregory in his letter to Candidus, his training would have begun in 607. Since the brethren did not occupy the monastery until 604 (Mason, *The Mission of St Augustine to England*, 1897, p. xviii), it seems that the missionaries were not slow to recognize the necessity of recruiting their forces from the native population.

[3] Cf. *Benedicti Regula*, ix (ed. Woelfflin, p. 23): '*Codices autem legantur in vigiliis tam veteres testamenti quam novi divinae auctoritatis, sed et expositiones earum quae a nominatis doctorum orthodoxis catholicis patribus factae sunt.*'

[4] Dudden, I, 108.

[5] King Alfred says in his translation of the *Reg. Past.* (ed. Sweet, 1871, pp. 8–9): 'Ðis ærendgewrit Agustinus ofer saltne sæ suðan brohte iegbuendum, swæ hit ær foreadihtode dryhtnes cempa Rome papa' ['This message Augustine over the salt sea brought from the south to the islanders, as the Lord's champion had formerly decreed it, the pope of Rome.']. Cf. Dudden, I, 239; Plummer, II, 70.

[6] *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 29. Two of these MSS were for some time thought preserved in *Bodl. Auct. D. ii, 14* and *C. C. C. C. 286*, both being copies of the Gospels, but the first has since, on paleographical grounds, been assigned a date not earlier than 650. See Plummer, II, 56; Bright, p. 77, note 2.

as he thought were still in existence in his own time.[1] The catalogue includes a 'Gregorian Bible' in two volumes, a *Psalterium Augustini* (with hymns at the end), a *Textus Evangeliorum*, another Psalter, another copy of the Gospels, two Martyrologies, and an *Expositio super Epistolas et Evangelia a Dominica III. post octavas Paschae, usque ad Dominicam IVtam post octavas Pentecostes.* These works are such as we would expect to proceed from the good Pope, and are unmixed with any contaminating treatises on Grammar, Rhetoric, or Dialectic. With such a library may be contrasted, both in size and in kind, those brought together at a later date by Benedict Biscop (d. 690) and Ceolfrid (d. 716) in the combined monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow,[2] and by Acca (d. 740) at Hexham. [3] These great collections of books helped to make possible the blaze of learning and literary activity that began in Northumbria with Bede and Aldhelm, and passed to the Continent with Alcuin. There is no evidence of any such passion for book-collecting in England before the coming of Theodore and Hadrian.

We come next to a consideration of the teachers and curriculum of the primitive Kentish school. It should be clear from what has gone before that we are not to look for any formal organization, either of instructors or of instruction. What we have before us is apparently a monastic community, normal in all respects save that its younger members must all have been natives, whereas the seniors were doubtless for the most part Italians. This association was a school in so far as it was necessary for the older monks to impart such knowledge to the initiates as would make them useful members of the Church; and this schooling, we assume from the temper of the mission sent out by Gregory, was altogether religious in character and aim.

When Felix went in 631 to take charge of Sigebert's East Anglian school, he took with him, says Bede, 'teachers and masters [*peda-*

[1] Thomas of Elmham, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–99; and see Hardwick's Introduction, pp. xxv–xxvii. This list is too late in date to be received without a degree of caution, but it is useful in showing the sort of books which Canterbury tradition of the fifteenth century attributed to the Augustinian library.

[2] Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, iv, vi, ix, xi, xv.

[3] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, v, 20.

gogos ac magistros] after the manner of the people of Kent.'[1] The phrase *pedagogos ac magistros*, unless it be a mere redundancy, implies some sort of division of labor in the Kentish school. Bede uses the word *pedagogus* but once in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*,[2] and hence it is difficult to know what special meaning he attaches to it. If, however, as is most likely, he understands the word in its original sense — 'one who has charge of children'— the 'teachers' were those whose duty it was to instruct the youngest boys in reading and writing Latin. This would be a very elementary and ecclesiasticized form of Grammar; the necessary reading would, of course, be found in religious works.

After this preliminary instruction, the boys would pass into the hands of the 'masters.'[3] There may have been different *magistri* for the Bible and commentaries thereon, for music, for preaching, and for instruction in the computation of the Easter date. But of one thing we can be sure: the teaching of music was a specialty, and was entrusted to a specialist.[4] James the Deacon, for example, 'had great skill in singing in church, and when the province [of Northumbria] was afterwards restored to peace, and the number of the faithful increased, he began to teach church music to many, according to the custom of the Romans, or of the Cantuarians.'[5] Church music and the teaching of singing were subjects in which the monks of Canterbury were considered supremely proficient,[6] and Bede

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 18. William of Malmesbury embroiders Bede's account in an interesting fashion (*De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, 1887, I, 97).

[2] Cf. my forthcoming Concordance to the *Hist. Eccl.*

[3] This term occurs fifteen times in the *Hist. Eccl.;* so we can be reasonably sure of Bede's meaning. Twice he uses it to indicate a teacher of singing (ii, 20; iv, 2); again, the word may describe a teacher of sacred literature (iii, 25; iv, 2); sometimes it signifies simply a teacher, without reference to what he teaches (iii, 27; v, 23); and lastly, it may mean 'ruler' (ii, 18; iv, 27). In every case the word connotes the importance of the person so designated.

[4] It is hardly likely, however, that the Song School was entirely independent so early. Leach insists that from the beginning it was a separate establishment (*The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 6, 7).

[5] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 20. Others named as skilful in church music are Eddi, 'surnamed Stephen' (*ibid.*, iv, 2), Putta, Damian's successor as Bishop of Rochester (*ibid., loc. cit.*), Maban (*ibid.*, v, 20), and Acca, Bishop of Hexham (*ibid., loc. cit.*). So desirous was Benedict Biscop that the monks of his monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow should learn to sing well, that he brought John, the archchanter of St Peter's in Rome, to instruct them (*ibid.*, iv, 18).

[6] According to Ozanam, this would necessitate their having a complete secular education (*La Civilisation Chrétienne chez les Francs*, 1872, p. 533). Of such a view Roger remarks

could say that in 669 'they began in all the churches of the English to learn church music, which till then had been known only in Kent.' [1]

In addition to what they received from this more or less formal schooling, the pupils must have learned much in the ordinary course of their duties. The monastic rule, very likely that of St Benedict, was constantly impressed upon them. The ritual of the Church they memorized by taking part in it. Daily reading in the Scriptures, and especially the recitation or chanting of the Psalms, must have fixed these in youthful memories. And the lives of the Saints doubtless became familiar with the observance of their anniversaries. There are few better ways to learn than this.

I hope that in the foregoing pages I have been able to point out a fundamental difference in constitution and aim between the school founded in Canterbury by the Gregorian mission and those of later date which, in our thinking on the subject, we are likely to regard as typical. I have endeavored to show that this earlier school, partly because of the views of those directing and engaging in the English mission, partly on account of the circumstances surrounding the conversion, was exclusively religious in purpose and teaching.

This type of education, coming at the time it did, was probably the best thing for England. As Karl Werner has pointed out,[2] civilization and culture can make little headway among barbarous tribes until these tribes have been converted to Christianity. Once their hearts have been softened and their minds made ready, the teacher can set to work, but not before. It would have been fruitless for Augustine and his companions to attempt to teach the Seven Liberal Arts as soon as they landed in Kent. They chose the wiser course in confining themselves to thoroughly religious instruction; their judgment was vindicated years later, when the English, by this time ripe for further knowledge, became, under the tutelage of Theodore and Hadrian, the intellectual leaders of Europe.

(*L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, Paris, 1905, p. 193): '*C'est une exagération si manifeste, qu'on peut difficilement s'y arrêter. Si mal que l'on connaisse le chant grégorien, on sait qu'il ne reposait pas sur les mêmes principes que la musique ancienne.*' Cf. pp. 280, 281.

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 2. [2] *Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit* (Wien, 1881), pp. 1, 2.

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THE STYLE AND VOCABULARY OF THE LATIN ARTS OF POETRY OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES[1]

By WALTER BRADBURY SEDGWICK

THE renaissance of Latin studies which took place about the beginning of the twelfth century was marked, like that of the fifteenth, by a certain narrowness of outlook and unpleasing consciousness of superiority. The scholars of the twelfth century felt no less than those of the fifteenth that they were cleansing Latin from the accretions of centuries of barbarism and restoring classical elegance. What they did in each case was to cut themselves off from the immediate past, and to substitute an artificial product based on the minute study of chosen authors (in the case of the twelfth century mostly second- or third-rate) for a Latinity which, whatever its defects, was a vigorous and comparatively natural growth.

It has been shown by Thurot [2] how the authorities on grammar were reduced round about 1100 to selections from Priscian and Donatus, who were commented on, refined on, and disputed on *ad nauseam*. We may here say a few words about the corresponding change in the teaching of Latin verse.

That such a revolution did take place in metrical Latin poetry in the twelfth century is clear. In the period immediately preceding, it had emanated chiefly from German monasteries: now it is mostly traceable to the influence of the schools of Northern France, although naturally its chief exponents were, at first, ecclesiastics like Hildebert of Le Mans, Marbodus of Rennes, and Bernardus Silvestris of Tours. The older Germanic Latin poetry before the twelfth century had been religious and national; the new was classical. The older was rugged and inartistic, almost inarticulate, but vigorous and earnest, chiefly in hexameters; the new and smooth and artificial, but vapid and sterile — at first, mostly in elegiacs. The older was largely

[1] E. Faral, *Les Arts Poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e Siècle*, Paris: Champion, 1923. See also my 'Notes and Emendations' to these texts, SPECULUM, II (1927), 331 ff.

[2] C. Thurot, 'Notices et Extraits de Divers Manuscrits Latins pour servir à l'Histoire des Doctrines Grammaticales au Moyen Age' = *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits* XXII (1868), Pt. ii.

Teutonic in spirit, forced with some violence into classical forms — hence a Latinity marked more by vigor than by elegance: the new was inspired as a rule neither by religious nor by national sentiment, and having no nationality, it was in a sense cosmopolitan. The one was inspired by a vernacular literature: the other is chiefly important as itself a source of inspiration to vernacular poetry. The new school, treating matter which could be of no real interest to the writer, concentrated its attention on the form: what it lacked in power and sincerity it tried to supply by superior smoothness and technical ingenuity. One might have supposed that such a school would be utterly barren and unfruitful: as a matter of fact it came at the moment when French narrative poetry had just arrived at that stage at which the one thing necessary for its development was the one thing the new school was able to supply.

It is at first sight strange that a theory of poetry which along its own line never produced any very striking fruits should, when applied to French poetry, produce work which, with all its defects, well deserved to be, as it was, the model of the rest of Europe. Why is it, in short, that the French poetry (for example, of Chrétien de Troyes) is as a whole to-day full of interest and charm, while the Latin, in spite of the astounding ingenuity and versatility of many of the poets, probably has never won a single reader on its merits? The answer is, I think, to be found partly in the limpid charm of Old French, perhaps the most delightful language ever spoken, which at this period seems incapable of dulness (compared with the Latin it is as adolescence competing with senility [1]), and partly in difference of inspiration — the one consisting of mechanical variations on threadbare themes, the other drawing on the inexhaustible stores of mediaeval fancy. Again, the one consists of mere scholastic exercises, schoolmasters' 'fair copies' — some, for instance Hildebert, could write well enough when they broke away from the fair-copy style; [2] the other is the work of professional poets, often of

[1] Yet the Latin of the songs and hymns has its own charm. *Iam dulcis amica uenito* and other songs are inferior to nothing in vernacular lyric in freshness and spontaneity.

[2] It was with relief that I found that Hildebert was not guilty of the unspeakable poem on the Fall of Troy attributed to him by Leyser, *op. cit. infra*, p. 398; see J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 2d. ed., I, 550 n.

genius, who had to please an audience which had never heard of the figures of speech, but knew precisely what it wanted — namely, a good story with plenty of adventure and 'human interest'; if they got this, they could stand a good deal in the way of moralising. But there were limits: Chaucer has a cruel parody of one of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's most ornate purple patches in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, ll. 527 ff.[1]

Yet our schoolmaster poets are not devoid of merit: as schoolmasters they did their work well — probably Latin verse was never more efficiently taught. It was not their fault if their pupils had nothing to say. Their mastery of the technique of Latin verse is astonishing, and some of their lines are very fine (for example, the memorable *incidis in Scyllam cupiens uitare Charybdim*), while writers of talent could produce verse of power and real fire. There are several of them far more readable than such 'classical' writers as Statius.

Eberhard, Matthew, and Geoffrey, then, repay attention in at least two ways: they form an almost unstudied branch of one important side of mediaeval learning, and their influence on vernacular poetry was far-reaching, as M. Faral well shows in detail. This might have here been illustrated from Chaucer, but space does not allow it.[2] At first sight one might be tempted to deplore their choice of models, but for their purpose their models are perfectly adapted: they have to teach how to develop a theme, and for this the Ovidian school could not be improved on. The best in Virgil is inimitable and, in any case, useless for a pupil who has to write original Latin poetry on a given theme; what *can* be taught is how to develop an idea with point and oratorical power. Whom else

[1] *Illa dies tua nox fuit et Venus illa uenenum*, etc., *Poetria Noua*, 375 ff. The passage refers to the Friday in 1199 on which Richard I was wounded (not, as Faral says, *born*, or, as Chaucer says, *slain*). Geoffrey may be indebted to Joseph of Exeter, VI, 760 ff., *nox fera, nox uere, nox noxia, turbida, tristis*, etc. (written before 1183). Cf. Anon., *Pyramus et Thisbe* (Lehmann, *op. cit., infra.*, p. 59, l. 310): *nox mala, nox peior aliis, nox pessima;* and Matthew of Vendôme *ibid.*, p. 32, l. 51: *nox noxia.*

[2] Cf. J. M. Manly 'Chaucer and the Rhetoricians' (Wharton Lectures on English Poetry, 1926) in *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, London, n.d., where Manly points out, for example, that the description of Blanche in the *Book of the Duchess* is taken almost entire from the *Poetria Noua*, pp. 563–597. Note also C. S. Baldwin, 'Cicero on Parnassus,' *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* XLII (1927), 106 ff.

could they have used? They make full use of the satirists. Other Latin poetry was practically unknown, except the Christian poets; here again they chose the best, particularly Prudentius; at any rate, they did better than modern scholars, who generally ignore them. Their love of Maximian forms an exception, and is somewhat disconcerting; but he is used only to supplement Ovid in elegiacs; little other elegiac poetry was then known, and after all I do not think Maximian is as black as he is painted.[1] In prose they are less defensible. Much of Cicero was unknown, but they make little use of the rest, and it is surprising that so little use was made of Seneca [2] and Livy. We cannot blame them for using the *De Inuentione* as a textbook: the *De Oratore* and *Orator* were of little or no use to them; they were not training Roman orators. It is creditable to have used Cicero at all when they might have confined themselves to Martianus Capella and the *Rhetorici Minores*. In the same way we cannot but praise the way in which they made the most of the little good to be extracted from Horace's *Ars Poetica*. What is beyond all apology is the pitiful way in which they all cling to Sidonius Apollinaris with his puerile rhetoric and pompous verbosity. I suppose the reason is just that the bad is easier to imitate than the good; and we must not forget that they were writing handbooks for youthful students, not treatises on aesthetics and the theory of style. In any case I cannot say that I am 'astonished at their limited range.' [3]

In this connection it may be of interest to enumerate the sources of the quotations in Matthew, the chief quoter in Faral's collection: Lucan about 40; Statius, *Thebaid*, 25, *Achilleis*, 2; Virgil, *Aeneid*, 14 or 15, *Eclogues*, 14, *Georgics*, 1; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 12, *Ars Amatoria*, 10, *Heroides*, 10, *Ex Ponto*, 7, *Amores*, 7, *Remedia Amoris*,

[1] Strange the attraction Maximian has had for minds greater than his own! The first elegy, on Old Age, is much imitated in T. Sackville's *Induction* to the *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1563; cf. also Chaucer, *C.T.*, C. 729 ff., Samuel Daniel's Sonnet 45, and the same idea in Erasmus' *Encomium Moriae* (*London Times Lit. Suppl.*, Jan. 21, 1920). On Maximian as a school-book, see E. Faral, *Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes et Romans Courtois du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1913), p. 105, n. 2, and D. Reichling's *ed. cit. infra* of Alexandre de Villedieu's *Doctrinale*, pp. xx, xxxvii.

[2] Geoffrey well opposes the pithiness of Seneca to the diffuseness of Sidonius in his *Poetria Noua*, 1833 ff.

[3] Cf. C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob, edd., *Legacy of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1926), p. 149.

6, *Tristia*, 5; Horace, *Epistles* i, 15, *Epistles* ii, 2, *Ars Poetica* innumerable, *Satires*, 1, *Odes*, 1; Juvenal, 12; Claudian, 4; Cato, 2; Bernardus Silvestris (Matthew's master), 2; Maximian, Prudentius, Ennius, Terence, Avianus, Martial, 1 each: also one reference to the Verrines. Persius, strangely, is never quoted, and Sandys is surely wrong in calling Matthew, à propos of *Tobias*, an imitator of Tibullus and Propertius.[1]

The foregoing remarks apply generally to the writers and teachers of metrical Latin poetry round about the twelfth century. We may now proceed to a more detailed examination of the writers in Faral's collection. It will be convenient to arrange the present study under the following headings: A. Grammar and Style; B. Metre; C. Vocabulary.[2] I do not as a rule give what is common to all mediaeval authors; it should be borne in mind that all our authors avoid what is blatantly unclassical, except Eberhard in his rhythms.

[1] *History of Classical Scholarship* (2d ed.), I, 522. The above list includes the following quotations, unidentified in my previous article: Prol. 6, *nec tardum operior*, etc. = Hor. *Ep.* I, 2,71, and 4, 4, *et male quod recitas*, etc. = Mart. I, 39, 2.

[2] The following abbreviations are employed:

Ad. Vien.: The *Fables* of Adolfus Viennensis (1315).

Aeg. Corb.: Aegidius Corboilensis, *De Compositione Medicaminum* (Ca. 1190). Aegidius was a Parisian who had studied in Greece, and properly edited, might be a valuable authority for Greek words.

J. Garl. (*Syn.*): John of Garland, *Opus Synonymorum*, 1040, according to Leyser; more likely *ca.* 1250.

P. Riga: Pierre Riga (Petrus de Riga), *Recapitulatio Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, *1198*.

The above all quoted from Polycarp Leyser, *Historica Poetarum et Poematum Medii Aeui*, Halle, 1741.

Alda (by Gulielmus Blesensis), ed. C. Lohmeyer, Leipzig, 1892; before 1167.

Ant.: Alanus ab Insulis, *Anticlaudianus*, 1294; in Wright, *q.v.*

Brunellus or *Speculum Stultorum*, *ca.* 1190; in Wright, *q.v.*

Doctr.: Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*, 1199, ed. Reichling, in Monumenta German. Paedagog., XII, 1893.

Gr.: Eberhardus Bethuniensis, *Graecismus*, 1212, ed. J. Wrobel, Corpus Grammaticorum Medii Aeui I, Breslau, 1887.

H. Sept.: Henricius Septimellensis, *Elegia* (*de Diuersitate Fortunae*), 1192. Henry of Settimello was educated at Bologna, but has several English references, including one to Scotch haggis (*Scotica fercula miscet* — the earliest mention?); he is often referred to as 'pauper Henricus,' i.e., Arrighetto. In A. Marigo's edition (Padua: Draghi, 1926) the four books of 250 lines each are numbered consecutively 1–1000.

Hrot(svitha), ed. K. Strecker, Teubner, 1906.

J. Isc.: Josephus Iscanus, *De Bello et Excidio Troiae* (*ca.* 1180) in Delphin. et Variorum, ed. of Dictys Cretensis (London, 1825), pp. 351–576.

Lehmann: P. Lehmann, *Pseudo-Antike Literatur des Mittelalters*, Teubner: Leipzig, 1927.

A. Grammar and Style

In Grammar our authors show nothing very extraordinary, but a number of the most interesting points are here collected. It is hoped that such a collection, besides directly illustrating the usage of our authors, may serve to supplement the masterly collections of Thurot and Voigt, and contribute something to the understanding of Mediaeval Latin.

With regard to Style, a thorough examination would involve pages of quotations, and even then be of doubtful utility. It is much better to read portions of the authors themselves, particularly as they all give specimen poems. In prose, Geoffrey's style is for the most part plain and unaffected: good examples of Matthew's high-flown style will be found in the prologue — note how it is embroidered with quotations, not all indicated by Faral — and in Part ii, §§ 1–12; perhaps the most illuminating passage on the 'tricks of the trade' is *Documentum* II, iii, 103–131. The labored artificiality of Matthew's prose style is clearly shown in his rhythms: in elaborate passages the *clausulae* are to the last degree monotonous. I can think of no contemporary writer who binds himself by such a strict and narrow conception of the *cursus*. In the passages examined I find that 42 per cent of his *clausulae* end $'\sim|\sim\sim'\sim$, and 31 per cent $'\sim\sim|\sim\sim'\sim$. In nearly every case the final quadrisyllable is preceded by a polysyllable. The prose of Geoffrey, on the other hand, seems quite unmetrical.

Lyd.: Lydia, in Edélestand DuMéril, *Poésies Inédites du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1854), attributed to Matthew of Vendôme, but rightly rejected by Faral, since it contains elisions.

Marb(odus Redonensis), ed. Ropartz, Rennes, n.d. (*ca.* 1100).

P. & P.: Paulinus et Polla, ed. DuMéril, as above.

Thurot: Thurot's article in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XXII (1868), ii, *cit. supra.*

Werner: J. Werner, *Lateinische Sprichwörter des Mittelalters*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1912.

Wright: T. Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, No. 59, 1872).

Ys (engrimus): ed. E. Voigt, Halle, 1884.

'Notes': 'Notes and Emendations,' Speculum II (1927), 331–343.

Matth., *P.N.*, *Doc.*, *Lab.* = Matthew, *Poetria Noua*, *Documentum*, *Laborintus*, in Faral (Far.).

Ekkehard

pare, nobile, abl. sing., 2, 5; *botros*, acc. plur., 6, as in Ad. Vien. 438, 628, Aeg. Corb. i. 12, etc.; *fonteque* 2; *pomoeria* ('orchard') 11: cf. *Gr.* 11.79 f., 12.320 f. (See 'Notes'); *similo* ('compare') 7: in pass. often = 'resemble,' e.g., J. Garl. *Syn.* 118; *quicumque, quisquis* = *quiuis*, 17, 31. (*P.N.*, *Doc.*).

Matthew

Noun, etc., *Parasis* = *Parrhasidis* 1.40, but *Parasidi* p. 7, l. 26; *Parisius, Aurelianis* (Orléans), indecl. 4.50.28, as in *P. N.* and *Lab.*; **immensus sine quanto* 4.50.15: cf. Anon. *de Excidio Troiae* (Leyser, p. 399, l. 9) *sic fuit absque fere plus ferus ille feris:* ibid., l. 166 *fit nihil absque fere:* H. Sept. 3.165 *fere nil: nihil, absque fere* (*fece*, Leyser). Comparative for positive *metri gratia*, 2.31: examples 2.28: cf. 1.111.6, 26.

Verb. Gerund in *-ndo* for pres. part. 1.100, etc. Universal in the Middle Ages (cf. *Ys.* p. lii); *de eis omittendum est* 3.45; *executus* in passive sense 3.45, 4.3. (*P.N.*); **spero in gladium* 1.51.11 (no case quoted in dictionaries); **misereor* + dat. 1.50.9 (*v. l.*); *quod* consec. + indic. 2.5, 6; *datur intelligi* 2.10, 3.43; *contendo* + inf. 2.16; **negat esse* ('refuses to be') 1.26, *Tobias* 2156; cf. *ire negant* ('refuse to go') J. Isc. 1.320 (in Classical Latin apparently only in Silius); **nescit esse* ('cannot be') 1.17.2, 1.50.32, 1. 53.22: cf. *Ys.* p.l.

Spelling: *operior* Pr. 6 — a common spelling in MSS, cf. *Ys.* p. xl, *Doctr.* 1918, Thurot p. 536, who quotes *operior producitur ad differentiam actiui, uel potius necessitate metri:* cf. the mediaeval spellings *oportunus, rennuit, retulit, repulit*, and (in *P.N.*) *reperit; diffinitio* 1.95 (*P.N.*) — the usual spelling, e.g., throughout Thurot's texts; *Philomena* 1.111.15 (as usual in the Middle Ages); *iocundus* 1.111.16, etc. (see on Metre, p. 361, below); *uendico* ('claim') 2.38.36, etc. — the usual mediaeval spelling in this sense; *cacephaton* 4.12 (see 'Notes'): cf. *Gr.* 2.5 (some MSS); *epynalensis* 3.3 (*epan-* 3.6, 45); *methalemsis siue clemax* 3.42, 45; *omoeotholeuton* 3.3, 12: usually *omothelenton* (always *-nton* according to Thurot); *paranomeon*

* Prefixed to a citation from Matth. or *Doc.* indicates that it occurs in a verse passage.

(παρόμοιον ?) 3.3, 10; *polipteton* 3.3, 12 f.; *sinodoche* 3.33 ff., as usual in the Middle Ages, e.g. MSS of *Gr.*, where Wrobel prints from one MS. *synedoche*, as nearer the Greek — a mistaken principle; *sinolympha* 4.6. This addition of *n* in Greek words may be due to the Irish: e.g., *ellinsis*, *elympsis* (for *eclipsis*) in *Poet. Aeui Carol.* III, p. 796, in *M.G.H.* (Traube); *zeuma*, *hypozeuma*, as usual in the Middle Ages, *passim*. *Zeuma* rhymes with *pneuma* in Tibino l. 385, ed. G. Mari, *Trattati Medievale di Ritmica Latina* (Milan, 1899); *Tythanis* 1.108, 4.21: see 'Notes': the same confusion in Chaucer, *Troilus* iii, 1466.

Style: Climax (pos. compar. superl.) 1.50.49 (*P.N.*).

Word-play: **fretus*, *fretum* 1.118; **patior*, *passer* (false derivation) 1.111.41; **lyra delirat* 2.33, 1.118, 1.54.24; **meta*, *metior meto*, 1.23; **ĭdem*, of the Trinity 4.51.4 (*Lab.*) **fides non habuisse fidem* 1.53.34, *Planc.* Metr. 5.62: cf. *Brunell.* p. 73, l. 8, Wright, *uicis est non habuisse uicem*, and *Ant.*, p. 399 *ad fin.*, *fides non seruare fidem*. *Nouerca* in quasi-proverbs (A. is *nouerca* of B.) Prol. 1.1.18, 35, 37, 118, 2.36.

Variety: 1.87)(2.19.

Words to avoid in verse: *porro*, *autem*, *quoque*, and most adverbs and conjunctions (a hit at the German school?) 2.46.

Leonines attacked 2.43: usually called by Matthew *nugae canorae:* 2.43 ff., 3.46.

See also the lists of verbs and adjectives in Bk. II, with examples.

Poetria Nova [1]

Noun: *syrenes* = *sirenis* (gen. sing.) 286 (see 'Notes'): so Ad. Vien. 563; *auree* (voc.) 2102; *comitanti* in abl. absol. 845 (read *comitatum?*); *ex incauto* ('suddenly'?) 194; *dulcissime rerum* 34 (*dignissime*, *AD*), *maxima r.* 2067 (*-e*, *B*), *potissima r.* (in vocative). 1106, *optima r.* 412 (*-e ABC*). Perhaps the masc. is right in every case, as in Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.4, yet in 1785 (a somewhat different case)

[1] In this section the letters *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *L*, refer to MSS as designated by Faral, *ed. cit.*

the fem. is guaranteed by the metre. Nominative absolute (?) 1210; *mentis tacitus* (?) 1823; *cerebri uacuus* 1325.

Adjective: *potissima* 'powerful' 1106; *nemine* 1235; *prodigus alterius* (= *alieni*) 1786 (but emend).

Pronoun: *iste* is used as general demonstrative; *ille* = 'it' (unnecessarily), e.g., thrice in 1947; *suus* = *eius* 177, 373, 384, 745; *secum* = *cum eo* 423; *quicquid* = *quiduis* 217 (cf. Ekkehard; so *quicumque* in *Doc.*); *hic* redundant = definite article 1822; *hic aut ille* ('one or another') 17; *ipse* redundant 92, 118, 119, 555, 771; *inde* (= *de eo*) *cogitet* 133. Cf. *inde loqui:* Marb., p. 24, Ad. Vien. 582, *inde non curo:* Hrot., p. 149, *inde dicere: Historia Septem Sapientium.* I, 6, 8, ed. A. Hilka (Heidelberg: Winter, 1912), *quid inde agendum sit:* Hrab. Maur. (*M.G.H., Poet. Aeui Car.* III, 713), *quicquam inde: Brun.*, p. 46, l. 11 (from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* ii, 152, *grates agit inde parenti;* wrongly taken? It could hardly be influenced by French *en*).

Conjunctions: *quando* ('when') 1977, etc. (*P. N.*); *nec. . . . sed nec* 1539 f.; *quia nonne* = *nonne enim* 397.

Adverbs: *inuite* = *inuitus* 141; *et demum* = *tum demum* 740.

Verbs: *fuerat* = *erat* 1201, 1453 (mediaeval; cf. *Ys.*, p. xlvi); *habet fundare* 43, *sepelire* 1307; *non quia depingit* (*-at, C*) 986; *si* + subj. and apodosis in indic. 91, 214; *esto quod* (concessive + subj. 17; *timui fecisse* ('I feared to do') 1113, *Ys.*, p. xlvi; *dum* + subj. (temporal) 398, 1411, 1521; *secutus* passive 1241, 560? (Matth.): gerund in *-ndo* = pres. part. 738, 876, 1107 ff., 1115, 2111; *non* prohibitive 1974, 1977 (*Lab.*); *ne* consecutive 1063; infin. of purpose 61, 62, 484; *si posse sit* 318; *esse tuum* 481; *suum posse* 41; *pro posse* 1395; *respuit audiri* 697: cf. Matth. in Far., p. 7, l. 22; *inquio* 1902; *tibi rapui* 482.

Pronunciation: pun on *prosit: poscit* (*possit* Far.) 1980; on *speciosus: spatiosus* 556.

Spelling: *obaudit* ('refuses to listen') 138, *Ex. Hon. Vitae* 234, H. Sept. 2.95: in *Gr.* 18.20 it is opposed to *oboedis:* in Hauréau, *Not. et Extr.* VI. 318 it rhymes with *exaudit; sicne* 475, cf. *hicne* J. Isc. 2.261; *difformo* 69; *diffinio* 1948 (Matth.); *reperit* (perf.) 1025 (*v. l.*) 1515 (Matth.)

Style: alliteration (e.g., 755) not very common.

Climax (pos., comp., superl., 1789 f. = *Doc.* 2.3.72 (Matth.).

Two of Geoffrey's favourite devices are:

A. metaphors like *manus linguae* 2060 (cf. Sidon. *Ep.* 4.1.3); *cordis linea* 44, *manus* 47, *stylus* 721, *digitus* 1225; *mentis circinus* 55, *habenae* 111, *lora* 778, *incus*, 1615, *ancora* 1062. Alanus is, however, a worse offender. In *Planc.* Metr. 7, we find *stomachus mentis hydropicat* (*Grammarian's Funeral!*), l. 9, *hospicium cordis et moenia mentis* 17, *corporis arcam* (read *arcem*) 19, *mentis urbem* 21. Cf. Chaucer, *Troilus* i, 1068 (*Mod. Phil.* VII, 481).

B. Play on Words: *re-, ex-cudo, incude* 1615; *in-, e-,pro-gressus* 1513; *e-, in-uado* 1520; *re-, ac-cuso* 1986; *re-, e-, pre-uinco* 1183; *re-, e-uoluo* 1963; *mălum* 1102; *hora, mora* 1784; *homo, hamo* 1155, 1162; *condīta* 1849; *honos, onus* 947, 1880, 1984 (as Sidon. *Ep.* 8.8, 9.2); *carne, carie* 1135 (*Lab.*); *im-mundus* 1124 (*Lab.*) *Venus, uenenum* 376; *uitae uitricus* 377; *artus, aptus* 149; *factura, iactura* 409; *gestus, gesta* 522; *coma, como* 549; *lata, laeta* 555; *spatiosa, speciosa* 556; *dictus, doctus* 697, if my suggestion is right; *Argus, argutus* 750; *uictor uirtute reuixit* 1211.

Documentum

Noun, etc.: *Parisius* indecl. 2.2.68; *iste* ('the following') 2.3.120; *nihil uerbum* 2.3.111 f.; *quicumque* = *quiuis* 2.3.116 (Ekkehard and *P.N.*); *quanto expressius poterimus* (= *quam expressissime*) 2.3.165; *competentior* 2.3.123; *conuenientissimum* 2.3.109.

nec adhuc = *ne tum quidem* 2.3.123.

Verb: indic. in dependent question 2.3.104; *ita quod* + indic. 2.3.107, 109 (Matth.); *non dico ut conuertatur* ('I do not say it should be . . .') 2.3.107; *cum* 'when' is avoided and *quando* used (always?); *quid irem?* 'why should I go?' 2.3.174.

Spelling: *commessantes et combibentes* 2.3.39. Due to confusion between *comis, comedo, comissor, commensalis and comedia*, cf. W. Cloetta, *Beiträge z. Literaturgesch. d. Mittelalters*, I (1890), 46 f., and the gloss of Martin of Loan (before 900) ed. Laistner (Manchester, 1923) *Comediae quasi comessorum odae, ut questum gulae adipiscerntur:* also gloss on *Lab.* 5 (p. 337, Faral).

Style: Geoffrey, like many mediaeval stylists, likes to separate the adjective from its noun as recommended by mediaeval textbooks, although Cicero is said never to do so except for special emphasis.

Atheniensi studio ('by study at Athens') 1.2; *planities signatur imagine spherae* simply = 'the plain is round' 2.2.19, v. 5 (the whole poem should be read); *uexatur strage solum* 2.3.59, cf. *P. N.*, 1019; *ad-, re-, di-, preter-mitto* (from Hildebert) 2.3.85, cf. *P. N.*, 1814 ff.; *recesserunt ab aula* ('have gone out of fashion') 2.3.163.

Laborintus

Noun: *meliori*, abl. 805; *communis*, acc. plur. 343 (*-es?*); *quo = a quo* (agent) 986; *rebus inops* 950; *ursior urso, tigride tigridior* 347 f.: cf. H. Sept. 1, 163, *Codrior* ('poorer, from Juvenal; cf. Bern. Silv. in Matth. 3.28), *Salamonior* 3.3, *Platonior* 3.87, *Neronior* 1.120 (*Neronizo* 1.20). This practice is condemned, *Doc.* 2.3.141.

Pronoun: *ipse* redundant 168 (cf. *Ys.* glossary *s.v.*); *ista uel illa* 500. *Brunell*, p. 63. l. 12: cf. *hic aut ille* in *P. N.*, *ille uel alter* (= *quiuis*) Vital de Blois, *Aulularia*, 315 (ed. E. Müllenbach, *Comoediae Elegiacae*, I, Bonn, 1885); *istud et illud* P. Riga 370; *sibi = eis* 872 ff.; *mei, tui* (gen. sing.) = 'my,' 'thy' 602, 858 (so constantly in Hrot.).

Adjective: comparative in positive meaning, 636, 685, 708, 900 (Matth.).

Verb: *non cumula* 530 (*P.N* and *Ys.* p. xliii); *uellem deseruisse* 18 (*P.N.*); *compatiendo* = pres. part. 838: cf. 933, 963 (Matth., *P.N.*); *pro posse* 312: cf. *formandi licere.* (= licentia) 845; *nominibus tacitis*, abl. absol. 441; *misereor* + dat. 749

Spelling: *genitrix* 289, 837; *disgrediens* 328; *rigmon* ('rhythm') 997; *Galienus*[1] 57; *Philomena* 988 (Matth.).

Style: Word-play; *leniter* (*lēuiter?*), *leuis* 200; *liuor, fauor* 30; *Parca, parco* 23; *puri, pueri* 879 f.; *gratis, gratia, ingratus* 841 f.; *ăret* 657 f.; *ĭdem* (of the Trinity), p. 377 (Matth.); *lux, luceo, lucerna*

[1] I doubt if the form *Galenus* was current in the Middle Ages. In Hugo of Trimberg's *Registrum Multorum Auctorum* (Vienna, 1888), J. Hümer unnecessarily changed *Gáliénus Hýpocras* of the MS. to *Gálenús Hippócrates* (l. 273).

131 f.; *lego, eligo, perlego* 601 f.; *părentes* 447 (in example); *con-, pro-sequor* 462 (in example); *prae-sumo* 324; *uerbis, uergis, uerbere* 231; *munda, mundus* 763 (*P. N.*); *labiorum labor* 236; *Remigius, remex* 206; *periphrasis perita parit* (*petit*, Far.) 306; *caries, carnis, careo* 477 (*P.N.*). List of authors with puns on nearly every name 599 ff. Imitation of *P.N.*, 155; *Lab.* 1005.

B. Metre

Apart from the few lines of Ekkehard, which represent the older German School and can for practical purposes be left out of account, our authors all show the same metrical technique.

Elision is entirely avoided except in two or three doubtful cases (i.e., where there is a variant, as *P.N.* 1453) and with *est* enclitic, e.g., Matth. 2.15 *signum est, Lab.* 88 *meum est.*[1]

All allow lengthening of a short syllable at the strong caesura of the hexameter and pentameter, but probably not at the arsis of the fourth foot of a hexameter.[2]

A short final vowel remains always short before *sp, sc*, etc. (and *may* remain so even in words like *rĕsplendet*). All allow a quadrisyllabic ending to a hexameter (particularly after a monosyllable), but rarely, except *Laborintus*, end in two dissyllables. The monosyllabic ending is forbidden by Matthew, 4.38

In the pentameter the dissyllabic ending is, I think, universal (cf. Matth. 4.39). Their pentameters are more monotonous even than Ovid's, chiefly owing to the search for words of the form $-\cup\cup - \cup$ to begin the second half (cf. Matth. 2.13 ff.). *Laborintus* in the first 63 pentameters has 35 of this type (and three $-\cup\cup-$

[1] Voigt (*Ys.*, p. xxxi) quotes *Ruodlieb, Brunellus*, and *Thraso* as avoiding elision. Hrotsvitha has only 5 elisions in several thousand lines; *Anticlaudianus*, P. Riga, *Miles, Milo, P. et P.*, seem entirely without elision. *Doctr.* condemns it — *uiles sunt istae prae cunctis et renuendae*, 2434: cf. Matth. in Far., p. 181, § 6, n., J. Garl. in *Roman. Forsch.* XIII (1901–02), 923, l. 11; Thurot, p. 445. *Doc.*, 2.2.26 (2 lines from the end) is corrupt, but *est* is probably to be deleted.

[2] Unless in Matth. 1.50 we should read *orbis ad exemplum Papa* (*Papae*, Far.) *procedit* (none of our authors lengthens a short final vowel before succeeding mute + liquid, like Dracontius, etc.). Another case is Matthew in Far., p. 7, l. 25: it is allowed by the theorists, who quote Ovid, *Met.* I.114, Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, 223; cf. Thurot, p. 448. *Doctr.* recognizes lengthening at any strong caesura, 2416 ff.

∪,∪—), formed by words in *-alis*, *-osus*, *-aris*, *-atus*, *-iuus*, *-usque*, *-iatque*, *-iturque* (etc.), *-atur*, *-abit*, *-atis*, *-auit*, *-isse*, *-nter*, *-ndŏ*, *-ione*, *-iore*, *-tate*. In the 213 pentameters of Matthew's poems there are 76 such. In *Pyramus et Thisbe* (p. 331 ff.) there are 24 in the first 65, but when the narrative gets going there are only 4 in 28. Matthew (2.14) recommends adjectives in *-alis*, *-osus*, *-atus*, *-iuus* (*sic legendum*), *-aris*, and also the comparative, for *ornatior festiuitas*.

Another favorite type in Matthew is the antithetical, e.g., *fallax lingua, nefanda manus*, or . . . *corpore, mente* ∪ —, or . . . *damnat*, ∪ — ∪ *premit*. Compare the tiresome use of the appositional *lues* at the end of the pentameter, imitated by Eberhard (see passages quoted in word-lists below).

I proceed to exemplify in detail the most interesting peculiarities:[1]

Ekkehard

Commodĕ 25: this *ĕ* is frequent in German poets, e.g., Hrotsvitha: it is already found in Venantius Fortunatus; *neutrā spernenda* 29: this lengthening is not found in Matthew, *Poetria Noua*, *Documentum*, or *Laborintus; mage* (*metri gratia*), as in Hrot., etc., 27.

Matthew

sĭmium, *sīmia*, 4.47.8; *īnitium* 1.12 (v. notes on *Lab.* below); *delŭbra* 1.15 according to mediaeval rule, by which all vowels before mute and liquid are doubtful: so *Gr.* 11.89, Thurot, p. 421. *rēciprocus* 1.58.49, H. Sept. 1.122, 4.130: cf. *rēciprocata*, Matth. in Far., p. 7, l. 4, *rēciprocatio*, *Gr.* 14.37; *apōcopat* 2.38, verse 1 (v. notes on *Lab.* below); *stātura* 1.82 (v. notes on *Lab.* below); *ȳpocrita* 1.53.51, 2.26, etc.; *epithētum* 1.50.5, 1.52.19, 1.55.13; *mēthŏnŏmīa* 1.53, 54.

Elision: *signum est* 2.15.

Poetria Nova and *Documentum*

fidĕi 24; *tītillo* (*recte*) 552 (*ĭ Ys.* 1.59, *ī* Jos. Isc. 4.199, my conj.); *iōcundus*, as usual, for *iucundus*, but *iŏcosus* 656 (*iōcosus*, Werner,

[1] Information on late classical prosody can be found in L. Müller's *De Re Metrica* (Leipzig, 1861 and later), Book V.

n155): *cătinus* 2028 (*cătus*, Werner m96); *ĕclipsis* 76, 341, *Gr.* 114, *Brun.*, p. 20, l. 5; *phȳsicus* 757, as *Doc.* 2.2.19: (v. notes on *Lab.* below); *clandestīna* 811 (*Doctr.* 2094n., Thurot, pp. 428 ff.): *quocircă* 106: *cŏr* (*recte*) 1804, 2103, and p. 321, second example: so L., *Doctr.* 2245, P. Riga 74, Aeg. Corb. 4.228: *māle* (corrupt?) 1975: *pută* ('for example') 1602, 1667: cf. *Doctr.* 2198, 2301: *cītare* 489, 1367: *cītator* 823, but *excĭto* and *cĭto* adv.: *cīto* in Marb., p. 36, is corrupt (*tiro?*) — Marb. has *ĭ* on p. 64: the confusion is due to such forms as *excio* besides *excieo: tĕmulentus* 1985, as Prud. *Sym.* 1.135: cf. *tĕmĕtum*, *Doctr.* 2050 n., and pp. cviii, cix: Werner, c97, Thurot, pp. 428 ff.: *uĭdula* ('viol') 663 (*fidula*, *C*, *D*): *uidulus* in Classical Latin has *ī*, though not so printed by Lewis and Short and White: *diūtius* (as in Lewis and Short and White) 269, but the *u* is short: *diŭturnus* 1721, cf. *Gr.* 15. 119, 25.48 *āriolus* 351, J. Garl. *Syn.* 158; *scātŭrio* 2076, Dietrich (in Lehmann) l. 122 (*scătŭrio*, Aeg. Corb. 1.142: *scatûrio* in the list of Thurot, pp. 428 ff.: Matthew is censured for *scăturizo*): *assĕcla* 1773, J. Garl. *Syn.* 413, *Vs.* (avoided by classical poets); *Pārĭsius*, *Aurēlianĭs* 1010 f., as usual; *Grēgōri* 16 (*Grĕgōri* in Venantius Fortunatus, 8.7.4 and 88, but *Grēgŏrius*): *Dālīla* 1780 (*v. l. Dalida* as *Doctr.* 1193, P. Riga 332): *Dānem* for *Danaem* should be kept in l. 620: *Danae* was written *Dane* in MSS (A. E. Housman, *Lucanus*, Oxford, 1926, p. xxiv: L. Havet, *Manuel de Critique Verbale* (Paris, 1911, §1062), which gave rise to the false quantity: cf. *Phetonteos* 464, *āeneus*, *Brun.*, p. 66, l. 25: *phīlosophor* 1825 (as usual, e.g., Werner, d62, f68, *Aul.* 354): *phīlosophus* first perhaps in Sidonius, *Carm.* 15.187: *pōtisso* 'drink a little' (*ποτίζω?*) 1984; *hўpōcrita* 744, but we should drop *et*, giving *ȳ*, as in Matth. and *Lab.*; *mōnarchīa* 328, cf. *Doctr.* 1912 n., *Vs.* p. xxx, Amarcius 4.190, *Gr.* 9.274 f., but *ŏ* in Matthew's *Tobias* 2150: *ācĕphalus* 2, but *ăcēphalus* *Gr.* 8.11: *ecclĕsia*, as in Venantius Fortunatus, etc.: *prōsŏpopoea* 462, 808, 814: *thēma* 1654, 1684, 1715, 1745, etc.: *parāclītus* 1508: *hўle* 1762 (*y* in *Gr.*). *In . . . nocenti* 1: cf. Eug. Tolet. *ad Ioh. Hex. Carm. uocibus disruptis* (who refers to Lucilius) '*O Io-uersiculos nexos qui despicis -hannes*,' etc. J. Grimm, *Lateinische Gedichte des x. und xi. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1838), pref., p. xxiii, quotes cases from Ermoldus Nigellus.

Elision: *-um* in *v.l.* 1453; *Minoi*, if the text is right (no *v.l.*) *Doc.*, 2.1.4. Quadrisyllabic ending to hexameter often; usually after a monosyllable, as 1232, 1251, 1279, 1291, 1300, 1341, 1463, 1464, 1535, 1585, 1619, 1642; but not 1269, 1701 (Horace does not observe this rule).

Alliteration not very common, but see 168, etc.

Laborintus

Concūbina 735; *muliērum* 794 (in leonines: the *ē* seems to have been avoided by classicists, though Matth. in Far., p. 7, l. 26, has it: *ē* first in Dracontius and Ennodius;[1] *fāc* 600, *Aul.* 647, H. Sept. 4.156; *ăret* 96, but *āret* 105, 247, 375, 657 (hardly *anet*); *eccē* (*v.l. ergo*) 117, as J. Garl. in Far., p. 46, n. 1; *īnitio, -alis* 269, 733, Venantius Fortunatus, *spur*, 1.114, ed. Fr. Leo in *M.G.H., Auct. Antiq.* IV, 1, Berlin, 1881 (Matth.); *stātura* 429 (Matth.): *stātus Doctr.* 1647n. (Prisc.) — for Venant. Fort. see Leo's metrical index, *ed. cit.*: *stātim* Ad. Vien., 274, anon. *P. et Thisbe* in Lehmann, p. 59, l. 334: cf. *Gr.* 20.97, '*a sto, stas, stātim; a sensu dicito sensim*': Thurot, p. 428 ff.; *partĭtio* 684; *rēgio* 630 (corrupt: *ĕ* 824); *mīnare* ('lead'), see word-list, p. 374, below; *cŏr*, 689 (*P.N.*); *Sēdūlius, sēdŭlitas* 655 f. *Sēdūlius*, Amarcius, 3,270, *Sēdŭlius* in Theodulf, in K. P. Harrington, *Mediaeval Latin* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1925), p. 133: both vowels vary in Venant. Fort.; *Gēta* 615, as usual in the Middle Ages, perhaps from Vital of Blois' *Amphitruo*. Terence must have been regarded as prose, since he ends iambics with *Gĕta; Grătianus*, 59; *Ōuĭdianus* 622, cf. *Gr.* 10.30, 10.91; *Justĭniana* 60 (H. Sept. 2.242, Aeg. Corb. 1.136); *Dāres* 641; *Thēōdŏlus* 605 (cf. *Thēōdorus* in Venant. Fort.); *Sĭmŏnis* 846, *sĭmŏnīa* 707, 843 (*Sĭmŏn, Ys.*, p. xxx n., *ī* in Aeg. Corb. 4.1493); *Bōetius* 681 *Sĭnăī* 284; *Iŏsēph* 570, etc.; *Iĕsu* 508: not classical, I think, but *ĕ* in P. Riga, 102, etc., *Doctr.* 1862 n., *ĕ* in *Exempla Honestae Vitae* 88 f.,

[1] This scansion, while representing the Vulgar Latin pronunciation (W. M. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, Oxford, 1894, p. 164; also cf. C. H. Grandgent, *From Latin to Italian*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927, § 37, 2, p. 36), was supported by an imaginary quotation from Statius and an interpolation in [Priscian] *de Accentibus* (Thurot, pp. 428 ff., and Reichling, *Doctr.* 2042). The quotation is really from Lucretius, iv, 1228, with *mulieris* for *muliebris*. Cf. L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen* III (Munich: Beck, 1920), 80, n.

Thurot, pp. 428 ff.; *Pārĭsius, -anus* 944 f., *Aurĕliānĭs* 947 (*P.N.*); *thēologīa* 606; *pēriphrasis* 306; *hȳpŏcritae* 111 (Matth., *P. N.*), cf. *Ys.* p. xxix, to which add *Aul.* 632, 750, *hȳpocrisis: Architrenius* in Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 412, l. 8, *Planct.* 6.25; *elegīā* 6 (or *-eĭa* as in Ovid); *alphābetum* 157, *Doctr.* 26, *Gr.* 8.4: *alphābeta* Paul. Pell. *Euch.* 65; *phīlosophia* 682 (*P.N.*); *cosmographīa* 65; *āpologis* 607; *phȳsica* 57, *Doc.* 2, 2.19, *Ys.* often (p. xxx), Sidon. *Carm.* 15.101, J. Garl., p. 61, l. 848 (*ed. cit.*, Mari): *ȳ̆* in Aeg. Corb. (*ȳ̆* according to Voigt, but *ȳ* at 1.143, etc.): *ȳ̆* H. Sept. 4.112, *Gr.* 8.271:*cānonicus* (*-o*) 319, 346, *Gr.* 8.80, etc.; *cānone*, abl. *Ant.* 1.298, *cānonis: Exempla Honestae Vitae* 183; cf. *Brunell.*, p. 42, l. 25; *geomēter* 48, J. Isc. 2.126, *Ys.* 2.291, 309 (*Ys.*, p. xxix): *geomētra, -es* in Classical poets; *āpocopo* 860 (see word-list, p. 372, below), *Brunell.*, p. 70, l. 9: *ăpōcopa, Gr.* 8.12, *Planc.* 8.40: *āpocopē, Gr.* 1.9, etc. (Matth.).

Alliteration fairly common, e.g., 929 f., 943 f.

Quadrisyllabic ending of hexameter common, e.g. 895, 915, 945, 953.

Pentameter ends in *ei*, 458.

Eberhard is inferior both to Matthew and Geoffrey in ability, as may be seen from his errors in prosody, and in such lines as:

> Pro studio cauponem, pro doctore tabernae
> Prouisorem, pro codice scorta colunt

or *non es simplex nam* . . . beginning a pentameter (512). The following, on an idle person, who *producit laborem* is, however, ingenious:

> Qui *labor* est aliis, hic tibi *labor* erit (364).

C. Vocabulary

In the following lists I have tried to include all words of interest, with illustrations from the works mentioned above, and any other source available to me. I do not as a rule quote as authorities for a word classical writers obviously unknown to our authors, e.g., Tacitus, Valerius Flaccus, Statius' *Siluae.* To give some idea of the extent of their departure from classical standards I have indicated by a dagger words for which I could discover no classical authority:

besides Lewis and Short, I have used White and Georges (both of whom seem superior on Late and Ecclesiastical Latin) and Quicherat's *Thesaurus*. I regret that I have been unable to consult the German *Thesaurus*, but I doubt whether many classical words which have escaped all previous lexicographers would be known to ordinary mediaeval schoolmasters.

The most striking feature of the vocabulary of these writers is the use: (*a*) of new derivative adjectives, due to the type of pentameter referred to above; (*b*) of new verbs — a development of the practice of the later Latin epic, beginning with Ovid and culminating with Statius. It was a surprise to me to discover how many of the verbs which in their context seemed typically mediaeval proved to have classical authority. Still, as they are certainly typical I have thought it essential to include some in my lists.

Matthew gives a list of 30 verbs (ii, 37), while in the *De Coloribus Rhetoricis* (Far., p. 325) Geoffrey gives no less than 150: he is especially fond of compounds in *prae-;* there are 19 in my list from the *P.N.*, while in the 13 lines, 45–57, alone we find *praemetior, praecircino, praearripio praelimito* (besides *praeambulo* and *praescribo*).[1] This experimenting in new verbs is characteristic of the age: we find in the three lines, H. Sept. iii, 9–11, *silogizo, amoeno, pertico* ('measure'), *philomeno* — while Alanus, *Planct.* iv, in ten sapphic stanzas, has *marito, moneto, togo* ('clothe'), *cateno, soporo, inauro, soporo, proteo* ('change'), *tunicatus, syncopo, propheto.*

[1] This fondness for compounds in *prae-* comes, perhaps, from the Christian poets, who affect them — e.g. *praesolidus, praestupidus.*

WORD-LISTS

NOUNS

MATTHEW, *Ars Versificatoria* (Far. p. 109 ff.) (abbreviated M)

abiectio plebis, i.e. Dauus: Pr. 2, *1,53.1 (from *Ps.* xxi, 7)
†aequipollentia 4.14.
affectio = *affectus* 1.87: in 2.24 read *affectus* for *effectus*.
*alosa 3 .41. [from Bern. Siluestris] (Aus.*Mos.*)
†archimandrita ('shepherd'), mercennarius 2.16.
articulus necessitatis 1.36, 2.46: difficultatis 2.39: ('subdivision') 1.63,2.36: ('topic') 1.73, 2.11: mortis 1.73, *1.111.32: paupertatis 1.90 (*a. temporis* Ad. Vien. 81, 370. See *Graecismas*, index s.v.)
†arbitraria (judge'') 3.46
†*assutor pannorum (met.) Pr. 7
audientia (=*auditus*) 1.118, 2.39
*aurula 2.3. (eccl.)

†barbulus longus 3.41. [from Bern. Silv.] = 'barbel'
boatus 2.5,2.15 (Apul.)

cardine intacto (virgo) 3.22
*cauda (*sens. obsc.*) 3.5. (Hor.)
cibaria, pl. = *cibus* 2.34
*†claustra (*sens. obsc.*) 2.38. 42

MATTHEW (poems inserted)

abiectio plebis 1.53.1 (as in prose)
adulterium ('imitation') 1.111.18
†alteritas 4.49.7: L (q.v.)

canities mentis 1.52.49. [*c. animi*, Claudian, Ambrose: cf. *mente canesco*, J. Isc. 1.19: *canos profert de pectore sensus*. Aeg. Corb. 1.152]

Documentum (pp. 265 ff.) (abbreviated D)

*apex sanguinis 1.6. (= *summum genus*)
articulus (thing?) 2.2.11: as technical term 2.3.88(this name from *Ad. Herenn*, apparently only in Geoff.)

casus omitted: obliquus 2.3. 112: cf. 2.3.121 (*P.N.*s.v. *remex*)
cautela (= rhet. device) 2.2 42,1.3.12,101,120. cf. *caute*

Poetria Noua (p. 197 ff.) (abbreviated P)

Agellius (A. Gellius) 1867, 1872
apex primus ('highest excellence') 118 (*nobilitatis apex, Planct. Nat.* 5.58: *rerum apex* Jos. Isc. 2.40
arcus ('eyebrows') 566
articulus punctim caesus = *asyndeton* 695: a. similis = *iunctura similis* 780
assecla 1773
aula ('womb') virginis 1203. [Hildebert, 1382, l. 6. Migne: Christmas Hymn '*En nauis institoris*,' l. 14 (*aulula*)]
auxiliator 2113 (Stat.)

casus omitted: obliquus 996 cf. *Lab.*, and *remex* below.
cautela (='rhetorical device') 235 (D)

Laborintus (p. 338 ff.) (abbreviated L)

actor ('suer') 865
†algorismus 939
†alpha: ructuat a. (cf. *ingemit aleph*, H. Sept. 1) 79
†alteritas (triplex a. of the Trinity), p. 377: also in *Lydia*, p. 369, DuMéril, and *Paulina and Polla* (M.)
antidotum *iudiciale* ('remedy') 866 (Adolf. Vien. 68, 245. *Brunell.*, p. 62, l. 4. (Late prose)
apex: historialis a. 'the high matter of history' 632
atomi sermonis 159

byssus munditaie 283

casus omitted: sine remige sextus (= abl. abs.) 339: Faral's conjecture, *casus* for *sextus*, is unnecessary — see D and P.

clausula (part of verse) 2.41
clientela (position of *cliens*) 2.16.
coaptatio 1.68 (Aug.)
†comitantia 4.28
†concubinario (dat. fem.; *-æ?*) Pr. 2.
coniectura ('sign') 2.5.
consignificatio ('connotation') 4.24 f. (opposed to *significatio* in Boethius *de Interp.*)
conticinio noctis 2.2
cosmographia ('cosmology') of Bern. Silv. 3.28,41 (L)
crepido ('mouse-hole'): my suggestion in 'Notes' is unnecessary: cf. Chaucer, *C.T.* D572 f.; Werner, j87 m92, 95

cauda 1.53.38; 1.53.78; 3.5 as in prose.

ceruisia 2.3.23
*circinus 2.3.23 (P)
clausula often = 'short phrase'
conglutinatio 2.2.40 (Cic.)
crabo 2.3.24 (v. 'Notes')
cultelli (= *sistrum?*) 2.2.5 (can this have any connection with Vitruv.,10.14 *tympanum (t.t.) in cultro collocatum?*)

cellula (of brain) 1972 ('Notes': cf. *Gr.* 7.63, *Planct.* II, p. 453, Wright)
circinus 55 (met., cf. *circino*)
†citator 823 (*c. equi*)
cliens ('guest') 631
compago ('union') 765
cutis: *intus et in cute notus* ('through and through') 81 = Persius 3.30
†cyclus ('circle') 573

coluri 63 (Macrobius)
computus 977 (Gromat.)
cosmographia Platonis('cosmology') 65 (M)

detrimentum legis (?) 1.36
dialiton ('asyndeton') 3.1, 3.15.
dictiones diuersarum orationum ('short phrases') 1.37.29 (P)
diffinitio 1.95
†discretionis domicilium ('discretion') Pr. 2
†discohaerentia 1.36
†*dos ('a virtue') 3.10 (P)

†discretio 4.49.19 (as in prose)
†dos 1.50.26

dictio = *oratio* 2.3.168: M
donaria = *dona* 1.6

denarius colorum ('group of ten') 960
†diaeta ('task') 829: [N.B. *finitque diaetam*, not *finit* alone is the metaphor: see on L]
†domicellula 1859, 113: M
dos ('an endowment'): M
dulcor 390 (Tert.)

†diaeta (as in P), 993 (properly 'day's journey': so Adolf. Vien,. 373, 685, and Prov. in Werner, e13): *Brunellus*, p. 36, l. 13: supposed derivation from *dies?*
duplicitas 906 (eccl.)

eloquium ('speech') 3.43 (late)
emblema ('ornament') 2.11
epicurus ('epicure') 2.34.[1]
esse ('being') *1.66. (quotation) e. effigiale, 'form,' (see adjs. s.v. effigialis) e. materiale, 'matter.'
euidentia ('clearness') 1.68 (Cic.)

ens 4.51.3
extasis (of lover) 4.47.5

editus,-ūs ('dung') 2.3.24 (Digest)
emphasis, tech. term = 'figure of speech' 2.2.32 ff. (L)
ethica ('ethics') 2.3.128

excubiae frontis 569

emphasis, tech. term.= 'abstract for concrete' 340 (cf. *Doc.* 2.2.32 ff.)
essentia (of God), p. 377
esuries 572 (Cic. *Fam.*, Jerome, Sidon.)

[1] Cf. *quod sufficiat tribus Epicuris* ('*De Grege Pontificum*,' in Arundel collection).

fauilla obliuionis sopitum 2.2
*fauus interior ('charm') = *mel* 2.9,3.1. (J. Isc. 1.464)
†fimbriae ('trifles') Pr. 1 (cf. *fimbrio*)
*fronte ('outwardly') 3.7.
fulcimentum 1.114 (Apul.)

*†gardo 3.41. (= Bern.Silv.)
gesticulatrix ('tumbler') 2.43 (cf. P)
gestio ('transaction') 1.112 (Cic.)

habitus ('personal quality') 1.85
*herbula 2.3. (Cic.)
horam (ad h. = 'now') 1. 118
hypocrita color 2.5.

†identitas 3.52.

†ioculatrix ('jongleuse') 2.43

†gratuitas = *gratia* 1.56. 4,1.111.13

†floriditas 2.3.7
*formula 2.3.93 ('beauty,' as once in Plaut.)

habitudo (*nasi*, etc.) 2.3.162

idemptitas (= Cic's. *similitudo*, *Inv.* 1.41.76) 2.3.8.
incitamentum 2.3.59 (Cic.)
inculcatio, often of emphasis by rhetorical device. (Tert.)
inquinamentum 2.3.59 (Gell.)
instantia ('exception') 2.3. 107,109. (v. 'Notes'),[1]
iuuencula 2.3.77

factura ('creation'), to match *iactura* 409 f. (eccl.)
in foribus ('very near') 428
forpex 979 ('Notes,' where read *Carm.* for *Ep.*). So Amarcius 4.359, *Planct.*, p. 503, l. 5.

gesticulator ('tumbler') 683 (cf. M)
gyrus 39, 1955

hyle 1762: mater hyle, perhaps to suggest *materies*. Cf. Isid. *Etym.* 19.19.5: *materies quasi mater dicta.*

index = *titulus* 1492
†inflatura 293

fulcimen, p. 374 (Ov.)

†grammata ('letters,' 'ABC') 67

integritas = *salus* 856, 990

[1] Cf. Henry of Avranches in *Speculum*, III (1928), 149.

leno = *adulter* 2.24.22: J. Isc. 3.309; cf. *lĕna* (*ĕ*) = *meretrix*, Adolph. Vien. 361
libramen iuris 1.88 (Claud. Mamert.)
lima reprehensoria rodo Pr. 6; imitated in Prologue to *Gr.*

libramen iuris 1.51.17,1.52.37
locale)(locus = 'content')('container' 1.53.52. (The word first in Tert.)
lues 1.53.2,60,86: 2.20 verse 12,2.21 v. 6 (P, L)

limes ('by-path') 87, 91, 105, and
limite dextra 133
†locutrix 693: cf. *potatrix*, *textrix* 1003 f. (*textrix* of spider, H. Sept. 174)
lues superba = *superbia* 975 (M, L)

labilitas ('elusiveness') 920 (J. Salisb.)
limes ('path') 301
lues, *passim:* e.g. uersiculosa lues ('plague of verse teaching') 962 (M)

maneries ('manner') 1.60 (*Gr.* 11.163) [1]
*mas = maritus? Pr. 3.
massa tota ('whole lump') 2.11.
monoculus 4.42. (v. late)
multiloquium 1.57,2.5. (Vulg.)

†moderantia 1.51.19,1.50.23

†mensale ('table-cloth') 2.3.63

†mensale 509
moderamen 2067 (Ov.)
morula 1997, 1378, 2108 (Augustine, Hrot. *Gong.* 98)

maxima ('maxim') 160: v. 'Notes'
modulamen, p. 373 (Hex.): (Ov.)

nugae canorae = leonines, 2.43-4-5, 3.46 (from Horace)
nugigeruli 2.42 (Plaut., Isid.)

naris 1.58.21.24. (the sing. often in Ov.)
noxietas 1.53.26. (Tert.)
numerale('individual unit'?) 1.53.64.
nutricula 1.108.1

notula 231, 1262, 2014, 2025, 2054 (Mart. Cap.)

†nocumenta 469

obex: fastus obice uultu (?) *3.21
offendiculum 1.37,2.5.(Plin., Paul. Nol.)
ostiaria ueris (Flora) 2.2, cf. 3.42 (Vulg., Ambr.)
ostium circumstantiae (on lips: met.) Pr. 2

oblatrator 1745 (Sidon.)
optio mentis 2025 (Cic.)

[1] Cf. Mari p. 30, l. 99, who quotes a case from Godfrey of Hagenau (1293): Reichling's ed. of *Doctrinale*, index and pp. cvii, cix: Fr. *manière* said to come from *manaria*.

perpendiculum (rationis) Pr. 1
*†plaïs (plaice), quot. from Bern. Silv., 3.41.
Polyphemus ('sharp-sighted'?))(Tiresias 3.46: cf. 1.53.8
pluralitas 1.114 (Gramm.)
praeminentia 3.24. (Claud. Mamert.)
praerogatiua ('advantage') 1.90,2.5 (late prose)
promotus Pr. 1. (Tert.)
propheta = *index* Pr. 3
puerpera: prolixitas fastidii puerpera, 1.118

pagina frontis 1.56.11,2.24
perpendiculum 1.50.28
pincerna 1.107.5 (late prose)
praeambula 1.52.17 (adj?) (P) (Mart. Cap.)
praebenda (f.), eccl. term. 1.50.5
†praelatio sceptri ('carrying') 1.51.27

quadratura 1.53.30–1 (late)

praeminentia 1.8 (M)
principium 2.3.165: ad illum (*sic*) p. materiae, *sc.* ad finem. There must be something wrong here.
priuilegium pulchritudinis 1.6
*proximitas 2.3.105 ([Ov.] *Nux.*)
puncturae doloris 2.3.127 (v. late)

posse suum 41
praeambula 52 (adj.?): cf. *subambula* 1343: (Mart. Cap.): in *Brun.*, p. 70, l.15 for *lingua praeambula uoci*, read *uoti*.

palpones 115 (Pers.)
Philomena 988
pneuma sacrum 114
polis (πόλις ?) 426
praelatus ('prelate'?) 91
purgamina (sceleris) 796 (in example) (Ov.)

recapitulatio 4.50 (Augustine)
redimiculum ('adornment') 2.44
repagulum, of winter, 2.2 (sing. not used) *P.N.*

reatus ('crimes') 1.50.13, 1.53.23

remex (for 'steersman'?): casus sine remige 707: ablatiuus sine r. solus 696 (= 'absolute') [1]
remotio 1060 (Cic.)
repagula 1077 (Cic.) (M)
rostrum manuum (ciconia), sign of derision 452

recula (Leys.: MSS *regula*) 781 (Plaut. Apul.)
remex (of cases) as in *P.N.* 339: Remigius as *remex* of scholars, 206.
reparatrix 813 (in example) (*-tor* in Stat.)
rigmon = *numerum* 997

scintillula uenustatis Pr. 5 (Cic., Tert.)
sibilator 3.46 (Boeth.)

scabies rerum = Dauus 1.58.1
series ramorum 1.111.10

speculum lectionis 2.3.111

specula frontis 565: speculum (-am?) uultus 581

saltatus 934 (Ov.)
sedimen 110 (late)
seminium 146 (archaic)

[1] sub regmine tanto (i.e. 'king') 329: so *P*, but *ABCDG* have *remige* ('steersman' or 'rudder'): same meaning probably in *Lab.* 206 and Reginald in Wright, II, 260, l. 6: cf. H. Sept. 3.194: fracto remige nauis abit. I do not understand *Graec.* 12.157.

*spiramen ('breath') 2.3
speculum pulcritudinis, 1.40,1.68
†superfluitas 4.11.
†syncategoreumata = consignificantia 2.46 and so *Reg. Mult. Auct.* 194, MS. (Prisc. has *-emata*)
silua supercilii 1.55.19,158. 11; cf. *s. capillorum* Henr. Septim. 3.55, *s. comae* Juv. 9.13, *s. ciliorum* Maximian 1.40, *s. pilorum* Alanus' *Planctus* II, p. 432 (ed. Wright). Other cases in Voigt, *Ys.* 1.860 n.
simius (with *simia*) 4.47.8
status ('steadiness') 1.51.46, 1.50.30.1.52.57
studium Naturae (locus) 'N's. masterpiece' 1.58.1
summula 4.51.28,32. cf. p. 7, l. 29 '*summula nuntia metri*' (a further proof that Matth. called his book *summa introductiua* (v. 'Notes')
†subambula ('successor') adj.? 2.1.6. cf. *praeambulus, -a.*
†subambula 1343, masc. (but *ABD* have *subambule*)
succuba capitis ('the neck') 581 (Prud. in the literal sense)
sudor tertius ('task') 82: cf. 400 etc.
series caeli (= *ordo stellarum*) 33

talio Pr. 5
*Thais = 'meretrix' 2.38.42
†T(h)rasonitae ('boasters')
*†titulus (glory'') 1.9, 1.11 (D, P)
transsumptio 3.21. (Quint.)
*truta 3.41, quot. from Bern. Silv. (my emendation for *turcra*, v. 'Notes') cf. *Planct.* II. p. 440, *trucula* [becomes salmon], v.l. *tritula*. read *trutula*.
tabulae, *tabellae 2.2.6 (P)
*titulus ('glory') 1.6,1.8 etc.
tabulae, tabellae 645, 649 ('tambourines,' Arab. *tabbál*?)
†titulus ('glory') 161, 1837 etc.
transsumptio 250 (M)
tyrannis 379, 802 'tyranny': cf. Wright, *Anglo-Lat. Sat. Poets*, II, 223, *dura tyrannis.*
talentum mundi (Christus), p. 373
thalamus (of brain: from Bern. Sylv.) 122: J. Isc. 4.194
trabea asumptae carnis (of Christ), p. 372: cf. *uelum carnis*, p. 373

uices carpere 3.5 ('take place of')
uicennium 2.2.63,68 (Dig.)
uniformitas 2,3.157 (Tert. etc.)
uernula (masc.) 1770 (Juv. etc.)
†uĭdulae ('viols') 663 (only *ūdulus* 'trunk' in class. Latin)
uis memorantis (= *memoratiua, P.N.* 2022) 124

zeuma 2.3.60

VERBS

absentor = *absum* 2.46. (*absentans* in Sidon.)
†aequiparo ('am equal') 197 (Class.)
†aequipolleo 4.16 aequipollentia 4.20,22
†alludo ('match') Pr. 2 and *3
amico 1.36,2.11 (Stat.)
amplio 1.21, *1.51.41 (Hor. — rare)
ausa = 'daringly' 1.55.12, 3.23 cf. Voigt, *Ys*, p. xlvi. J. Isc. 2.277; so read in Matth. in Lehmann, p. 35, l. 163 for *ansal*

†adopto = 'wish besides'
†altero ('change') 2.38 verse 15
amico 1.111.61
†anhelo ad ('aspire') 1.50.44
apocopo ('cut short') 2.38, verse 1 (L)
approprio 1.50.24, 2.38.54 (*-atus* in P) (v. late and rare)

adinuenio ('find to match') 2.3.108 (Vulg. = *inuenio*)

affricuit limam 871
amarico 68 (eccl.)
ancillor 508 (arch. and late)
arcuo 652 (J. Garl. *Syn.* 210 Livy) v. rare
†authentico 440

abbreuio 340 (Vulg.)
†alterutro 428
āpocopo 860 (gramm. cf. *apocopa mortis*, *Planct.* 8.40) (Matth.)

†*bombifico (= *pedo?*) 2.34
†bumbizo ('mutter'?) 2.88. 17

beo 1.13,1.52.2,59,1.54.6, 1.57.14,2.21

†bifurco 87

bŏat Bŏetius 681

circino 4.1, 41 (P)
combino (?) 3.29; -atus 3.45 (Aug. Sidon.). In 3.29 read, perhaps, *combinatae*.
connumero 2.21 (late prose)
consono ('suit') 2.34 etc.
cornicor 2.42: explained 3.20 (croak): 3.52,4.47. (Amarcius 4.403, Persius 5.12: *cornicator* in *Carm. Censulensia* 16.2)

captiuo 1.55.23 (eccl.)
circumloquor ('hint at') 1.55.22 (the word only in Aus.)
clunico, 2.38, verse 41: prob. = *clunagito* of *Gr.* 15.106,19.79; cf. Juv. 2.22
confoedero (gladium lateri) 1.51.19:2.38.41 (eccl.)
contaceo 1.54.23 (*-ticeo*, eccl. etc.)

circino ('surround') 2.3.23: ('go round') 2.3.105: circuit uel circinat 2.3.104
citharizat auis 2.3.13, ex. of *translatio* (lit. in Nepos and Vulg.) Hildebert 1383 Migne
†coadiutus 4.3.74
commessantes (v. notes on spelling) 2.3.39
complaceo (from Vulg.), + *in* and abl. 2.3.123
concordo 2.3.84 (v. *discordo*)
conglutino 2.3.37 ff., and often
consolido 2.3.85
†*cortino 2.2.19
*curo ('cure') 2.2.19 (*Brunell.* p. 62, l. 4.)

caligo intr. 1414.1418
castigo (met.) 567 (Sil. Ital.)
cibo 85, 903, 1011 (not in verse)
circino 607, 1734 (Ov.) cf. *circinus, praecircino* (M)
†circumluceo, trans. 29
coaddo 1675 (v. rare)
coaequo 565
coapto 584, 1260, 1842, 2007, etc. (eccl.)
coarto 694
compagino 576, 1999 (late)
complaudunt duo in idem 1961 (lit. in Paul. Nol.)
†componder ('be equal') 1604
conglutino 2000
connascor 821 (Tert.)

†cānonico 346 (ex. of *uerbi nouitas*). cf. cānonicus 319
cateno 485 (Venant.)
cito amore = amo 721
compatior mendis ('excuse') 10 ('sympathize' in Vulg.)
concelebro 932
condita ('compositions'?) 955
condoleo ('excuse'), p. 377 ('sympathize' in Vulg.)
consolidans cibus 204
†crastino, p. 377 in proverb

†connodo digitos 371
contristo 803
coopertus 1536, 1548(Vulg.)
cruento 371

denigro (met.) 4.2 (v.late): see next column.
*depretio 3.9. (L)
deputatus (charged against) 1.110 (if my conjecture *deputatum* is right); ('assigned') 2.35 etc.
diescit 4.21 (P)
diffamo 1.27
diffiteor 2.5
*dilapido 1.25,2.38.14 (Ter.)
†*dispariare 3.7 (L)

degenero (in melius) 1.55.24
denigro morsu ('carp at') 1.50.47 (H. Sept. 3.41,4.163)
†descire 1.55.7,1.111.24
†dispatiatus ('spread') 1.56.10.

deputatus (rep — Far.) 'assigned' 2.2.68
desaeuio 2.3.57
detriuimus ('treat of'?) 2.3.152
diffibulo 2.3.13 (Stat: cf. *diffibulat urbem murus* J. Isc. 5.131
discordo)(concordo 1.3.84
dulcesco ('be sweet') 2.2.68 (once in Cic.) P

dedisco 519
degenero ('fall off') 413, 628
despumo ('vomit') 1795
†diescit 1659 (J. Isc. 2.608; M)
diffinio 1948
difformo 69
†dilucido 1240
†do frena = *freno* 426
dulcesco 950, 976

†depuero 881
depretio 874 (eccl. and late)
dimidio 861
discordo 349 (D)
disgrediente stylo ('digressive') 328
†(se) dispariare paribus ('make unequal') 928 (M) cf. Matth. in Lehmann, p. 31, l. 14
†diuario 930

elatro (Met.) Pr. 5 (Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.18)
elucesco 2.11,12. (eccl., cf. Browning: '*Bishop orders his tomb*')
exubero 1.36

elimo 1.52.16 (my conj. for *elimino*)
enucleo (=*declaro*?) 1.53.82, 2.22.9, 2.38.55 (not in verse)
exulo (trans.) 1.51.25 (v. late)

*euacuo, p. 324 (L) (late prose)
†exemplifico 2.3.128

†emacero 311
emarcuit 360 (v. rare)
exhaurio ('use up') 825
explanto 1921 (agric.)
†exterminet ora pallor 370

†temutilatus ('abbreviated') 936
euacuatur 96 (D)
excerebro 954 (eccl.)

†festivo 2.11
†fimbrio ('belittle') 2.38.57 (cf. fimbriae)
frequento ('use frequently') 3.24,3.30
fuscata (fuc- ?) malignitas 3.9 [*fuscato* (read *fucato*) *decipit ore* A. Vien. 533]

†festivo 1.13, 1.52.1, 1.54.5, 1.57 5,1.55.33 (H. Sept. 4.70)
foedero 1.52.11 (Jerome etc.)
fructifico in . . . 1.52.12; hence read *florem* 1.111.12 (L)

*falco 1.16 (J. Isc. 3.213 Isid.)

facit pro ('counts for') 414
fatiscens pulmo 684 (from Sidon.?)
figuro 46, 942 (*Alda* 350: not in good verse)
fortuno 43 (only ritual)
frico ('stimulate') 950
furari cor 584, motus 659

grauo ('am a trouble') 530
gyro 650 (Vulg.)

famulor, 253, 269, 355, 779
fructifico ('give fruit') 146, 154, 918 (eccl.)
fulta barbā (gena) 549

humiliatus 2.7 (late prose)

†improprio)(proprio 1.76
informo ('endue with quality') 1.85
*insignio 1.13, 1.68, 1.110
insudo deliciis 1.40
intimo ('suggest') 1.39, 1.73 3.18, and prob. 2.5 for *intonat*, q.v. (late prose)
intono coniecturam 2.5 (read *intimo*?)
irrogo = *adhibeo*, w.dat. 1.90

inesco 1.56.11
intimo 2.38 verse 9 (Tert.)
intitulo ('honor') 1.52.2,1.55 44 (v. l), 1.111. 36. *titulis intitulo, P. & Poll.* p. 410
†intumulo 2.38, verse 8

†imbalsamo ('soothe') 2.3. 128
inculco (-atio) v. oft., esp. of rhetorical emphasis; e.g. 2.3.90

ignio 215, 575 (Prud.)
†immilito 629
impinguo 313 (*Alda* 282; eccl. and late)
incarcero 806
incurro + acc. 95
incuruat animum (timor) 314
inhonesto 753 (once in Ov.)
interseco uerba (of sobs) 543, 566
interuolo 654
irrutilo 564 (Ambrose)

inspiro ('sigh') v.l. *suspiro* 15
instimulo culpis (MS. *insim-*) 898
inuetero (= *-asco*) 922

iuuenescit humus (ex. of *translatio*) 2.3.13 P

iuuenescit: Bacchus senex i. in auro 626, from *Mil. Glor.*, v. Faral.

liuesco 1.58.17 (Claud.)
loco: *nescit* (*deum*) *locare locus* 4.49.14

lacto 113 (*Gr.* 19.19 Vulg. and archaic)
licere formandi (= *licentia*) 845

mancipo effectui Pr. 1
mediante (me) 4.51 (v. next col.)
mendico 1.73,2.5

†malleo 2.38, verse 25
marito 1.52.9,1.57.4,1.111. 11 L
medio ('am agent') 1.53.41[1]
mendico 1.53.39, 66 (Juv.)
misereor + dat. 1.50.13. (v. l.)
†morbito 2.38 verse 22 (perhaps *morbido*)
muscipulo 1.58.20

malignor 2.3.87: -ans ('malignant') 2.3.65. P
moror ('please') oft, e.g. 2.3.111

malignor 198, -ans 1354 (Vulg.)

†malleo 919
marito 186 and p. 373
mino ('lead') 807 (*Gr.* 15.57 Anon. (1294) *de Adolf. Imp.* Leyser, p. 1099: Ekkehard IV, in Harrington, p. 246 (prose)[2]
†moneto 919 (Alan. *Planct.*, 1.27, Faral, p. 413)

nescit + inf. ('cannot') 4. 49.14, 1.50.32, 1.53.22
nidifico 1.111.25

negotior ('act') 2.3.120,124

naturans (natura) 19 (v. Faral)
numerant tria ('make *numeri*') 998

[1] *te mediante*, 'by your means,' A. Vien. 494; cf. *Ant* 1.293; this use of abl. absolute common in *Brunellus*, e.g. pp. 18.19, 35 *ult.*, 60.3, but not in any Class. author.

[2] *VII Sap.* II, 73.20, ed. Hilka, Heidelberg, 1913; Reichling on *Doctr.* 1862. *mīna* ('threat') in Werner q 90 (v. 'Notes' and Thurot, p. 428 ff.).

obliquo *1.18,2.5
obtenebro 1.51.27 (eccl.)
obaudit 1366
obuio 199 (Vulg. etc.)
occupor in nihilo ('it's naught to me?') 523

palpitat fides (*in aliquo*) Prol. 3,1.22,2.38
†pedisecor (-quor) 4.34
*perpetuo 1.17 etc.
†picturo *2.28. (J. Garl., l. 158, Mari) -atus 1.1, 1.110: cf. *expicturatus*
†praeanticipo 4.50
†praeconcipio 4.18
praeiudico (-or?) 'condemn'
praenoto ('note first') 2.13, 3.49 (late prose)
praetendo ('show,' 'offer') Pr. 1, Pr. 2, 1.37, 48, 73.
propalo ('propound') 2.1. (Sidon.)
propino: in very extended use, e.g. p. refugium I, 114
*propheto 1.24,3.35 (eccl.)
protelo ('postpone') Pr. 1
purpuro 2.2
patrisso 2.38, verse 37 (Plaut.)
paupero 1.51.23,1.52.43, 1.56.1 (Hor.)
†perendino 2.38 verse 43 (='delay,' intr.?)
phalero 2.38 verse 7 (Ambr., J. Isc. 3.394,4.102)
picturo 1.107.2,1.111.24
picturatus 1.55.5,1.57.15 (Virg.)
pilleo 2.37, verses 1 and 2 (legal)
plasmo (and plasma) 4.49.10 (eccl.)
praecino 1.111.22
praeradio + acc. (Ovid) 1.50.36,1.51.5; + dat. 1.56.15; intr. 4.49.12
praesento 'vale' 1.111.19
†primitio + acc. ('be first in') 1.50.22; ('start') 2.38 31 (H. Sept. 4.142)
propino ('offer,' 'show') 1.50.29,1.111.33,1.107.5
propheto 1.111.22 (eccl.)
purpuro 1.52.1,1.111.6
pectere uerba 2.3.24: perpexa uerba 2.3.7. perpexus locus 2.3.13
†praeassignatus 2.2.45,101
†praelactens ('feed on milk': -ans?) 2.1.13
praeloquor ('speak first') 2.3.49
praeparo = *paro* 2.2.8. P
pubescit humus (ex. of *translatio*) 2.3.13
pullulans 2.1.3.
†pernŏto uisu 1898
perplector = *amplector* 1292
pertranseo 1672 (Vulg. etc.)
†pōtisso ('drink a little'))(*poto* 1984
†praearripio 57
praecingo 604
†praecircino 55
†praeconcipio)(*concipio* 188
†praeconsulo 1650
†praecorripio 817
praefigo fixo 1680
praeformo 563
praefundo 1591 (v. late prose)
praegravo 1345
praeiudico 'outweigh' 19
†praelimito 56
praeloco 91 (Gramm.)
†praememorata 2010
†praemetior 45
praeparo (= *paro*) 62
praesumo 173)(78,223
†praeuinco 1186
†praeuiuo 557
pacifico 758
†panniculo ('cloke') 626
†patronans = *patronus* 848
pauso 15 (eccl.)
peraro ('indite') 8 (Ov.)

redoleo: only of *pleasant* smells 2.42
*replico ('repeat') 1.82 (my conjecture)
resonetur audientia (*leg. reuocetur?*) 2.1.
*risus amor ('welcomed'?) 1.102
*†rufizo (v. *rufus*) 3.35
resulto (simply = 'emerge') 1.111.32. [C. Barth complains of the frequency of this word in the *Anticlaudianus;* J. Garl., p. 62, l. 868 Mari, has *resultant violae*. H. Sept. 3.61, 4.37.]
rufizo 4.47.7
†refrigido (*sitientem*) 2.2.66
†refurco 1.13
†recomplico ('bind hair') 601
referio 191, 201, 583
reformo pacem 1568
repatrio ('return home'), 353 P. Alfonsi, ed. Hilka and Söderhjelm, Heidelberg: Winter, 1911), p. 6, ll. 19, 21; VII *Sap.* I. (ed. Hilka) 31, 9 and 26. J. Garl., p. 56, l. 689 Mari. Fr. *repairier*
†ranizo 918
ructuo 79 (Augustine)
rumino ('meditate') 157

sermocinor 1.60, 84, 115.
†suppullulo 2.1, 4.20
*†syncopo sonos (= 'repeat quickly') 2.37.10: *Planct.* 4.38 ('curtail,' *ibid.* 5.41)

solido 1.55.41 (Virg.)
sordido 2.38 verse 20 (Lactant.)
stercoro (met.) 1.58.28 (agric. term: H. Sept. 4.146)
supino (*opprimo*) 1.51.21 (Statian word)
†syllabico 2.38 verse 38

*sagitto 1.17. (H. Sept. 2.41)
*sigillat *aquas* ('shadow') 2.2.19 (only Gloss.)
*sudo ('work') 2.2.19. (cf. sudor in P)

†saporo 649 tr., 976 intr.
scit esse ('admits of being) 1537: nescit 1862 (cf.M)
sereno 160, 847 (*Anticl.* 1. 409 (309)
similatur ('is like') 3, 1666, J. Garl. *Syn.* 118. [Vulg.]
sonat ('means') 1679, 1845–6: common in late Lat. E.g. Jer. *Ep.* 78.1: cf. Cic. *Off.* 3.83, *Fin.* 2.6
sordeo ('be worthless') 740 (Virg. etc.)
stupet uinci 1523
†subticeo 989
subintulit ('replied') 1397 [1]
†sustinet ('removes'?) 716

sapio: *non sapit lapidem* 652
†sollemnizo 621
sopit, trans. 609, but glossed *dormit:* read *Aesopi*, making it intrans.?
†syllabico 80

tepeo ('be hot') 1.51.2 ('be cool')1.51.20: tepor('coolness') 1.66. (Both senses in Ovid)

†taxatus ('enumerated') 945
traho pudorem ('incur shame') 67
transformo 769, 109
transuerto uisum (?) 1547 (Apul., eccl.)

teneris scire (= *debes*) 697
thesaurizo 134
transsumo, -ptio, tech. term = *transfero* 369 (Statian word)
tristor, p. 376 (v. late prose)
tumulat ('is buried'?) 96

uniformis)(biformis 1.71 Apul., *Doctr.*)
uaco: nec uacat quod dictum est ('is for nothing') 2.12
uendico ('redeem a fault') 2.8: elsewhere = 'claim': the form vindico ('revenge') never in M
uentilo ('broadcast') 2.23, 36, 3.43 (Apul., Jer.)
uenusto 2.5 (Ambrose)
uerno: (met. explained) 3.21 f.
uicinor 1.37, 2.5, 6. (Sidon.)

uenusto 2.38, verse 28 (only Naev. *ap.* Fulgent.)
uermesco 1.58.47
uerno 1.51.6,25,1.52.7,1.55. 31. (See col. *1*)
uisitat 1.55.11 (?)

*uexatur *gladius sanguine, strage solum.* 2.3.59: cf. P
uendico ('claim') 2.3.57 (see M)

uacuo 519 (*bis*) (Stat. etc.)
uario 455
ueneno 2042
uerno 564
uenusto 1676 (M)
uexant cadauera ualles 1019 (cf. D)

uegeto: *uis uegetans*, of youth, 119

*zelotypo ('make cuckold') 2.37.13; and Faral, p. 7, l. 22 [*zelotypus* = *adulter*, Ad. Vien. 2.61, pellico: *ζηλεύω*, *Gl. Philox.* the origin of the confusion was probably Juv. 6.278]

[1] Vit. Bles. *Amph.* 89, *Ys.* [Augustine and late prose].

adiectiua uerba)(*nomina* = 'descriptive' (*determinatiua proprietatum*) 2.12
alternatim Pr. 7 (archaic)
†antistropha, id est reciproca 3.24
†assertive 1.49,3.17
authenticus)('his own,' of examples 1.11. [i.e. classical, belonging to the 'auctores'; confusion through false etymology: *ab autentim quod Grecum est nascitur autor. Graecismus* 9.168. Sandys, *Hist. Class. Schol.* I. 616: cf. *domesticus*]

biformis (of fortune) 1.71 etc. cf. *uniformis* (a legal word)

bilibres fratres = *testiculi* 1.53.77 (cf. Juv. 6.372)

ab inuicem 2.2.20 (late)
†ampullosus 2.3.147,151

ācephalus 2 (Isid.)
†acetosus 1773
†appropriatus = *proprius* 1091 (verb. in M)
archetypus status ('archetypal form') 48

breuis, longus = 'little,' 'big': see 1043 (chiefly Silver Lat.)

†casualis ('of chance') 1.90 (late)
†clausulatim 4.19, 4.34
†collateralis aduersarius (inseparable) Pr. 2: M (= *correlatiuus, Gr.* 25.26)
†conditionalis proprietas ('belonging to station') 1.4 6. cf. *officialis*
†coniecturalis (suggesting an inference) 1.40,1.110
†consecutiuus 4.13
conseruatiuus 1.71 (Var.)
consuetudinarius 1.89 (Sidon.)
continens cum negotio ('bound up with') 1.112
conuertibilis: *reciprocus seu conu.* 3.31. (Logic. Prud.)
cooperatiuus 2.12 (Boeth.)

†collatiua seditio ('confused discord'?) 2.24.16
†collatiue ('collectively') 1.111.56
concolor (met.) 1.52.42 (Apul.) cf. *consonus*, l. 40 etc.
coniugus 1.50.43 (Apul., J. Isc. 2.3.)
continuatiuus 1.111.28 (Prisc.)
crinitum gramen 1.111.7

casualis dictio ('declined'?) p. 322 (Varro)
†causa pro causato 2.2.26
caute ('artistically') 2.2.41, cf. *cautela.*
contemptibilis 2.3.148,151 (late pr.)
corroboratus 2.3.77 (Class.)

†cătinus ('of a cat') 1028
†caute ('secretly') 715
†circumscriptibilis 594
†ciuilis)(agrestis 84; abs. 99
†coadiunctus 727
†collateralis 591 (M)
cursim 208 (Class.)

cānonicus 319

†decliuis ('prone to') 1.59
deliciosus ('fastidious') 1.57 1.118; usually 'charming' in M
†detractorius 4.48
†disciplinalis 2.5
†discoherens 1.31 (-entia 1.36)
domesticus = *proprius*, (syn. *familiaris*, 1.6) *passim*, but *d. factus = 'tamed' 1.111.17

deliciosa fides 1.51.30

delectabilis 2.2.18 (Tac.)
†diuersimodo 2.1.1
diuisim 2.3.60 (Jer.)

†dapsilis (of men) 876
†dispensatoria iura 855
†distans ('absent') 713
domesticus = *familiaris* 1088 (cf. M)
†dulcifluus 772

†discipularis turba 68
†dispositiua (my conjecture) 584

†effigialis)(materialis *2.15, *1.66 etc. in allusion to the efficient and material cause in Aristotelian logic
†electiue 1.72
*exclusiuus 1.75, 3.49, 50
exemplaris 2.15 (Macr.)
†exemplariter 3.17
*†exhibitiuus 3.14
†expositiuus 2.8
†extrinsecus, adj. 1.82

†effigiale bonum 1.57.12 ('good workmanship'). cf. *materialis* (L)
emeritus ('completed') 4.49. 34
emodulatus ('composed') 4.49.32 (*–or*: Ovid)
†expositiuus 1.55.2

familiaris = proprius 1.78 etc.; -ius 3.5 (cf. *domesticus*)
†fauoralis 2.8
*festinus 1.105 (Virg.)

†fauoralis 1.56.16

ethica ('ethics') 2.3.128

ethicus Cato 1353

†fixum)(mobile, = noun)(adj.: 1603 ff. (L)
†fucarius 743

†fixum, mobile (as in P) 365

grossus 2.2.63 (P, Vulg.)

grossus 1856, 1863 (D)

hirtus 63, 911

imaginaria uisio 2.1
†immediatus 3.7. etc. -e, 3.10
impensius ('more carefully') 318.
†impulsiua causa 1.36, 97
inconcinna praesumptio 2.42
†indirectus 2.6
†intrinsecus, adj. 1.45, 74(P)

irrequietus 1.111.42 (Ov.)

impertinens 2.3.160 (Mart. Cap.)

indistanter ('indiscriminately') 1864 (Ammian.)
†infurcata manus ('bent') 658
†intrinsecus, adj. 44 (M)

†immunis ('unrewarded') 252
Initialis 733 (Apul. etc.)
insufficiens 977 (Tert.)

ieiunus silentii 2.6

iudiciale *antidotum* ('of justice') 866

lucratiuus 2.2.59 (Cic.)

licenter = *licite* 95
luctisonus 1006. Ov. (L)

leuiter ('easily') 482
luctisonus 836 (P)

materialis v. *effigialis*
materiatus ('formed of matter' 2.11 etc.)
memorialiter 3.48 (Venant.)
mutatorius (v.l. *mutatiuus*) = *mutatus* 2.39 (P)

materiatus 1.54.6,1.57.16 (the word occurs in Cic.)

materia pro materiato 2.2.-23. cf. *causatus*
modicus ('small'))(mediocris, 2.3.109
morigeratus = *moratus* 2.3.128 *Gr.* 13.198; *Ruodlieb* 2.28 (ed. Grimm): cf. *moriger* (*Seneca*) H. Sept. 3, 48,4.204

memoratiua uis 1022
mixtim 1222 (Lucr.)
modernus 2105 (late prose)
†mŏrosus ('slow,' 'long') 228, 358 (*Gr.* 13.199)
mutatoria (of clothes) 222, cf. 768 f. (M)

materiale bonum 20: cf. *officialis* and *effigialis* in M, and here 298 (v.l. *officiale*) 399, 972
melica uox (of rhyme) 999: pun on *mel*
mercennarius actor ('suer for wages') 865
multotiens 399, 972 (Justinian)

*nocuus ('guilty') 1.82 (Ov. *Hal.*)
nugatorie 1.72
nuptialis uenter 2.34 (v. 'Notes')

numerale (?) 1.53,64 (as gram. term in Prisc.)

*nociuus 2.1.8 (Phaedr.)
†notorius 2.3.78

numerus *numerans* and n. *numeratus* 163

officialis ('of occupation') *proprietas* 1.41: cf. *conditionalis*; *o. epithetum* 'pride of place' 2.8: cf. next column.

officialis 1.52.20,2.15 (*bis*)
orbiculatus 1.58.15, 1.111.10 (Plin.)
organicus 1.111.48; (*garrulitas*, of birds) 1.111.14 (Lucr.)

odorifer 271

officiale malum, ('a sorry profession,') 26
orbicularis sedes (of Fortune) 82: (J. Garl. *Syn.* 608: late and rare)

†panniculosae dictiones 2.46
†partialis 4.23
penetrabilis (act.) 2.5(Virg.)
phalerata oratio 1.32 Ter.
plerumque . . . plerumque ('oft . . . oft') 1.38, 1.110
praeambulus (*uenter*) 2.34, 4.13 (M. Cap.)
praelibatus = *praefatus*, 1.14,1.40, 1.110, 1.117, 2.14, 3.13 (Treb. Poll.)
primitus ('firstly') 2.36, 3.1
prōnosticus 3.14 (Isid.) [ō Aeg. Corb. 4.579]
proportionaliter 1.32,2.34 Boeth.

†panniculosus 1.58.34
†particulatus 1.51.24,1.53.26 and 86
pellitus 1.58.36 (*v. l.*) 1.107.7 (*v.l.*)
praeambula 1.52.17
†praeturgidus 1.53.73

perastutus 2.3.77 (*-ulus* Apul.)
perfecta locutio ('complete sentence'?) 2.3.110
perpexa; see Verbs
*phȳsica ('medicine'?) 2.2.19: cf. physicalis ('of medicine') 2.2.68.30. H. Sept. 4.112
possibile 2.3.132
postmodum 2.1.3., 2.2.67
praerogativa (as noun) met. 2.3.8 (late prose.)

peridoneus 726 (Caes.)
pius ('kind') 858
praeambula 52, 2088 (M)
praedulcis 2096 (Stat. etc.)
†praelatus 978
praeposterus 100
praepoperus 750
praerapide 2096
†praerubicundus 771
primitus ('at first') 214
†propriatus = *proprius* 770 (L)
†pudenter ('shamefully') 470, 1929; cf. H. Sept. 2, 180, 3.210 (*pudens*)
punctim 695

particularis 74 (*Alda* 336, *-iter*, *ibid.* 337: late prose.)
†perelecta, p. 374, §19
praecupidus 714 (once in Suet.)
praegrauiore (= pos.) 900
primiparens (Far. has *primi p.* 75)
prodigiale *nefas* 731 (Stat. etc.)
propriata, as in P, 262, 270?

quantum: *immensus sine quanto* 4.49.15 (v. notes on grammar)

quandoque ('sometimes') 2.3.149

quandoque ('at last') 1286 ('sometimes') 1883

†rationatiua causa)(impulsiva = 'motive of reason)(impulse 1.96
remedialis 2.35 (Macr.)
remissiue)(intensive 2.30 (Prisc.)
†reprehensoriā limā erodo Pr. 6
*rufa fides Pr. 3,2.38.35: r. loquela 2.38.20 (explained 2.42)

relatiuus ('respective'?) cantus 1.111.47 (Augustine)

†recitatorie 2.3.111

refugus 653

semipleni risus 2.2
sigillatim ('singly') 1.6 and often (for *singillation*)
siquidem = *scilicet* Pr. 2 (*bis*) 1.5 1.17 etc. (1.36 my emendation)
†successive ('successively') 2.23
succincta labra ('small') 2.5 (cf. J. Isc. 4.51. *s. caput:* 4.778. *sura*)
superficialis 1.74,1.87, etc.
guttur s. et effusum (!) 2.34 (Tert., Isid.)

succinctus (of lips) 1.57.25; cf. 2.5.

*sensatus ('sensible') 2.3.73 (Vulg.)
strictus ('miserly') 2.3.78 (Jul. Firm.)
†*subambula 2.1.6

sciolus ('ignorant') 1313: in *Ruodlieb* 2.253 and 8.20 = 'clever'; but *ibid.* 3.229 and 399 = 'secretary' (v. DuCange) Hrot.
in sero ('into evening') 1452 (L)
sine se (= 'mad') 1326
sparsim 1227 (Apul. etc.)
†subambula 1343
subrufus 1360 (Plin., Plaut.)
subterior 822 (Isid.)

sero)(mane 958 (P)
specialis 79
sterculeus (Far. conj. *stercoreus*) 110 (god's name in Tert. and Prud.)

toxicatus 4.47 (Ambrose)
transitorius 1.87 (Suet. etc.)

trifidus 1.53.46 (Ov)

timens)(timidus, 'coward' 305 f.
tinnula sistra 640
†totalis = *totus* 69
tractius, compar. of *tractim?* 207

tigridior, ursior: v. Gram. notes

uniformis)(biformis 1.71 (Apul. D)

uniformis 2.3.158 (-itas157) (M)
usquequaque ('quite') 2.3. 109

ueteranus = *uetus* 1.46 (P)
*uocativus 2.8.24
uotiuum desiderium 1.62. u.os *3.32 (as in Maximian)
†uirtuosus 3.32

uiscatus (emend. of *fisc-*) 1.58.20 (Ov.)

ueteranus = *uetus* 747, 917, 1023 (M)

†uersiculosa lues: v. *lues*

The indulgence of the reader is asked for the fact that so much of this article consists of lists. It is hoped, however, that their utility will justify their existence, particularly since it formed no part of M. Faral's plan to add indexes. Taken in conjunction with the preliminary remarks and general outlines they may help to give a conspectus of mediaeval Latin style at its most flourishing epoch, and in the persons of its most characteristic exponents. Our three authors, Matthew, Geoffrey, and Eberhard, together comprise a perfectly definite and homogeneous body of teaching, illustrated by copious examples, whose influence was deep and lasting. Any writer who shows himself unaffected by them is thereby marked out as one cut off from the main currents of European learning. Of the rest none was bold enough to emancipate himself from their influence. This accounts for the monotonous uniformity of the bulk of Latin poetry of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries — uniformity of technique and vocabulary, of choice and treatment of subject. (For over two hundred years no poet seems to have attempted a personal description without drawing on Matthew's portraits in Part i, §§ 50–58).

If we would understand the method and ideals of this poetry — and its interest has been indicated in my opening paragraphs — we are bound to go back to its source: hence the importance of a survey of the work of our triumvirate (the *Graecismus* and *Doctrinale* are more purely grammatical) as a preliminary to any detailed study of the later mediaeval literature.

It is such a preliminary survey which is here attempted. Much remains to be done, but it is hoped that what is here given may serve as a basis and nucleus for further investigation.

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NOTES

SOME LATIN WORKS ERRONEOUSLY ASCRIBED TO WYCLIF

I

The employment by Dr H. B. Workman, in his recently published two volume life of Wyclif,[1] of two, *inter alia*, of the publications of the Wyclif Society, *Miscellanea Philosophica* (2 vols.), lends interest to a study of the authenticity of the works contained in them. Michel Henry Dziewicki edited these two volumes for the Wyclif Society as its issues for the years 1901 and 1903. The two volumes contain nine items of varying lengths, purporting to be by Wyclif; but a casual perusal brings out distinctly un-Wycliffian characteristics, and a closer examination of the MS. evidence — much of it apparently not available to the editor — shows that only two of the nine items are to be attributed with certainty to Wyclif, and that almost all the remainder are either by other known writers or must be relegated to the unsatisfactory classification of anonymous.

The nine items will be taken up in the order of their appearance in vols. I and II of *Miscellanea Philosophica:*

Wycliffian

1. *De Actibus Anime.* This is a well-attested work of Wyclif, which appears in all four of the Vienna catalogues and which Wyclif himself refers to usually as *De Anima.*[2]

2. *De Materia et Forma* is the second and last of the genuine Wycliffian works in this collection, attested by references in it to his other works[3] and the great majority of the MSS which contain it. To the MSS cited by the editor is to be added MS. Metropolitan Chapter Library, Prague, 1543, fol. 71 v–75r.[4]

[1] *John Wyclif*, Oxford University Press, 1926

[2] E.g., *De Benedicta Incarnacione*, ed. Edward Harris, London, 1886, p. 1, 'prelibato tractatu *de Anima*, qui introductorius est . . . ' In *De Volucione Dei*, however, he refers to it as 'tractatus *de Accione*.' *De Ente*, ed. M. H. Dziewicki (London, 1909), p. 160.

[3] E.g., *Misc. Phil.* I, 217, 'ut patet in tractatu de uniuersalibus capitulo primo.' Cf. also pp. 177, 204, 205.

[4] Cf. s.n., Anton Podlaha, *Soupis Rukopisů Metropolitní Kapitoly*, Prague, 1906.

NON-WYCLIFFIAN

3. *Replicacio de Uniuersalibus.* This is the reply of a conceptualist to some thorough-going realist. The editor, Dziewicki, ventures the opinion that the realist concerned was Wyclif himself. As a conjecture it is as good as any other. But the arguments which the author of the *Replicacio* quotes in detail from his opponent, '*magister meus reuerendus*,' I have been unable to trace to any of the philosophical works of Wyclif, published or unpublished, all of which I have carefully read. To the clearly un-Wycliffian character of the argument may be added the fact that it is nowhere ascribed to Wyclif, either in the two extant MSS, in the four Vienna catalogues of the works of Wyclif, dating from the early part of the fifteenth century, or referred to in any of Wyclif's works (as we know them thus far). My own judgment would be that it is the work of some opponent of Stanislas ze Znoima, written in the last decade of the fourteenth century in Prague — a product of the bitter philosophical battles then being waged in the university.

4. *De Uniuersalibus.* Wyclif's *De Uniuersalibus* is Tractate 5, lib. I of his *Summa de Ente.* It is as yet unprinted. The *De Uniuersalibus* here printed is by Stanislas ze Znoima, at one time an ardent Czech Wycliffite.[1] Dziewicki, who used only one MS., accepted its Wycliffian authorship, but with some reservations. He points out that the realism of this tractate was different in degree if not in kind from that of Wyclif, and indicated some textual reasons for doubting that Wyclif wrote it, as, for example, his use of *cum tunc*, a combination that Wyclif would hardly have used. We are not reduced, however, to reliance upon such delicate reasoning in order to establish its authorship. Instead of there being but one MS. containing this tractate, there are five that contain it complete and a sixth that has the first five or six pages. They are the following:

Univ. Prag.
MS. 773 (IV. H. 9) no name
1536 (VIII. E. 11) *M. Stanislai de Znoima Uniuersalia Realia.*
1605 (VIII. G. 23) *M. Stanislai Uniuersalia.*
Metropolitan Chapter Library, Prague.
1279 (L. XXXVI) no name
1448 (M. XCI) no name
Univ. Cracov.
1855 incomplete, no name. Contains *inter alia* Wyclif's *De Uniuersalibus* and *questiones* of Stanislas.

[1] This fact was first pointed out by Dr Jan Sedlák, *Studie a Texty k Zivotopisu Husovu* (Brünn, 1914), II, 119, but no proof was adduced.

It is clear from this manuscript evidence that the tractate cannot be ascribed to Wyclif. In *none* of the extant MSS is it ascribed to him, and where the author is specified it is Stanislas ze Znoima.

5 and 6. *Fragmenta* and *Insolubilia Pulchra*, which follow the *De Uniuersalibus* of Stanislas in the MS. that Dziewicki used, are written in a different hand from that of the preceding scribe. Wyclif is referred to in the third person, and in particular his *De Logica* is cited as authority in the matter of solving *insolubilia*. The four pages to the end of the codex are filled with notes of the sort of this printed *Insolubilia Pulchra*. The *explicit* is interesting. *Explicit quidem modus soluendi insolubilia secundum M. J. Wycliff doctorem ueritatis ewangelice cuius anime propiciet deus. Amen. Sic inueni explicit in exemplari in antiquo exemplari* (sic!). The scribe, writing in the early part of the fifteenth century, had seen and used a copy of Wyclif's *De Logica* which he looked upon as fairly old. It must have been one of the first to arrive in Bohemia.

7 and 8. *Note et Questiones Varie* have no intrinsic or extrinsic right to be attributed to Wyclif. They are found in a MS. that contains *inter alia*, a bad and incomplete copy of Wyclif's *De Uniuersalibus*, the *Replicacio de Uniuersalibus* and the *De Materia* which Dziewicki has added to this collection. These *Note et Questiones* are merely exercises in logic of the sort that makes the Schools seem so futile to us moderns. To suppose that they were copied 'from some lost work of Wyclif' [1] is to set a precedent in the way of attributing to the Reformer hundreds of volumes of purely undergraduate logical exercises, which is not complimentary to him, in addition to having about it an air of historical *naïveté* rather out of tune with our times.

9. *De Materia* has a partial counterpart in a *posicio* of Hus, extant in two Prague University MSS, viz., 1588 and 1996.[2] In one of these two it is expressly assigned to Hus. After a longer *posicio* of Stephen Paleč there follows this rubric: *Sequitur alia posicio Reuerendi Magistri Johannis de Hussynecz.* About the first two pages of this *posicio* of Hus are identical with the *De Materia*. Dziewicki suggests that Hus has plagiarized from Wyclif. The objection to that is that it would make Wyclif inferior to Hus as a logician, which no one would contend for a minute, inasmuch as the *posicio* of Hus stays on the subject it begins with, *Utrum materia, nunc sub una forma substanciali et nunc sub alia existens, sit informis*, and the printed *questio* attributed to Wyclif wanders off into a discussion of universals in

[1] W. W. Shirley, *A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif*, Oxford, 1865.

[2] J. Truhlář, *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Pragensis*, (Prague, 1905–06) I, 589; II, 115.

general. To show this, I subtend the points in Hus's argument, which may be compared with the printed *De Materia*, vol. II, pp. 170–188:

Supposicio sit ista: materia prima est subiectum primum ex quo fit aliquid, cum insit per se et non secundum accidens.

Supposicio secunda: forma est res per quam aliquid est formaliter quid uel aliquale et est duplex, forma substancialis et forma accidentalis. (Thus far the two *posiciones* are identical. The divergence begins here.)

Supposicio tercia: materiam esse informem est esse materiam sine quolibet alio extrinseco materie ipsius ipsam informante.

Conclusio prima: possibile est materiam primam que nunc est sub una forma substantiali esse post substancialia forma substanciali.

Conclusio secunda: de necessitate materia prima si est materia, ipsa subiectat omnem formam substancialem que est pars compositi.

Conclusio tercia: possibile est materiam primam ab omni forma decemgenerum esse informem.

Conclusio quarta: materia prima pro mensura prioritatis nature caret omni forma ipsam informante actualiter.

Conclusio quinta et ultima: pro nullo tempore uel instanti temporis materiam primam esse informem est possibile.

In the absence of any evidence whatsoever that warrants assigning the *De Materia* to Wyclif, it seems unreasonable to suppose that the most prominent schoolman of his day would be the author of a *posicio* distinctly inferior to a similar work of Hus, who never claimed distinction as a logician. Who the author might be is another question. One conjecture is as good as another.

II

Dr Rudolph Beer published in 1891 for the Wyclif Society a volume containing Wyclif's *De Ente Predicamentali* and *XIII Questiones Logice et Philosophice*, which he attributed to Wyclif. To Dr Beer's knowledge these *Questiones* were to be found in a unique MS., Univ. Prag. 908 (V. E.14) fols. 177r–202v. The editor admitted the lack of any external proof ('We have but very few external proofs that the Quaestiones XIII are a genuine work of Wycliff,' Introd., p. xx). At least he furnished none, but rather relied on the fact that it was in the same codex with other works of Wyclif. There are times when such evidence is contributory, as when a whole codex is the work of one scribe, whose purpose is to copy exclusively the works of a single writer. But that is not the case here. There were at least four different scribes who worked on this codex. The handwriting changes distinctly on fol. 44r, again on 71r, again on 122r and again on 129v. We can hardly argue for Wycliffian authorship from the presence of the tractate in a codex that is the work of so many copyists. But the deciding factor in rejecting Wycliffian authorship is that the first two *questiones* are definitely ascribed to Czech authors at the end of each of them. The first has the

following explicit: *Et ita intendendi sunt doctores ubicunque locuntur, sacerdotes asserendo creare corpus Christi, etc. Stephani Palecz.* This *questio* is extant in another MS. that was not known to Dr Beer, viz., Cracow University MS. 848, fol. 96D to 98A. Wyclif's *de Tempore* ends in the middle of the second column of the verso of fol. 96 (96D), and there follows in another hand

M. Stephani Palecz.

Utrum deus qui creauit mundum sensibilem in primo instanti temporis . . . etc.

The codex is dated at the end of this *questio* thus: *Anno d. M 411.* This *questio* is then definitely the work of Stephan Paleč.

The second *questio* is the work of Magister Peter Polic, who was dean of the faculty of arts of Prague University in 1411. It is so signed at the end, fol. 185r. None of the succeeding *questiones* is assigned to any author. Dr Beer admits the lack of consequence in subjects to be treated and says that 'Wyclif seems above all to have consulted variety' (Intro., p. XVIII). Concerning some of these *questiones* it is possible to say that they *might* be by Wyclif as well as by any one of a hundred schoolmen of the time, but of several it is safe to say that such a possibility is positively excluded. *Questio* III, for example, can not be fitted into Wyclif's metaphysical scheme anywhere. This *Questio* argues for an unrestrained free-will. Wyclif, in his early philosophical works, treats the freedom of the will very sparingly, and only in his tractate *De Dominio Diuino* (1375) does he go into any detail on the subject. He then compromises between the positions of Fitz Ralph and Bradwardine, and maintains his key doctrine of Necessity, or as we should perhaps say, Predestination.

Questio VII, '*Utrum possessio diuiciarum secundum se plus prosit homini morali ad uitam uirtuosam moraliter, quam carencia earundem,*' can not be fitted into any rational chronology of Wyclif's life for the simple reason that when Wyclif has advanced in his thinking to the point where he discusses the possession of riches at all, that is to say from 1372 on, he has discarded scholastic forms entirely. It is furthermore inconceivable that Wyclif would have discussed the use and possession of riches later than that date without making his cardinal distinction between *donum, donacio, dacio, usus* and *usufructus.*

Questio VIII, '*Utrum Deus potuit mundum sine eius creacione producere,*' is strongly Wycliffian. The point of view and argument is such as one would expect from him, yet there are stylistic oddities which would point to some one under his influence as the more probable author. Such expressions as *fontale principium, Deus est racionaliter factiuus, Deus est dominator et dominus,* are quite un-Wycliffian.

Of the remaining *Questiones* it may be sufficient to say that, aside from the fact that there is no positive evidence, internal or external, for assigning them to Wyclif, they treat subjects which Wyclif hardly ever mentions in his authentic works. The libraries at Prague, both University and Metropolitan Chapter, contain numbers of MSS filled with just such *questiones*, some signed, but for the most part without any name attached to them. They were the favorite method of university disputation from the 1380's well on into the fifteenth century.

III. De Triplici Ecclesia

There remains a tract listed in Shirley's and Loserth's Catalogues (No. 63 and No. 64 respectively), extant in two Vienna MSS, 1337 and 3929, as yet unprinted, which, in the form that it is at present, is certainly not the work of Wyclif. Its title is *De Triplici Ecclesia*, and it begins *Cum sim conditor cuiuslibet creature*. This is the beginning of the second paragraph of Wyclif's *Dialogus*,[1] which was so popular in Bohemia from the time of its first arrival there about 1402. The *De Triplici Ecclesia* follows the *Dialogus* for about four pages, and then there begins a series of interpolations and rearrangements of the Bible quotations, with much that is new, which show it to be the work of some member of the Czech reform party, written, in all probability, after the year 1408. The bitterness evidenced against the hierarchy, granted its Bohemian provenience, would indicate that *terminus a quo*. The scribe who copied this tract (MS. 1337) has, aside from this one, nothing but genuine Wycliffiana. He evidently thought this one to be by Wyclif as well; and of course much of the material is Wyclif's. But it seems more likely that as it stands it is the work of Hus or Jacobellus or some one of their associates. Because of that likelihood, I give the tract *in toto*, from MS. Pal. Vindo. 1337, fol. 166A to 168C.

Cum [2] sim conditor cuiuslibet creature et iudicabo homines quoscunque vel ad beatudinem uel ad eternum supplicium in finali iudicio, racio exiguit (*cod. egiguit*) quod cuncti homines per meam legem tam in suis conscienciis quam in operibus suis cunctis extrinsecis regulentur. Hec enim racio est quare Christus fuit incarnatus et triginta annis et amplius cum suis fratribus conversatus ut et sermonibus suis mansuetis ueritas catolica plus lucescat. Ffinis enim tam digni laboris et tantum assidui est ut homines qui sunt Christi ecclesia sint beati. Diuedebam autem meam militantem ecclesiam in tres partes quarum prima foret clerus meus qui uocantur sacerdotes Christi qui me instar apostolorum propinquius in moribus sequerentur et sic ad animandum eos in humilitate uiuent de elemosiniis adinstar mei. Propter hoc enim de me magis recollerent cum sim deus qui uendico partem (meam *deleted*) decimam tanquam meam. Qui enim uiuit de parte domini recoleret recencius deum partem istam tam libere largientem.

[1] Ed. A. W. Pollard, London, 1886.

[2] Cf. Dial., p. 1, l. 13 ff.

Secunda pars mee militantis ecclesie forent domini temporales qui forent uicarii deitatis. Sacerdos autem qui secundum humilitatem et pauperiem debet procedere est uicarius humanitatis domini Ihesu Christi et sic secundum potenciam regulatam racione debent hii domini defendere legem domini. Nam titulo istius seruicii tenent de Christo tanquam capitali domino quidquid habent.

Tercia (f. 166B) pars autem militantis ecclesie sunt wlgares qui in operarios, mercantes et yconomos sunt multipliciter diuisi. Ista autem tercia pars et ultima et infima ut fundamentum sustinet duas partes alias in corporalibus necessariis uite sue. Sed caritas que est tercia pars in diuinis debet conectere has tres partes. Omnes enim iste tres partes debent sibi ipsis prodesse reciproce et iuuare. Clerus autem debet esse uita aliis duabus partibus inferioribus et uiuere ipsis spiritualius, ac quo ad mores mundius, et sic tam uita quam uerbis docere eos uiam ad beatitudinem promerendam. Media autem pars que est domini temporales debet quadam austeritate modesta iuuare partes alterutras extremales (*cor. in marg.*) et specialiter secundum legem dei in hiis que promouent ad beatitudinem consequendam. Tercia uero pars wlgarium debet ex animo secundum regulam legis dei seruire partibus duabus superioribus, cum omnes iste tres partes debent esse unum corpus ecclesie, currens hilariter in amore ad beatitudinem patrie consequendam.

Consequenter ad uitas et officia trium parcium ordinaui illis regulas uiuendi, ne in suis officiis confundantur. Clerum autem qui debet esse supremus et celo propinquissimus ordinaui (*in marg.*) a causis mundialibus et mundi sollicitudinibus maxime sequestratum, ut sic non dominaretur (f. 166C) seculariter sed deberet esse pauper similis statui innocencie instar mei. Et sic debet docere partes alias mundum deserere tam opere quam sermone, et ista uita similis aquille est ad similitudinem uite angelice contemplatiue perfeccior quam actiua. Et qui est indispositus hanc uitam uiuere est indispositus clericari.

Secunda autem pars debet dominari seculariter et esse in temporalibus opulenta, quia hoc est instrumentum necessarium suo officio quod isti parti ecclesie limitaui. Sic enim deitas coercet homines dando eis rerum affluenciam, et inmiscet quodammodo potenciam coactiuam. Terciam autem partem uolo in labore corporali uiuere et circa lucrum temporalium se cum moderamine occupare. Et sic omnes has tres partes ecclesie uolo, tam temporalibus quam spiritualibus, quantum racio exigit, ad suum officium habundare. Et sicut in trinitate increata est summa concordia, sic uolo in hiis tribus partibus ecclesie esse amoris concordiam controuersia expulsa secundum uirtutum regulas, cum ecclesia sit corpus liberi arbitrii quod per (*cod.* pro) Christi capitis influencias regulatur. Disponat ergo se corpus ecclesie et specialiter prima pars que secundum Augustinum debet esse montes, ut influencie huius capitis coaptentur et tunc bene regulabitur secundum graciam Ihesu Christi. Sicut enim pars bassior in (f. 166D) qua uigent terre nascencia recipit influenciam suam a solari lumine, sic pars inferior terrene ecclesie recipit influenciam suam diriuatam per clerum a sole iusticie. Et nichil sensibilius conturbat ecclesiam uel induit in eam morbidam discrasiam quam quod una eius pars accipiat eius instrumenta alterius et consequenter officia sibimet limitata. Nec est possibile unum deficere officium et statum ecclesie limitare, nisi illi parti deficiat influxa gracia ex peccato proprio, que ad recipiendum dictam graciam indisponit. Nec omnia membra istarum parcium eque proficiunt secundum officium quod statui suo attinet, sed unum magis, aliud minus secundum quod (*marg.*) radius gracie in ipso operatur. Alia autem membra dyaboli que seminantur in ecclesia non sunt proprie partes eius, licet habeant caracterem sensibilem et nomen quo ad famas hominum publicatum, quia uerum officium quod deus requirit de persona

status ecclesie (est signum *deleted*) est signum euidencius quam signum humanitus introductum. Ideo dicit Christus Joh. 13° 'Operibus credite.' Capitulum 3m.

Quia autem uellem quod ista lex et cleri specialiter recencius sit (*marg.*) memorata, feci illam scribi sepius michi duplici testamento.[1] Nam Numeri 18° sic habentur. Dixit dominus ad Aaron: 'In terra eorum nichil possidebitis nec (habetis *deleted*) habebitis partem inter eos. Ego pars et hereditas tua in medio filiorum Israel, Filiis autem Levi dedi omnes decimas Israel in possessionem pro ministerio (f. 167A) quo seruiunt michi in tabernaculo federis.' Si[2] ergo prelati nostri et uiuentes de decimis fundant se in secunda parte huius dicti dominici ad (quidem *deleted*) accipiendum decimas que lucrum sapiunt, cur non primam partem auctoritatis domini pro amore Christi pauperiem a deo amplectuntur? Similiter [3] Deuteronomii xviii° sic habetur: 'Non habebunt sacerdotes et Leuite et omnes qui sunt de eadem tribu partem et hereditatem cum reliquo populo Israel, quia sacrificia domini et oblaciones eius comedent. Nichil aliud accipient de possessione fratrum suorum. Dominus enim est hereditas eorum sicut locutus est illis.' Si [4] ergo tam acute negantem legis veteris de possessione clericorum ex verbis domini sunt mandata et cum hoc Christus et sui apostoli tempore legis gracie hoc idem mandatum intricans obseruarunt, quis foret hereticus maior quam ille clericus qui supra patres legis (*cor. from* legis patres) ueteris contradiceret istis uerbis. Similiter Ezechielis 44° sic habetur: [5] 'Non erit sacerdotibus hereditas (quia ego hereditas *in marg.*) eorum et possessionem non dabitis eis in Israel. Ego enim possessio eorum, uictimas pro peccato et pro delicto ipsi comedent et omne uotum in Israel ipsorum; et primitiua omnium primogenitorum et omnia libamenta ex omnibus que offeruntur sacredotum erunt et primitiua (primicia *in marg.*) arborum uestrorum dabitis sacerdoti ut reponat benediccionem domui sue.' Si [6] ergo pro tempore legis ueteris quando populus fuit magis affectus temporalibus tanquam iuuenis et non sapiens celestia clerici sic fuerant in temporalibus tanquam ex precepto domini uariati, et quanto magis suc (f. 167B) cedente de Christo et homine inuita pauperima et mandante tam uerbo quam opere uitam apostolicam hoc seruare. Patet ergo quod si aliquis ex preuaricacione (domini sunt heretici, apostate uel blasfemi, sunt illi clerici eciam episcopi qui tam notabiliter offendunt ex preuaricacione *in marg.*) harum legum due alie leges declarate sunt, Exo. 29° et Ezechielis 16. Si ergo episcopus mitra sit cornutus ad denotandum quod noscit quod obseruat utrumque testamentum, quis magis blasfemando mentitur in Christum quam ille qui dotatur et ditatur in possessione temporalium eciam super reges etc. Radix autem blasfeme perturbacionis ecclesie in hac parte ex isto suboritur quod clerici abhorrentes Christi pauperiem sic inplicant se cum mundo. Ex hoc enim perit ordo eorum. Nam ubi generarent filios imitacionis Cristi et apostolorum, adulterantes generant filios Antichristi et per hoc regnum suum fortificant supra Christum etc. Sed diceret (*sic in marg., text* deberet) aliquis quod hec dicta de lege ueteri fuerunt ceremonialia et pro lege gracie cessare debent uel dic, rogo, si quidquam de lege gracie habes ad confirmandum hanc sentenciam quam dixisti. Capitulum quartum.[7]

[1] Omits 12 lines of *Dialogus*, pp. 5–6.

[2] *Si ergo . . . amplecturtur* not in *Dialogus*. [3] Cf. *Dial.*, p. 7.

[4] *Si ergo . . istis uerbis* not in *Dialogus*. MS. reading clearly this, but meaning confused.

[5] Cf. *Dial.*, p. 9. [6] *Si ergo . . . quam dixisti*, not in *Dialogus*.

[7] Cf. for the argument of this whole fourth chapter the 'posicio' of Jacobellus de Misa incorporated by Hus into his *Tractatus Responsiuus*, cap. iv, ed. S. H. Thomson (Princeton), 1927, pp. 30–53. The striking similarity of tone is apparent in even such a short argument.

Uidetur michi quod non oportet confirmare episcopos in fide instructos ulterius pro ista materia et sentencia, cum per locum a maiori sequitur. Si episcopi in lege ueteri fecerunt quod ipso pro lege gracie hoc seruabunt specialiter cum Christus et eius apostoli tam facto, quod plus docet quam uerbo, quod satis obligat, hoc seruabunt. Sed quia Christus in secundo suo conuiuio pauit quattuor milia hominum cum septem panibus et paucis piscibus (f. 167C) ut patet Mt. viii°. Ideo ex superhabundanti adducam (*sic in marg.*, *text* adducta) ter septuplex testimonium de lege gracie ad hoc idem. Nam Luce 14° post pabolam domini sic subiungit: 'Sic omnis ex uobis qui non renuncciat omnibus que possidet non potest meus esse discipulus.' Quomodo autem Christus intelligit renuncciacionem in hoc uerbo ewangelico ipse eius apostoli per conuersacionem pauperem satis (*sic in marg.*, *text* factis) docent. Nam opera Christi et suorum discipulorum sunt interpres optimus legis sue. Similiter non est seruus maior domino suo nec discipulus super magistrum, sed sufficit discipulo, ut sit sicut magister, ut dicit Christus Mt. 10. Cum Christus sit magister optimus et dominus dominorum et omnes prelati debent esse serui huius domini atque discipuli, patet quod non debent extolli supra Christum in dominio (*sic in marg.*, *text* domino) Sed Christus dicit Mt. viii° quod filius hominis non habet ubi caput suum reclinet etc., hoc est non habet humanitus seculariter et proprietarie dominando. Qua ergo fronte episcopi nostri audent in dominio ciuili sic se extollere? Similiter Luce 22° Christus magister optimus istam sentenciam sic docuit quando facta est dissensio inter discipulos, quis eorum uideretur maior esse; et ut apte (?) dicit fides ewangelii uideretur ad denotandum quod loqueretur de maioritate sensibili quo ad mundum. 'Reges gencium dominantur,' inquit Christus, 'dominantur eorum, et qui potestatem habent super eos (potestatem habent super eos *repeated and delcted*) beneficii uocantur.' Ex quibus uerbis patet (f. 167D) tunc clarius quod Christus distingwit de maioritate mundana et de maioritate simpliciter quo ad deum, cum primam maioritatem notat per dominacionem regum gentilium et cum propter antiquam consuetudinem et bona de genere et moralia (*sic in marg.*, *text* mortalia) que inmiscent uocantur beneficii, et specialiter ex hoc quod bona temporalia dant subiectis et subtrahunt de maleficiis que exercere potuerunt, licet sepius sint tyranni. Sed secundam maioritatem apostolicam exprimit cum simpliciter negat illam ueris ewangelicis debere competere cum subiungit: 'uos autem non sic. Sed qui (*marg.*) maior est in uobis fiat sicut minor, et qui precessor est fiat sicut ministrator.' Unde illa negatiua Bernhardus notat multum ad papam Eugenium.[1] Sed consequenter Christus declarat penes quid attendi debeat uirorum apostolicorum maioritas que est simplicter maioritas quo ad deum, et dicit quicunque eorum est in mente humilior et ex maiori caritate ministrator diligencior, hic est maior. Et secunda pars patet: notanda opera spiritualia minime, et qua racione Petrus fuit prefectus ceteris. Ideo cuicunque fideli cuius sensus non replent sensibilia hic patet ista sentencia. Sed postquam clerus fuit mundo deditus et contempsit legem domini ac uiluit Christi (*marg.*) diffinicio in hac parte, dierunt Antichristi sic tacite quod Christus est contrarius operibus nostris, humanitatem quam mundus requirit non docuit sed miserabiliter uixit et inhonorabiliter ut mendicus. Quis ergo sequeretur eius uestigia nisi stultus? Et isto tercio testimonio ewangelice patet predicta (f. 168A) sentencia confirmata de ueteri testamento. Sunt autem alia testimonia ex scriptis apostolorum que testantur eandem sentenciam. Nam Apostolus qui raptus fuit usque ad tercium celum dat prelatis pro regula,[2] 'habentes,' inquit, 'alimenta et quibus tegamur, simus contenti' etc., I[a] Thimo. vi°; et notent fideles

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXII, 748.

[2] Cf. *Dial.*, p. 14.

quomodo Apostolus dicit 'alimenta' simpliciter, non lauticias plus corpus hominis nutrientes, et dicit 'quibus tegamur,' non pannos de scarlato meminens nec cameras sumptuosas. Per hoc quod docet nos de talibus contentari prohibet superfluitates talium a domis ecclesie et dimissionem nostri spiritualis officii. Similiter Petrus [1] princeps apostolorum precipit I^{a} Petri 5° quod non simus' 'dominantes in clero sed forma facti gregis (*sic in marg., text* Gregorius) ex animo,' id est uoluntarie facti humiles ad regis ministerium et non discentes quomodo poterimus subditis dominari. Nunquid, rogo, prelati querendo sibi castella et predia dominantur in clero et machinantes quomodo uiam possunt sollempnius et, dimissa consideracione onustacionis ecclesie, splendidius preornari?

Uita autem Christi et apostolorum docet quomodo intellexerant ista uerba. Similiter Apostolus [2] 2^{a} ad Corinthios viii° supponens ut fidem quomodo omnes debemus sequi Christum in moribus sic subiungit: 'Scitis,' inquit, 'graciam domini Ihesu Christi qui propter nos factus est egenus cum esset diues ut illius inopia uos diuites essetis.' Cum ergo non ualet negare quin oportet omnes fideles sequi Christum in moribus, patet quod in gradu summo oportet clericos specialiter in paupertate humili sequi Christum. Unde religiosi nostri utinam non false confiterentur (f. 168B) concorditer tanquam substanciam religionis sue obseruanciam, obseruando Christi paupertatem et castitatem quam seruabant uirgines huic sponso! Similiter Actuum vi° ex decreto apostolorum post missionem spiritus sancti dictum est publice: 'Non est equum nos derelinquere uerbum dei et ministrare mensis.' Et hinc ordinauerunt septem dyaconos ad hoc opus. Sed quis dubitat quin ille prelatus magis secularibus negociis se implicat qui relicto Cristi officio in uita quam mundus exigit se intricat. Apostolus tamen dicit 2^{a} ad Thimo. 2° quod nemo militans deo implicat se negociis secularibus. Ideo cum nemo sumit sibi honorem sed qui uocatur a deo, patet quod prelatus habet illum honorem a dyabolo cui se probauit, et sic iuxta primum uerbum Luce 14° talis non potest esse Christi discipulus sed discipulus Antichristi et tamen presumit esse maior domino Ihesu. Patet quod non est eius discipulus siue seruus sed pocius discipulus Antichristi. Claret michi ex decupla fide allegata superius quas credimus omnes dominum locutum fuisse clericos nostros et specialiter tempore legis gracie debere sic uiuere. Et cum Christus deus et homo istud precipiat patet quod non diligit Ihesum Christum qui notabiliter hec contempnit, et per consequens excommunicacionem grauissimam incurrit, cum Apostolus dicat prima Corinthis ultima: 'Si quis non amat dominum Ihesum Christum, anathema sit,' et cum idem sit amare Ihesum Christum et legem suam implere, patet quod isti prelati specialiter sic (*cod.* sint) inobedientes legi dei incurrunt grave anathema (f. 168C).

Ista autem excommunicacio a spiritu sancto inflicta non capit aufugium per cautelas hominum sed eo ipso infligitur quo natus incurritur. Et istud est grauius quam prelati sciunt infligere. Explicit tractatus de . . . (*Explicit incomplete in red followed immediately by Wyclif's De Incarcerandis Fidelibus*).

[1] *Dial.*, p. 14.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

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THE DATE AND THE RECIPIENT OF SMARAGDUS' *VIA REGIA*

As is well known, one of the tokens of the intellectual revival in western Europe during the late eighth and ninth centuries is the production of several exhortations to princes or treatises on monarchic government. Of the four larger works of this kind the earliest chronologically is the *Via Regia* by Smaragdus; but the date of its composition and the identity of the prince to whom it is addressed have been much disputed. According to the opinion most generally held the work was written for Charlemagne at some time before he became emperor. Since the arguments adduced in favor of this view are of a very general, not to say flimsy, character, it has seemed worth while to reëxamine the question and to see whether more definite indications cannot be gleaned from the work itself.

Very little is known about the author. He may have been of Irish birth; he was a monk at Castellio and in due course he became abbot of the monastery there. As abbot he was responsible in 819 for transferring the religious community of which he was the head to St Mihiel-sur-Meuse. His *Commentary* on the Rule of St Benedict was written after the Council of Aachen (816), since certain provisions of that council are cited in that book. In or about 825 he and Frotharius, bishop of Toul, adjudicated in a monastic dispute between Abbot Irmundus and the monks of Moyenmoutier.[1] His death appears to have occurred soon afterwards, but the exact date is uncertain.[2] Although we do not know the precise year in which he became abbot, he probably attained to that dignity in 805.[3] In view of the chronological data given above, it is scarcely possible to put the year of Smaragdus' birth earlier than 750, and it may well have been somewhat later. The precise date, in any case, is immaterial; what is important, and at the same time abundantly clear, is that Smaragdus was a younger, perhaps a considerably younger, contemporary of Charlemagne.

To whom is the *Via Regia* addressed? The first editor, D'Achery, thought to Louis the Pious, but the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire* regarded this assumption as untenable and maintained that the addressee was Charles the Great, *lorsqu'il n'étoit encore que roi de France et de Lombardie*.[4] Among more recent writers, Ebert and Werminghoff have upheld

[1] See their joint letter to Louis the Pious in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, V (1899), 290–291. The editor dates this epistle 825–830.

[2] S. Hellmann, *Sedulius Scottus; Texte und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, I, Heft 1 (Munich, 1906), p. 150, gives the date of Smaragdus' death about 830, but adds no reasons for this.

[3] See J. B. Hauréau, *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires* (Paris, 1861), p. 103.

[4] *Histoire Littéraire de la France* IV (1738), 441.

the view of D'Achery, but the majority either state that the treatise is an exhortation to Charlemagne or else discuss the political theory in the book without touching on the identity of the addressee.[1] What are the arguments in support of this attribution? It is pointed out that in his preface Smaragdus gives no hint that the empire had passed to the family of the prince whom he is addressing, the implication being that, if the work had been addressed to Louis, Smaragdus would have made some such allusion. Further, we are told that the addressee is spoken of as the ruler of several kingdoms. Hauréau puts forward an additional argument that a writer, who was setting before a son of Charlemagne all the duties of a prince, would not have omitted to hold up Charles himself as a shining example to his successor. Dümmler refers to three passages in the *Via Regia* which, he says, are applicable only to Charles. They are as follows:

1. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CII, 935B: decenter tibi conuenit et bene et multa regere regna.

2. *Ibid.*, 952D: Hic iam capiti tuo posuit diademata regia, sed illic adhuc aeternitatis ponet coronam. Hic iam concessit florentia regna, illic dabit grandia et inennarabilia gaudia.

3. *Ibid.*, 966A, B: Tibi ergo, rex, omnipotens Dominus ampla et florida, diuitiisque plena tribuit regna, parentumque multiplicia diuisit et praedia; fiscorum plurima dedit uectigalia et multorum potentum honorauit munera, unde regia fabricare possis palatia. Caue ne pauperum lacrymis miserorumque impensis tibi domus aedificetur regalis.

These three passages, however, are nothing more than a more detailed statement of the general argument that has already been stated. The allusion to several kingdoms is only inappropriate to Louis on the assumption that the treatise was addressed to him when he was merely king of Aquitaine. If, on the other hand, it was composed when Louis was already associated in the empire or when he had succeeded Charlemagne, it is equally appropriate to both rulers. The argument that Smaragdus, if he were addressing Louis, would hold up before him Charlemagne as a good ruler, would be convincing if Smaragdus elsewhere reinforced his exhortations by instancing historical and non-Biblical examples of wise or admirable monarchs. But it loses all force, if we bear in mind that all the instances which he cites are taken from the Old Testament. Thus, in one place (934B–C) he refers to

[1] See A. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 110–111. A. Werminghoff, 'Die Fürstenspiegel der Karolingerzeit,' *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXIX (1902), 193 ff.; J. B. Hauréau, *Singularités*, 113. E. Dümmler in *Mon. Germ. Hist. Epist.*, iv, 533, note 1; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (1911), 463 with note 1. Neither A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West*, I (1909) nor H. Lilienfein, *Die Anschauungen von Staat und Kirche im Reich der Karolinger* (Heidelberg, 1902), discuss the question with which we are here concerned.

Joshua, David, Ezechias, Solomon, and Ozias, in another (959C–960A) he enumerates twelve Biblical personages, from Noah to Elijah, who were conspicuous for their good judgment (*consilium*). It is a very different treatment of his subject to that which, for example, is adopted by Sedulius Scottus. He, in his *De Rectoribus Christianis*, ransacks Cassiodore's *Tripartite History* and the *Augustan History* for examples of rulers, good and bad, Christian and pagan. Smaragdus, however, relies solely on the Bible for his illustrative material, even as did Jonas of Orléans in his treatise, *De Institutione Regia*.[1] There is, on the other hand, a whole series of passages, which seem quite inappropriate if the *Via Regia* was an exhortation to Charlemagne, but which are no less apposite, if Louis was the recipient of the book. In 933B we read

Primum quia de femore regis *regalique descendis prosapia* decenter tibi conuenit et bene et multa regere regna.

The italicised words are scarcely very appropriate or, for that matter, very tactful, if addressed to Charles whose father was the first to assume the kingly title.

933C: Haec te prospicua claraque indicia *ab infantia regem clamitant regemque confirmant.*

935C: Et *dum adhuc paruulus esses*, regali te sede sublimiter evexit.

Again, the phrases in italics are highly appropriate to Louis, who was crowned king of Aquitaine at the age of three. To call Charlemagne, who was twenty-six when he ascended the throne, *adhuc paruulus*, would surely be an impossible use, or rather misuse, of a Latin word.[2] Furthermore, there are several passages which suggest that the ruler addressed is at the beginning of his reign or entering on a new task; also the remarks in question are such as no young man could make to his king. They read as follows:

939B: Propterea Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus ad te uenient, et apud te in proprio laetam mansionem facient, et beatus eris in perpetuo tali hospite uisitatus. Propterea complebuntur in benedictionibus dies tui, et in gloria anni tui.

940A: Time ergo Deum, rex, ut iugem tibi animae uirtutem corporisque ministret, firmamentum mentis et adiutorium concedat aeternum, cornu regni tui faciat sublime, et brachium fortitudinis robore confirmet.

[1] To be precise, Jonas refers once to Constantine (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CVI, 286C) and that is all.

[2] Happily Smaragdus uses *paruulus* elsewhere. In his *Commentary* on the Rule of St Benedict (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CII, 858A) the inhabitants of a monastery are divided into *paruuli, adolescentes, iuuenes*, and *senes*. The *paruuli* are the boy oblates. In another place he cites from the Rule itself (*ibid.*, 914D) *pueri paruuli uel adolescentes*, though in all the best manuscripts of the *Regula* we read *pueri parui*. See *S. Benedicti Regula Monachorum*, ed. B. Linderbauer, O. S. B. (Verlag des Benediktinerstiftes Metten, 1922), p. 77, 33.

942A: Time ergo, clarissime rex, Deum, et animam tuam praepara ad excipiendum sapientiam, ut sicut rex regiam cum sapientia sapienter possis pergere uiam.

When Charlemagne became king, Smaragdus, as we have seen, must have been a very young man, possibly still in his teens. Apart from the obvious impropriety of which a young monk would have been guilty, if he composed a hortatory tract like the *Via Regia* for his king, the whole treatise reads in every line like the work of a mature man, 'one who speaks with authority.' In addition, as will be shown below, there is a close connection between the *Via Regia* and two other works by Smaragdus, which were not written until he was abbot.

Just before the passage which has already been quoted and which Dümmler, because of the reference to several kingdoms, thought so suitable to Charles, occur the words *hic* (sc. *Deus*) *amplam regni dedit haereditatem* (952D). This phrase too is surely more suitable to the heir of Charles than to the heir of Pepin. In short, there is but one sentence in the *Via Regia* which at first sight seems to bring Charlemagne to one's mind at once; 'Here on earth God has granted thee valour in camp' (*Hic dedit habere uirtutem in castris*, 953A). Yet Louis had been present in Spain to receive the surrender of Barcelona in 801 and earlier still he had seen active service in Italy against Benevento.

Smaragdus' *Diadema Monachorum*, which was largely compiled from patristic sources, was written for the edification of his monks. The manner in which he writes in the preface to that book makes it clear that he was abbot at that time; in other words, it was composed after 805. *Et quia mos est monachorum*, he says, *ut regulam beati Benedicti ad capitulum legant quotidie matutinum, uolumus ut iste libellus ad eorum capitulum quotidie legatur uespertinum* (593D). The *Commentary* on the Rule of St Benedict was composed, as we saw, after 817; probably it was soon after, since the work should be regarded as a contribution to the difficult undertaking which is associated primarily with the name of Benedict of Aniane, namely, the introduction of uniform observance and the suppression of abuses in all monastic houses. For, in the brief preface to his *Commentary*, Smaragdus alludes to the imperfect understanding of the Rule which was to be found amongst many Religious, and stresses the need of an exposition intelligible to the ordinary monk. In the *Via Regia* (958A, B) there is an exhortation to the king to remedy abuses in the Church, which gains greatly in point if read in the light of Benedict of Aniane's zeal for reform and of the interest in, and support of, Benedict's policy that Louis had shown from early manhood. But it was only after he became emperor that his plans could be fully carried out. Moreover, the verbal correspondences between the

Via Regia and the *Diadema monachorum* are numerous and close; [1] in addition, there are some passages, which occur in either or both of these works, and which are again reproduced in the *Commentary on the Rule*. In some cases Smaragdus repeats what seem to be his own observations; elsewhere he uses a 'purple patch' from Patristic literature in more than one of his works. Thus, three fine excerpts from Cyprian are introduced both in the *Via Regia* and in the *Diadema;* one of them is found also in the *Commentary*.[2]

There can hardly be any doubt, then, that all three of these works were written at about the same period of Smaragdus' life; what is more, the brief *Via Regia* was certainly composed after the lengthier *Diadema* and not before.[3] Numerous passages, which were originally composed for the edification of his monks, Smaragdus has used again, with occasional necessary modifications, to edify his king. Any doubt which might still exist after reading the two books side by side, regarding the priority of the *Diadema*, is dispelled by comparing the concluding paragraph in each of the prefaces:

Diadema — Et quia in eadem beati Benedicti legimus regula, ut quiquid inchoamus bonum a Deo illud perfici instantissima deposcamus oratione; *propterea in hoc libello de orationis officio capitulum ponimus primum.*

(The first chapter is entitled *De Oratione.*)

V. R.— En iam aggrediar Domino miserante tibi, rex, regiam describere uiam, qua ambulans non habebis offendiculum, sed perfectum in finem aeternumque cum gaudio a Domino excipies regnum, *in qua uia dilectionis gradum conuenienter ponimus primum.*
(The first chapter is entitled *De Dilectione Dei et Proximi.*)

'St Benedict bids his disciples begin every good deed with prayer; therefore we will begin this treatise with a chapter on prayer' is a logical and happy turn of phrase. When Smaragdus wrote the preface to the *Via Regia* he clearly had the other preface in his mind, but the association of ideas is more forced and the verbal correspondence is limited to the final cadence.

One final point must be noted: Throughout the *Via Regia* the person

[1] They will be found in *Via Regia*, chap. 1 (*Diad.* 4), 2 (5), 3 (6), 4 (7), 5 (8), 6 (9), 7 (10), 13 (47), 17 (12), 20 (48). In all these chapters there are passages, varying in length from a dozen lines to half a column in Migne, which are identical, or nearly identical, in both treatises.

[2] The Cyprian references are to page and line in volume III of the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum: V. R.*, 961D–962A abbreviated from Cyprian, *De Zelo et Liuore*, 422, 27–424, 9. *V. R.*, 954A–B = *Diad.*, 644B–C is strongly reminiscent of Cyprian, *De Mortalitate*, 313, 18–314, 2. The praise of patience in *V. R.*, 947B–C = *Diad.*, 606D–607A is from Cyprian, *De Bono Patientiae*, 411, 26–412, 13. The last of these is also in the *Commentary on the Rule*, 768A–B. For correspondences in the three works of Smaragdus, see also *V. R.*, 940B = *Diad.* 603A = *Comment.*, 706B; *Diad.*, 650C = *Comment.*, 775C.

[3] Both Ebert, *op. cit.*, p. 110, note 2, and Werminghoff, *op. cit.*, p. 199, have pointed this out, without, however, giving any reasons.

for whom it is intended is addressed *rex*. At first sight this might be thought to tell against the argument that the treatise was addressed to Louis when he had succeeded to the empire. In reality, however, it helps to fix its date within narrower limits. Though, in general, Louis would be *imperator* to his subjects from the time when he was associated with his father in the empire (in 813), or at all events on Charles' death in the following year, a prominent Churchman would hesitate to recognize Louis' claims, until the imperial crown and dignity had been conferred by the Pope. At Rheims in 816 Louis was formally invested emperor by the Pope.

To sum up: The arguments set out above seem to justify us in saying that Smaragdus addressed his *Via Regia* to Louis, and not to Charlemagne, and that the composition was written between 813 and 814, when Louis became co-emperor or sole emperor, and 816 when his imperial inheritance received the Papal benediction.

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THE CHANCES OF SALVATION IN MEDIAEVAL THOUGHT

In his *Five Centuries of Religion*,[1] Professor G. G. Coulton proves quite conclusively that orthodox theologians almost without exception, held that the vast majority of the human race would be doomed to hell, and in *The Mediaeval Village*,[2] he infers that this belief was held by mediaeval society at large. In this he is, in all probability, correct, yet it may be of interest to call attention to a piece of conflicting evidence. The popular *Liber Chronicarum* of Doctor Hartmann Schedel, printed at Nuremberg by Anton Koberger in 1493, contains a woodcut illustration of the Last Judgement made in the studio of Wohlegmuth and Pleydenwurff, the masters of Albrecht Dürer.[3] This engraving represents a countless multitude of the elect entering heaven but the number of the damned who are shown being forced down the mouth of hell does not exceed six. This proportion, however, is unusual. Fifteenth-century woodcuts of the Last Judgement usually represent the number of the saved and the lost as approximately equal.

[1] (Cambridge: University Press, 1923 ff.), I, 445–449; II, 665.

[2] (Cambridge: University Press, 1925), p. 241.

[3] Fol. 265v. The cut is used again in the German translation of the work, printed by Koberger in the same year (fol. 262r). In the pirated editions of the chronicle, printed at Augsburg by Johann Schönsperger (the Latin version in 1497, the German translation in 1500) appears a crude copy of the Wohlegmuth woodcut. In this illustration, which appears on fol. 294v of the 1500 edition, the number of the damned is reduced to three.

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ANOTHER INVERTED PALIMPSEST

Mr Thorndike's note on 'An Inverted Palimpsest' Speculum, III (1928), 105, recalls to my mind *MS. 1060* of the Bibliotheca Angelica in Rome, in which the thirteenth-century scribes, who copied Horace's *Ars poetica* and *Epistulae* and Ovid's *Heroides* over an Evangeliary, did not scruple to seek celestial rewards as if for pious labors. The *subscriptiones* read:

Explicit. Qui scripsit Scribat Semper cum domino uiuat and *Viuat in celis Matheus Cassiarius qui scripsit.*

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NOTES UPON AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY PSALTER

Within the past few years MS. *latin 11550*, a fine eleventh-century Psalter of the Bibliothèque Nationale, has been twice cited in works on mediaeval art. It was referred to by Emile Mâle [1] who thought the manuscript came from Limoges, since St Martial is mentioned in the litany immediately after the Evangelists. In a more recent publication by Lauer [2] this book is listed as Catalan, an attribution said to be based upon the style of the illumination and the litany. Yet evidence furnished by the manuscript itself seems to point to a very different origin.

Upon opening the book one is immediately confronted by the *ex-libris* of St Germain-des-Prés with the number 8 given to it in the catalogue of 1677.[3] Although this in itself by no means proves that the Psalter was written at the Parisian abbey, since four hundred manuscripts from Corbie, as well as exchanges, gifts, and other additions would all have been similarly catalogued, yet it undoubtedly provides a starting-point for investigation that one cannot afford to ignore. The first step, therefore, should be to determine whether the book might not have been made at St Germain-des-Prés itself.[4]

For such a purpose we must turn to an authenticated St Germain manuscript for comparison. Few can serve us better in this matter than MS.

[1] *L'Art Religieux du XII Siècle en France* (Paris: Colin, 1922), p. 9, footnote.

[2] Ph. Lauer, *Les Enluminures Romanes des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Editions de la Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1927), p. 124.

[3] H. Omont, *Concordances des Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Leroux, 1903), p. 182.

[4] J. Mearns, *Early Latin Hymnaries* (Cambridge, 1913), p. xiv: 'Paris B. N. Lat. 11550. Ben. Ps. etc. of XI. From St Germain-des-Prés.' It seems in this instance more than likely that the author believed the Psalter was actually written at St Germain.

PLATE I, A

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (*Latin 11550*, fol. 6r)

PLATE I, B

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (*Latin 11550*, fol. 7v)

PLATE II

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (*Latin 11751*, fol. 59r)

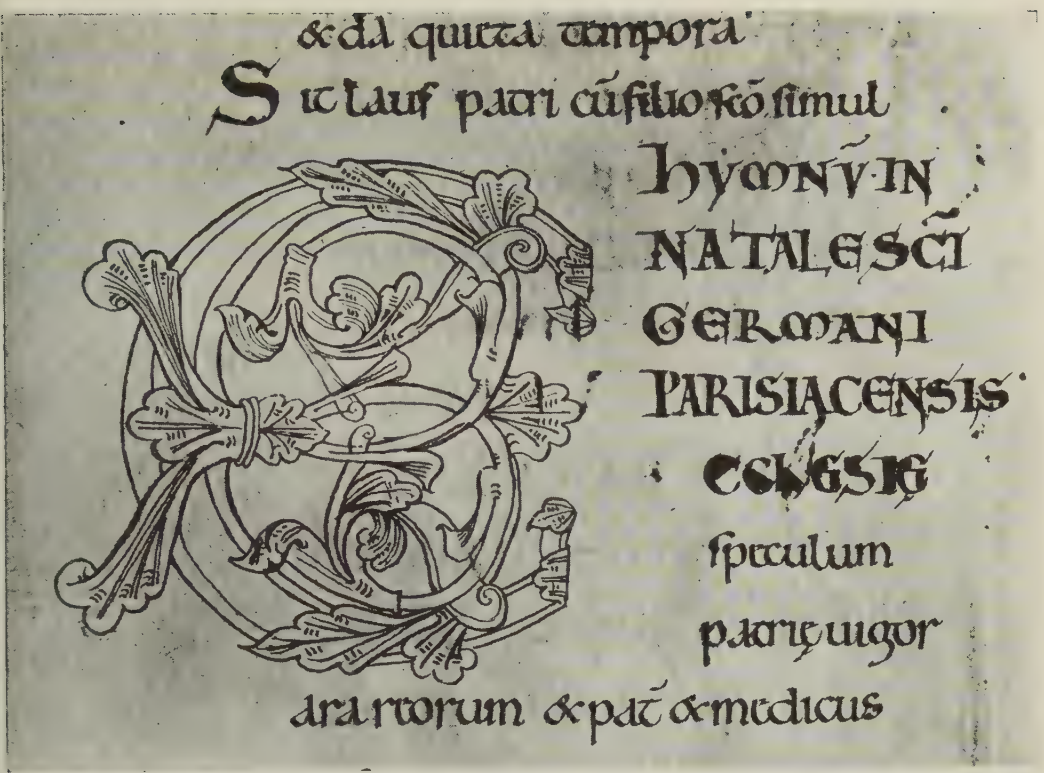


Plate III, A

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (*Latin 11550*, fol. 270r)

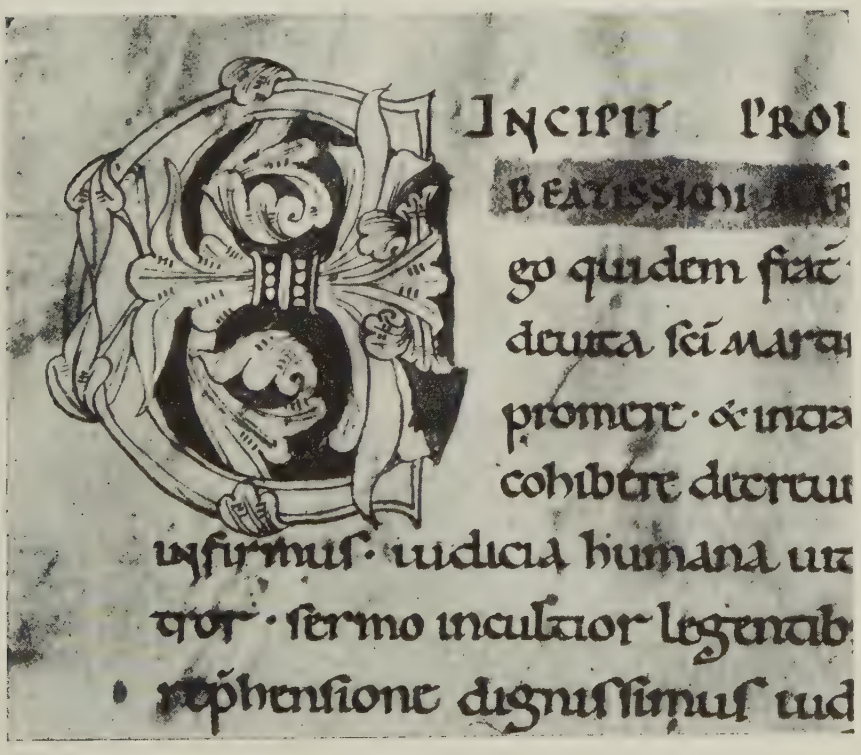
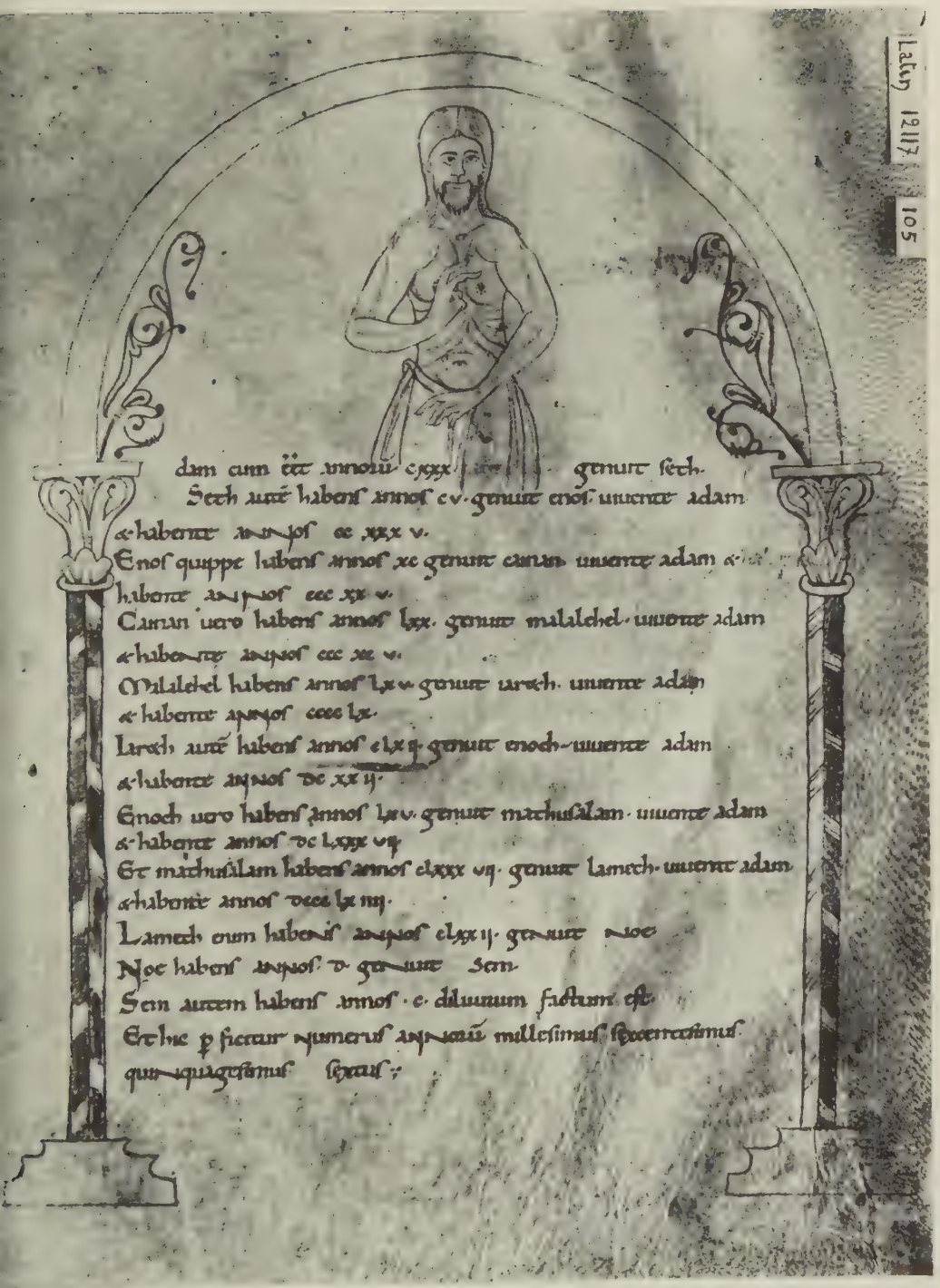


Plate III, B

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (*Latin 11751*, fol. 82r)

Latin 12117 105



dam cum ẽt annoꝝ cxxx [illegible] genuit seth.
Seth autẽ habens annos cv. genuit enos. uiuens ab adam
& habens annos dcccvii.
Enos quippe habens annos xc genuit cainan. uiuens adam &
habens annos ccc xv.
Cainan uero habens annos lxx. genuit malalehel. uiuens adam
& habens annos ccc xl v.
Malalehel habens annos lxv. genuit iareh. uiuens adam
& habens annos cccc lx.
Iareh autẽ habens annos clxii. genuit enoch. uiuens adam
& habens annos dcc xcii.
Enoch uero habens annos lxv. genuit mathusalam. uiuens adam
& habens annos dc lxxx vii.
Et mathusalam habens annos clxxx vii. genuit lamech. uiuens adam
& habens annos dccc lx nii.
Lamech enim habens annos clxxii. genuit noe.
Noe habens annos d. genuit sem.
Sem autem habens annos .c. diluuium factum est.
Et hic p̃ fierent numeri anni mundi millesimus ccccxcviii.
qui quingentesimus sexti.

PLATE IV

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (*Latin 12117*, fol. 105r)

latin 11751,[1] a *Vita Sanctorum* ordered by Prior Signwinus at the suggestion of Abbot Adraldus. This valuable information is found in some verses on fol. 145v, and dates the manuscript between the years 1030 and 1060, the period during which Adraldus held office.[2] If we compare the illustrations of MS. *latin 11550* with those of MS. *latin 11751*, taking as examples the picture of David and his four musicians (Plate I B) and the scene of Dagobert kneeling before SS Dionysius, Mauricius, and Martinus (Plate II), certain points of resemblance become apparent. The features of David (Plate I B) and those of the saint to the left (Plate II) are much alike in the drawing of the eyes, the straight incisive line of the nose, and the rendering of the lips. The hair of the musicians (Plate I B) with the break in shading that produces a wavy and shining appearance is closely duplicated in two of the saints of the *Vita Sanctorum* (Plate II), and in both manuscripts the fingers are deeply indented at the joints. Other details, too, show similar treatment. Compare, for instance, the costume of David with that of the saint holding a crozier. Both figures have the same cuff ornament with beaded trimming, the same orphrey embroidered with small circles, the same sprinkling of the robe with dots arranged in groups of three and four. Finally, the ornamentation of the instrument of the musician at the upper right (Plate I B) is seen again upon the large book held by the saint at the right (Plate II). This motif, common enough in outline illuminations of the period, is a particularly characteristic mannerism of the scriptorium of St Germain.

Also in the initial style of the two manuscripts we find the same technique. A letter E of MS. *latin 11550* (Plate III A) shows a very definite convention for rendering leaf forms, the veins being indicated by long parallel lines usually grouped in pairs and separated by short strokes drawn at right angles. Precisely the same method of representation is followed in an initial E of MS. *latin 11751* (Plate III B).

As can be seen from illustrations color is rarely employed in either of the manuscripts, although such initials as have been mentioned above are often placed against a light green background. Occasionally in MS. *latin 11751* the smaller capitals are drawn in green or purple, with a filling of orange-colored dots and triangles in the inclosed spaces. Sometimes all three colors are brought into combination, as in an initial E on fol.48v. Here the letter is purple, with the inclosed portion filled with orange and green geometrical shapes. Now it is perhaps of some significance that the great Crucifixion page of MS. *latin 11550* (Plate I A) is decorated with precisely these colors in exactly the same shades, the background behind the figures being purple, the cross green, with the outer border of the cross outlined in orange.

[1] Mr Schapiro had some time before called my attention to this manuscript.

[2] L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874), II, 41.

So much, then, for points of resemblance between MSS *latin 11550* and *latin 11751*. There is, however, another book equally well established as having been made at St Germain-des-Prés, equally well dated, and perhaps better known than the *Vita Sanctorum* which has provided comparison up to this point. This manuscript is MS. *latin 12117* containing works of St Clement, the so-called *Annals* of St Germain-des-Prés, a chronological list of the kings of France, and a treatise on astronomy.[1] It can be approximately dated 1031–1060 by the list of kings, since the last one mentioned is Henry I. Not only is this manuscript contemporaneous with MS. *latin 11751*, but it also contains many illustrations in the same style. The drawings in it can be called upon to strengthen still further the bonds that already connect MS. *latin 11550* with St Germain. Compare, for example, the anatomy of Christ (Plate I A) with that of Adam (Plate IV), the right hand of David (Plate I B) with the right hand of Adam, and the arms of the two musicians at the left (Plate I B) with the right arm of Adam. Such obvious parallels in drawing must surely point to a common centre of origin.

Yet there still remains a point at issue which cannot be disregarded. In spite of the close stylistic analogies which MS. *latin 11550* bears to two manuscripts of St Germain-des-Prés, does not the mention of St Martial in the litany directly after the Evangelists indicate that the book could have been made only at Limoges? The objection to this opinion advanced by Mâle is that the typical Limoges litany places St Martial not after the Evangelists but before them, following immediately after the twelve Apostles, a ranking higher than was ever accorded him elsewhere.[2] Another fact of importance is that only two of the saints in the litany of MS. *latin 11550* have two check-marks following their names, signifying that they are to be invoked twice. Significantly enough, the saints thus honored in the Psalter are St Germain and St Benedict, thus proving beyond question that the manuscript was written for a Benedictine monastery dedicated to St Germain.[3]

[1] Ph. Lauer, *op. cit.*, p. 129. G. H. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hannover: Hahn, 1839), Scriptorum Tomus III, 166–168. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), A.A. XI, ii, 404. Comte Auguste de Bastard[-d'Estang], *Peintures et Ornements des Manuscrits* (Paris, 1832–1869), III, 227, 228.

[2] Order of the litany at Limoges: St Peter, St Paul, St Andrew, St John, St James, St Philip, St Bartholomew, St Matthew, St Thomas, St James, St Simon, St Thaddeus, St Mathias, St Martial, St Barnabas, St Luke, St Mark.

Order of the litany at St Germain-des-Prés: St Peter, St Paul, St Andrew, St James, St John, St Thomas, St James, St Philip, St Bartholomew, St Matthew, St Symon, St Thaddeus, St Mathias, St Barnabas, St Luke, St Mark, St Martial.

[3] The Abbé Leroquais, to whom I showed the manuscript, made this important observation.

It seems, therefore, justifiable to designate this Psalter as a product of St Germain-des-Prés, since the style of its illustrations agrees so well with illuminations in books known definitely to have been executed there — a theory that, as we have seen, is strengthened rather than contradicted by the peculiarities of the litany. What the ultimate sources of the style and iconography of this group of three manuscripts may be is an interesting and complicated problem, requiring for its solution not only a comparative study of books from other monastic centres, but also a more thorough acquaintance with many other books of St Germain.

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FIVE OLD PRINTS OF THE ABBEY CHURCH OF CLUNY

In the course of studies undertaken on a grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, in preparation for restoration drawings of the monastery of Cluny, the writer came upon two old prints of the abbey church which, in spite of their obvious demerits, deserve to be published again. The impressions reproduced here are both in the *Topographie de la France* under *Cluny* at the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris, and so can hardly be called unknown; but, given the scarcity of original material on the magnificent old church, they should receive wider notice. Accompanying them are the three Lallemand views from the *Voyage Pittoresque de la France* (1787) which were not reproduced in Bruel's Album of the *Millénaire de Cluny* (1909). The latter have been reproduced before in books or in post-card form, but the work has been badly done.

I. Figure 1. The Great Portal of the church of St Hugh. Line engraving, with detail, perhaps of the jamb ornament, above. No title; signatures: at left, *I.* (or *J.*) *F. Garnerey del.*; at right, *Le Maître sculp.* I. F. Garnerey is probably Jean-François Garnerey (1755–1837), a pupil of David, and a painter known to have done some architectural subjects. One hesitates to identify Le Maître with the competent Augustin-François Le Maître (born in 1797, living in 1839). An oval stamp with the crowned B.R. (Bibliothèque Royale) indicates that the print was accessioned before the fall of the French monarchy in 1848, but there is no indication of provenience. The work greatly resembles some of the less skillful engravings made for Alexandre Lenoir's *Musée de Monuments Français* (1800 *ff.*), but neither of the artists contributed (as far as I am aware) to the illustrations of that work. Not only skill, but understanding, as well, is lacking in this rendering; the interpretation could hardly be less flattering to what was most certainly a noble piece of sculpture. The proportion of the doorway is

false, the perspective of the capitals incorrect, the handling of the corbels, tympanum, archivolts, and spandrels ridiculous. But representations as faulty as this are commonplace in seventeenth and eighteenth century drawings of mediaeval architecture, and I believe that the drawing of Garnerey was made from the portal itself before its destruction on May 8, 1810. Nine days had been spent in placing charges of powder under the west façade of the nave of the abbey church; at about six o'clock on the day mentioned they were set off, and brought down the whole of this part of the building. The lower entrance of, the rue de l'Abbatiale, between the Hôtel de Bourgogne and the inn opposite, marks approximately the site of the portal.

The engraving is almost certainly the original of the lithograph (Fig. 2) made by the Dijonnais teacher and archaeologist, Emile Sagot, and used as an illustration of Lorain's *Essai Historique sur l'Abbaye de Cluny* (1839). Some of the aberrations of Sagot's drawing are thus explained, though Sagot did not follow the old drawing exactly. A comparison of the two will show some features modified and others transposed. Sagot's tympanum varies widely from the other; on the engraving the mandorla does not appear, the throne is more prominent, the apocalyptic beasts are differently arranged, and the winged figures are different. Two of the latter are cherubim rather than angels. These differences, of course, pose the question as to whether the engraving, for all its crudity, really represents the original, and whether Sagot was justified in giving the design a more conventional form.

Fortunately we have the careful and detailed description of Philibert Bouché, written in 1792, which upholds the engraving. There are enough differences between the description and the engraving to prove that the engraving was not made on the basis of Bouché's words; thus it is more certain that the engraving was made from the portal itself. Bouché justifies the attitude of the cherubim, but he calls them angels. According to him, the central figure was in a mandorla; there were fifteen lobes, not eleven, in the decoration of the fourth archivolt, and the central one, like the others, was occupied by an angel. The engraving shows but twenty-one figures on the lintel, where there were surely twenty-three. Their attitudes do not bear out the common notion that the Elders of the Apocalypse were represented (minus one of their number). The poses suggest a scene or series of scenes, as at Montceaux-l'Etoile, St Paul de Vaux, Anzy-le-Duc, Vézelay, Autun. It is possible that the birds at the top of the engraving represent gargoyles, for the façade wall of the church was about six feet back of the portal front, and the ledge and wall above had, of course, to be drained.

An interesting consequence of this study is that we may identify the tympanum of the main portal of the church of Semur-en-Brionnais, as a

reduced copy of this design. At Semur (Fig. 3) the work is on a much smaller scale and on this account the two angels are omitted. But the cherubim appear. There is the same arrangement of the apocalyptic beasts — iconographically irregular, and now unique, I believe, among the Burgundian portals. Curiously enough, the mandorla, though present, is scarcely distinguishable, and this fact may well explain why the engraver at Cluny missed the mandorla there. The portal at Cluny had shafts and bases like those at Semur-en-Brionnais. There are two projecting stones over the portal at Semur which seem to represent the gargoyles at Cluny. The clinching argument, however, is the corbelled gallery on the nave wall just within and above the portal (Fig. 4). There was just such a circular corbel in the corresponding situation at Cluny, where it sustained the apse of chapel of St Michael, built in the thickness of the wall immediately above the main portal. It is noteworthy also that the architecture of the great abbey is reflected in the nave of the smaller church. Semur-en-Brionnais was the birth-place of St Hugh, and it is pleasant to find reminiscences of his glorious church here in this little building, carried out half a century after his death.

II. Figure 5. Lithograph, a print of which exists in the Cabinet des Estampes entitled *Ruines de l'Eglise de Clugny.* [*sic*] *Vue du Jardin;* beneath the left-hand corner of the picture the date 1823, which is to all appearances a part of the original impression; at the right *Lith*^{ie} *de Lefevre, Rue St Come. Gérée par Guenin-Billon,* and an initial, apparently *B,* which might stand for the name of the draughtsman. Like the preceding, it has an oval Bibliothèque Royale accession stamp. If indeed this drawing was made in 1823, it is one of the last pictures to be made of the east end of the church, which was largely destroyed by gunpowder in 1811 and finally disappeared in the course of the year 1823. The drawing goes far to explain the survival of large sections of the marble ambulatory columns with their monumental capitals, which make of the little museum at Cluny a mecca for students of Romanesque sculpture. There are obvious inaccuracies about the picture. The representation of the chapels and the spur buttresses is certainly incorrect, but the accompanying photograph (Fig. 6) shows that the drawing is by no means a fanciful one.

III. Figure 7. View of the North flank of the abbey church, with the enclosure wall, towers, and a gate. Engraving, inscribed *Petite Vue de l'Abbaye de Cluni près Mâcon, prise dans l'eloignement. A.P.D.R.* At left, *Dessiné par Lallemand;* at right, *Dirigé par Née. No. 54.* An undated water-color painting much resembling this engraving exists in the Museum at Cluny. Its relation to the engraving is undetermined.

IV. Figure 8. View of the interior of the narthex. Inscribed *Vue de l'intérieur de l'Eglise de Cluni, du coté de l'entrée. A.P.D.R.* At left, *Dessiné par Lallemand;* at right, *Gravé par Auvrai. No. 56.*

This view, while substantially correct, shows the vault badly out of proportion, and the wall in the background (the west wall of the church proper) not quite correctly. It is valuable, however, as giving us a view of the main door which we may set beside the engraving discussed at the beginning of this article. It is clear from the engraving and from Philibert Bouché's description that there was a series of nine, not eight, arches across above the portal; the central one of these opened upon the chapel of St Michael in the thickness of the wall above the portal. There were four openings above, which I take to have been the original windows of the west front. The narthex vault seems to have been so placed that the upper part of the upper window could be transformed into the bulls-eye visible in the exterior view, figure 7. The connection between the old façade and the easternmost bay of the narthex was made by an odd little intermediate barrel vault of pointed section.

The city wall observable in the engraving remains almost intact, and the round towers still exist, but the gate has disappeared. The view gives a better idea than most, of the situation of the abbey church, set as it was against the slope of a hill. It is worth noting that the western towers formed no part of the original plan, or of the plan for the narthex added to the west: clear indications in the masonry show that they were of subsequent date.

V. Figure 9. Interior view of the abbey church. Engraving, inscribed *Autre Vue de l'Intérieure de l'Eglise de Cluni. A.P.D.R.* At left, *Dessiné par Lallemand;* at right, *Gravé par Auvrai. No. 56.*

This is, as far as I am aware, the only piece of original material showing the abbey interior, and it is a great pity that it should be so small and unsatisfactory. The high vault was in all probability not round but pointed in the nave and throughout the rest of the building. My preliminary geometrical restoration-studies, at any rate, indicate that form quite clearly. It has been suggested that the vaulting was originally planned to be round, but that the nave vault was made pointed in the reconstruction after the collapse of 1125; and it may be that the unskilful draughtsman, seeing round vaulting in the distance, carried that section up into the foreground, but this is doubtful. The lighting of the building is not very definitely indicated. It seems likely that during the seventeenth or eighteenth century two out of the three original windows in each bay of the clearstory were blocked up in order to strengthen the high vault.

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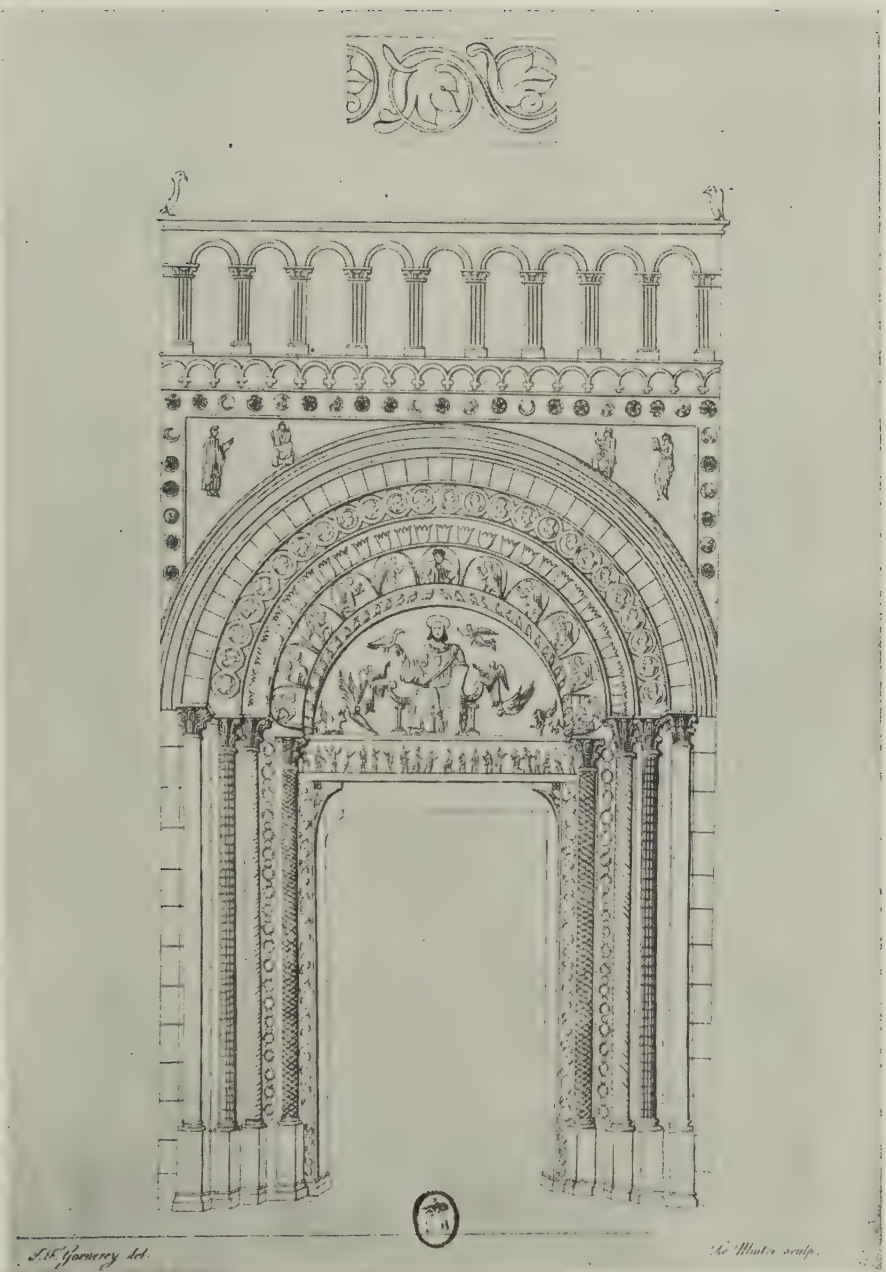

Rigal phot.

FIGURE 1

Engraving of the Great Portal of the Abbey Church at Cluny

Harvard College Library phot.

FIGURE 2

Lithograph of the Portal by Emile Sagot, reproduced from Lorain's *Essai Historique sur l'Abbaye de Cluny*

FIGURE 3

West Portal of the Church of Semur-en-Brionnais

Thiollier

FIGURE 4

Interior of the Church of Semur-en-Brionnais

Rigal phot.

FIGURE 5

Lithograph of the East End of the Abbey Church at Cluny, 1823

Loury phot.

FIGURE 6

View from the east, showing remains of the Abbey Church and the Monastery at Cluny

FIGURE 7

Lallemand's View of the Flank of the Abbey Church

FIGURE 8

Lallemand's View of the Narthex, showing the Great Portal in the middle distance

FIGURE 9

Lallemand's View of the Interior of the Abbey Church at Cluny

LINGUA ROMANA

In connection with the discussion which Professor J. W. Thompson began (see Speculum, I, 1926, 410–438) on the problem of the date of the *Strassburg Oaths*, I should like to communicate some facts gleaned from the study of the mediaeval commentaries on Virgil.

On page 415, note 1, of his article Professor Thompson cites from one of the canons of the Council of Tours held in 813 enjoining the bishop to translate his sermons *in rusticam romanam linguam aut in theutiscam.* For this use of the *lingua theutisca*, see my study of the scholia in the Virgil of Tours,[1] where the scholiast, in this case Luidramnus of Tours, writing in the ninth century, comments on the word *cateiae* (*Aen.* vii, 741) thus: *cateiae lingua theotisca hastae dicuntur.* The word *rustice* is used by Berno, also of Tours (early ninth century) in a note in the same codex on *rates* (*Geo.* ii, 446): *rates rustice dicitur reth.*[2] I shall leave it to Romanic philologists to determine whether *rustice* here means Old French or Vulgar Latin.

A gloss in an eleventh-century manuscript, *Parisinus latinus 7930*, on *Georgic* iii, 147, may not be without some significance in determining the meaning of *lingua romana* at least as early as that century. The gloss reads: *asylo .i. romana lingua .i. latina asilius*(sic) *dicitur.*[3] The scholiasts in this manuscript use expressions like *quae uulgo dicitur* (*dicimus, uocamus*) to give such explanations as *oestrus : tabanus ; colum : panerius ; taxus : iuus; trudere : emittere.* This codex contains valuable scholia derived principally from either Servius or his source.

[1] *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXVI (1925), 151, n. 4.

[2] Funaioli, *Rheinisches Museum*, LXX (1925), 68, was the first to note this scholium.

[3] The glossator evidently thinks that the *asylo* of his manuscript is a word of Greek origin. Thompson says: 'Not until the tenth century at least — and not always then — does *lingua romana* signify the romance language.' See pages 415, n. 1, and 429, n. 2. of his article.

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REVIEWS

HOWARD R. PATCH, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. pp., xii, 215. $5.00.

IT IS difficult to indicate in few words the amount of exploration in most of the literatures of western Europe which lies back of this charming book. It is a summary and analysis of the conception and use of the traditional figure of Fortuna in the Middle Ages and later; her traits, dwelling, wheel, and the like, and various accompanying literary conceits. The interest of the book is heightened by rare and sometimes exquisite illustrations. The work sets us thinking of a remarkable number of interesting side-lines, paths to follow out: such as the mutual influence in literature and art of various quasi-divine female figures, the Virgin Mary and Venus, to say nothing of Nature, Lady Philosophy, Philology, and other edifying female guides; the Fortune tradition as background for the long line of dismal works from Boccaccio's *De Casibus* to *A Mirror for Magistrates* and later things; Fortuna (dividing the field with the Christian idea of Providence) as succeeding the pagan Fate or Wyrd and the Roman Genius. It would also be interesting to follow up and explain the Italian use of 'fortuna' as meaning 'storm'; and to follow up the history of 'fortuna major' and 'fortuna minor.'

The word 'fortune' or 'Fortuna' is used for the most part poetically, and poets do not write under oath. The idea is often vague, or combines several meanings; conceptions interflow like shifting lines of foam behind the surf. It requires extraordinarily delicate analysis to determine just how much a particular mediaeval writer meant by 'fortune' or 'Fortuna' as a force. Sometimes he meant, as Mr Patch lets us see, merely the driving power of events, especially conceived as capricious and inscrutable; sometimes a charming reminiscent shadow of the pagan goddess; sometimes a secular and irreligious substitute for Providence; or a sort of department or channel through which Providence works. This last was Dante's idea, as is shown in the seventh canto of the Inferno, where Fortuna stands among *l'altre prime creature* and *gli altri dei.* That uneducated and unintelligent Christians vaguely conceived her as a real and independent personal being is possible; the ancient tradition would be re-enforced by Christian dualism as implied by the independent personal devils. But that any cultivated person in the Middle Ages conceived her as such a being in any intelligible sense is hard to believe.

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S. Harrison Thomson, ed., *Mag. Johannis Hus: Tractatus Responsivus.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1927. Pp. xxxiv, 173. $3.50.

In 1902 the well-known specialist in the Husite literature and history, Dr V. Flajšhans of Prague, discovered an anonymous, early fifteenth-century manuscript which he ascribed to John Hus. The text of this treatise has not hitherto been accessible in printed form, except for an abbreviated Czech translation,[1] but last year a young American scholar, Dr S. Harrison Thomson, edited and published it in the *Collection of Sources of the Religious Movements of the XIV. and XV. Centuries*,[2] as well as in the present American edition. This work, carefully edited and prefaced by an extensive critical introduction, is a valuable contribution to the study of the most important period of Bohemian history, as well as to historical scholarship in general.

Mr Thomson, who received his doctor's degree at the Charles University of Prague, is unusually well prepared for his task; it may indeed be said that because of his post-graduate studies at the Prague university, where he became acquainted with all the literature pertaining to the subject as well as with the outstanding historians like Professor Novotný, his preparation has been in some sense unique as far as American scholarship is concerned. As could be expected from such a thoroughly competent student, the work bears witness to his intimate knowledge of the subject.

In his Introduction, which is a very important part of the work, Mr Thomson presents an extensive and carefully prepared argument to prove his contention that the author of the treatise was John Hus. He felt it imperative to present this elaborate argument because Hus' authorship has been and still is seriously doubted. In reviewing this work, it seems only fair and proper to call this circumstance to the attention of our American historical scholarship, for relatively few are able to follow the discussion of the question in the Czech historical publications. The most outstanding among those who challenge Mr Thomson's conclusions is the brilliant young Czech historian of the Husite period, Dr F. M. Bartoš, who not only denied Mr Thomson's thesis altogether, but affirmed that the real author of the treatise was Jacobellus of Stříbro, the chief co-laborer of Hus and in some respects a more radical reformer than Hus himself.[3] After discussing point by point Mr Thomson's arguments for Hus' authorship and exposing their insufficiency, Bartoš sums up his reasons for ascribing the work to Jacobellus as follows: extensive verbal similarities with, or direct

[1] M. J. Husi, *Sebrané Spisy*, II (1904), 336–89; translated by M. Svoboda.

[2] *Sbírka Pramenů Náboženského Hnutí, XIV. a XV. stol.*, sv. 15.

[3] F. M. Bartoš, *M. J. Hussii Tractatus Responsivus*, in *Časopis Národního Musea*, CII (1928), 23–35.

quotations from other writings of Jacobellus, especially in matters advocated exclusively by him and not shared by Hus, such as the assertion that Pope John XXIII was the antichrist, and the defence of private confession without priestly interposition. The only work which the author of the *Tractatus* cited was Jacobellus' treatise, the *Antichrist*, and that is done in a manner suggestive of the author's reference to another of his works. Moreover, about twenty pages of the text of the *Tractatus* were directly derived from the works of Matthew of Janov, whom Jacobellus regarded as, next to Wyclif, his greatest teacher; but on account of his ardent apocalypticism, Matthew did not influence Hus greatly. Finally, the critical attitude toward the academic dignitaries which the *Tractatus* sustains was characteristic of Jacobellus, but not in the same measure of Hus.

Although the present reviewer, because of his lack of critical apparatus, is not able to pass a definite judgment as to the relative merits of the opposing views, it seems that the present unsettled status of the question makes it advisable to await the decision which will ultimately gain the acceptance of the majority of competent authorities. It is sufficient at present that the American scholarship is acquainted with the fact that Mr Thomson's thesis does not pass unchallenged. Nevertheless, these statements are not made for the purpose of detracting from the undoubted merits of the work, but purely in the interests of sound scholarship.

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Calendar of the Fine Rolls, Vol. IX, Richard II, 1377–1383; *Calendar of Chancery Warrants*, Vol. I, 1244–1326. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1926, 1927.

The first named of the volumes is a continuation of an established series. As noted in a previous review (I, 115, 116), the *Calendar of the Fine Rolls* contains mainly letters and writs under the great seal dealing with financial matters. The other volume is the first of its kind. It embodies warrants for the issue of instruments under the great seal for which no corresponding entries have been found on the rolls kept in the Chancery. There is no reason to doubt, however, that most of the letters patent, letters close and the like, for which they formed the authorization, were issued. Several of the documents are letters directed to the chancellor concerning purely personal matters, such as attendance upon the king, and may only by courtesy be called warrants. In a number of instances the writs of privy seal refer to enclosures, often to petitions; whenever found in their place in the file these have been calendared.

Within the period 1377–1383, covered by the Fine Rolls, the event of most general interest is the Peasants' Revolt. Concerning the uprising itself

the rolls give practically no information; on the other hand they afford us the opportunity of studying for the first time in some detail, in print and in English, one phase at least of the causes of unrest. Here is set forth in the formal language of commissions and supplementary instructions the story of heavy and unusual taxes. The fifteenth and tenth of 1377 was levied at a double rate (pp. 52, 53). Then in May, 1379, came letters to the assessors and collectors of a poll tax (pp. 141–152); in March, 1380, the same for a fifteenth and tenth at fifty per cent above the ordinary rate (p. 185); and in December, 1380, commissions for the assessment and collections of the crucial poll tax (pp. 224–234). However just these taxes may have been from the point of view of the wealth of the nation, the policy which dictated that old style taxes at higher rates should be levied in such close proximity to new types, was thoroughly bad. It is no wonder that the peasants tried to evade the final poll tax, or that there was discontent with taxation throughout the land. The wording of the commissions directing the revision of the assessment made for the tax of 1379 indicates that even then the government suspected evasion (p. 162). Its fears of a similar condition in 1381 are known to have been well founded. It is no new thing to find Englishmen of the fourteenth century attempting to escape the burden of taxation; what is new is revolt on a large scale.

Anyone interested in the decline of Edward III during his last years will find over forty references in the index to the Fine Rolls to the forfeited goods and lands of Alice Perrers.

The volume of Chancery Warrants appeals to a much broader human interest than its present companion. In this review, therefore, I am going to select a few of the items concerning manners and customs, although I realize that among the remainder are many that are of importance for the study of political institutions.

During the greater number of the years covered by the present volume England was, as was usually the situation, at war. There are, therefore, many references to the array of the king's subjects, among them those humble folk, the ditchers (pp. 8, 501). The fact that army service was held to wipe out criminal charges against the soldier (pp. 79–90) reminds one of the attitude of certain American draft boards during the World War. Almost equally modern is the complaint made in 1316 that certain constables charged with sending men to the host, chose worthless rascals and took money to allow good men to remain at home (p. 437). Respites from taxation were granted in the days of Edward I to some of the greater men while they were in the army (pp. 9–13, 56–58). There is a brief but first-hand description of a battle with the Welsh near Caephilly Castle, in which reference is made to the making of either ditches or earthworks (*fosseez*) for the protection of the roads (pp. 439, 440).

There are numerous items relating to the royal practice of sending faithful servants to religious houses for maintenance during the remainder of their lives. Among those thus pensioned were a yeoman and a laundress of the kitchen, a falconer, king's messengers, and a yeoman of the avenary (pp. 467, 467–468, 427, 175, 443). There is also evidence of the reluctance with which religious houses received such men (e.g., p. 465). In the case of John le Mareschal this reluctance led, as he relates, to a demand for three and one half marks in silver for a good charter (p. 359). John paid and complains that even then his allowance was withheld. On the other hand the abbot and convent of Malmesbury stated in 1323, in explanation of their refusal to admit William de Englys, that they had already with them three men who had been admitted at the request of Edward I, Edward II, and the latter's queen (p. 547).

Pilgrimages are mentioned in several of the warrants, because of the need felt by those contemplating a trip abroad of letters of protection. The shrine most frequently named is that of St James of Compostela (pp. 18, 356, 395, etc.). The Bishop of Bath preferred that of Our Lady of Rocamadour, as did Gerard Dor' (pp. 203, 272). In the case of Gerard the king's friends were to be asked not to molest him on account of his beard, since he had sworn not to remove it until his pilgrimage was over. Two men wished to go to the shrine of St Edmund of Pontigny (pp. 134, 251).

From the standpoint of information of a general character the first volume of the *Calendar of Chancery Warrants* is the most interesting collection of documents that has been issued under the direction of the Deputy Keeper of the Records for several years.

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G. H. Tupling, *The Economic History of Rossendale*, Manchester: at the University Press; and London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1927. Pp. xxii, 274. $8.50.

Rossendale is a district in southeastern Lancashire, which, like the whole northwestern part of England, developed late. Its history began in the thirteenth century when it was a forest and little settled. It then was developed successively for pasture, tillage, and, in the early modern period, for manufacture. The strictly mediaeval part of the book under review occupies less than one-sixth of the whole, most of the emphasis being put on the period 1500–1800. For the mediaevalist the chief interest lies in the story of the spread of population and cultivation into waste parts, improvements made by nobles, and particularly the establishment of pasture farms in half-developed woodland. By analogy we may accept this as typical of earlier developments in older districts. For the student of modern history

there is a good deal about enclosures, traffic in land, copyhold, and the textile industry. In view of the fact that the author came down to the nineteenth century, we cannot help regretting that he did not continue to the present which he could have described at first hand. Presumably present conditions will enter into future history.

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Sister M. Madeleva, *Pearl, A Study in Spiritual Dryness.* New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1925. Pp. xvi, 226.

The vastly differing opinions among eminent scholars as to the interpretation of the Middle-English *Pearl* show that its meaning is not immediately obvious, at least to modern readers. It may be significant, however, that, when a translation of the poem was read to a Roman Catholic recently, she at once gave precisely the same solution as that offered by Sister Madeleva. For a really adequate understanding of much of mediaeval literature we are in need of more scholars who are intimately familiar with the thought of Catholicism. I am reminded of a recent paper on John Milton, which set forth an attempt to analyze his beliefs, but which talked constantly of traditional Christianity in terms really applicable only to Nestorianism. Sister Madeleva accordingly has many students at a disadvantage, and her rebuke for the modern search for heresy in the Middle Ages — of which we have too many supposed instances (perennially including Dante)— is only too well deserved. What she herself finds in this poem is the allegory of a writer who has temporarily lost the consolation of grace, symbolized apparently by the pearl, which has been withdrawn in accordance with the common experience of mystics, leaving the poet desolate and spiritually 'dry.' This pearl of great price, embodied in a child, appears in a dream to instruct the mourner in that explanation which he seems to lack. Thus Sister Madeleva pierces the 'veil' of the allegory, although her statement of the details at times seems confusing, as when she observes that 'the thing [the writer] mourns has gone from his own soul; the thing he receives enters his soul . . .' (p. 140), and later she adds, 'The Pearl child, I hold, represents the poet's own soul, as it might be in a state of perfection at this particular time of his life' (p. 191).[1]

[1] But surely, losing the Pearl child does n't mean that he has lost his own soul. And what about the pearl going down into the grass, into the earth, etc.? The point has, I think, misled another reviewer, who in discussing *Pearl* 233 remarks, 'But is not her own explanation, which implies that the Poet is speaking of his own soul, fantastic compared with the one she rejects?' — *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLI (1926), 413. What she must mean is a 'state of soul'; cf. her earlier discussion, p. 93, but as the reviewer points out, the possibilities here (that 'the writer either refers to a person or he does not') are really more than two. The chief difficulty is caused by the fact that she differentiates between the symbolism of the pearl (the poet's

For her purposes Sister Madeleva feels it necessary to dispose entirely of the elegiac element, as part, merely, of the allegory. But such a view is not in accord with the best traditions of mediaeval allegory itself, where the layers of meaning in a story are commonly described as at least three or four in number; and critics will probably find their greatest difficulty in accepting this part of her argument. In other words, it is possible to keep the literal story and yet to have other interpretations besides. Sometimes indeed the elegiac seems to predominate, as in such lines as the following: [1]

> Forsoþe þer fleten to me fele,
> To þenke hir color so clad in clot.
> O moul, þou marreȝ a myry juele . . .
> 21–23.

This burial motif she explains as follows: 'The flowers of the most substantial virtues, to keep the figure, grow from the graves of renunciation, self-conquest, spiritual bereavement' (p. 101). But with her solution one is bothered by the emphasis on the 'moldeȝ dunne.' [2] Reading the allusion to the age of the Pearl as dating the spiritual life of the poet seems a little strained,[3] and what Sister Madeleva thinks 'has almost the force of a literary *coup d'état*' (p. 158), she fails to mention in her summary of the poem (pp. 187–188).

These points involve largely a careful consideration of the tone of the original. As one rereads the first third of the poem, I believe that one inclines more readily to the theory of an elegy. The rest, including much of the instruction, tells heavily against the idea. In a narrative concerning the loss of his own child, would a poet introduce such a disquisition, in the manner of *Ypotis*, on Christ and the Blessed Virgin and grace and his own salvation? The analogy with the *Consolation of Philosophy* is imperfect. One can imagine some defense for the thesis that the child is not the poet's own, but another's; and even the line supposedly indicating relationship may be read in another way, without more strain than that required for other familiar interpretations of the language.[4] Or the poem may give us simply

'hope of heaven, of the Beatific Vision, the greatest spiritual consolation that a person can have,' p. 192) and that of the Pearl child ('the poet's own soul,' etc., p. 191). Such a distinction is hard to justify on the basis of the poem: cf. stanzas 21 and 99.

[1] Cf. also vv. 29 ff., 245, 270 ff. What he lost, 'flowred & fayled.' Through the nature of the casket that enclosed it, we read, it is *now* proved a pearl.

[2] Cf. Sister Madeleva, p. 208. The spiritual interpretation is not excluded from an elegy.

[3] The Pearl seems to be already achieving her reward. But I do find some support for the theory in ll. 581, 582.

[4] She came down the shore, and thus was nearer to him than aunt or niece. 'My joy forþy watȝ much þe more' (l. 234) seems to imply, not recognition of relationship, but merely that he could see her clearly, and that she could speak to him. Cf. 231, 232. Since this review was written, an interesting suggestion for the personal interpretation of the *Pearl* has been set forth in the *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XLIII (1928), 105 ff.

the story of the loss of a child, ostensibly pure fiction, but intended for the consolation and instruction of somebody else who had reason to mourn. In this case the child would involve no personal allusion whatever. Either of these ideas would serve for the literal meaning; and the 'moral' sense, according to mediaeval ideas of interpretation, would be that of the parable of divine grace, as Greene has suggested.[1] The 'anagogical' sense would then remain as Sister Madeleva's suggestion. At all events her thesis does not entirely exclude other meanings, for mediaeval allegory has the iridescent power of reflecting several things at once.[2] If details do not always fit, we cannot complain: allegory seldom walks on all hundreds.

Whatever solution we take, however, no one can deny that Sister Madeleva's book makes good reading. Her crisp style and almost flippant manner in marshalling her evidence run the risk only of the charge of overconfidence. She is not unduly appreciative, perhaps, of the works of her predecessors in the field, as when she shows us Mr Schofield 'half afraid of his own temerity,' and Mr Carleton Brown who 'scampers blithely about in the fields of the Post-Nicene Fathers, Scholastic theology, and Pelagianism,' and when she dubs Mr Osgood's contribution on one point 'gratuitous,' and wrecks Mr Garrett's theory with what must appear a deliberately unsympathetic examination.[3] The destruction is so general, however, that her jaunty step and swashbuckling blows will be forgiven (although who would have suspected all this from the face in the wimple!). It is impossible to patronize her work, or to say merely that her book is too important to be neglected by scholars. The prejudiced, irritated by their hardly suppressed feelings about mysticism, will probably try to ignore Sister Madeleva's suggestion;[4] but they had better not. In some ways she has offered

[1] *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XL (1925), 814 ff. Mr Greene does not seem to believe in the elegiac theory at all. Nor does he interpret the pearl except as representing the maiden: see *op. cit.*, p. 824; cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLI, p. 412. In any case the pearl could hardly symbolize 'divine grace,' for that has obviously not been withdrawn.

[2] This is one of the many points made by Fletcher, *Journ. Engl. Germanic Philol.*, XX (1921), 1 ff., and the most important: 'A medieval symbol of this kind is like a crystal of many facets' (p. 21).

[3] Her treatment of his use of the 'Adoration of the Lamb,' for instance, neglects the fact that he applied it to the *Pearl* only as he found it in the Mass. To call it 'grotesque and quite unprecedented' is unpleasantly perverse, considering the Ghent altarpiece. The Agnus Dei, quite apart from the wax sacramental, is an ancient and common symbol; and whether or not Mr Garrett was in error on the point, Sister Madeleva herself is at best obscure in her own discussion. Also with her own remark that 'The only possible reference of the poem to the Holy Eucharist . . . Mr Garrett has missed,' cf. the ending of the *Pearl*, which from its position might conceivably have special significance.

[4] She can be charged with some inaccuracy, it appears. She cites Middle-English texts or modernizations (pp. 63, 83 f., 97 f., 99), apparently trying to use modernizations where possible. Sometimes she gives exact reference, and sometimes not (pp. 26 and 153). She misspells

the most intelligent interpretation of the *Pearl* available thus far. How it will stand the test of subsequent criticism, one cannot foretell; but she has given us, in a style succinct and agreeably flavored, what other critics have apparently vaguely felt and only hinted at. Moreover, when so many books are being published which lay bare with gusto the corruption of the Church in the fourteenth century, it is a sound corrective to have someone remind us of its achievements, all the more miraculous, such as its Gothic, its poetry, its writers from Rolle and St Juliana to St Catherine of Siena and St Thomas à Kempis.[1] With such a background Sister Madeleva properly indicates the quality of the *Pearl*.

Mr Northup's name, and states the title of the *Anchorhold* incorrectly. Her reference for the *God Ureisun of Ure Lefde*, on p. 64, appears to be wrong, even if she means *Anglia* XLII (1918), 85 ff. Miss Hart has corrected her remarks about the heaven of virgins (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLII, 1927, 113 ff.). Her facility is illustrated in her comment on the friendship of three men: 'It is as pretty as the story of Chaucer and Gower and Strode' (p. 41). But this story in turn is also like that of the three men who went to sea in a bowl; there is n't much of it. With respect to the quotation from the *Ancren Riwle*, p. 96, beginning '*Salue crux*,' I may add that this passage is found in the modern Breviary, and also in that of York, see *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XXXIV (1919), 253 and n. 61, and that of Sarum, see Garrett, *The Pearl: An Interpretation*, Seattle, 1918, p. 24. But such faults as these do not modify the fact that that the book is important.

[1] Additions can easily be made to her Bibliography. In Works of General Reference (p. 212) she should state that Gollancz wrote the article in the *Encycl. Brit.* Among Related Studies might be added volumes 5 and 9 of the Mediaeval Library. Related Poetry should include Carleton Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*. C. Horstman's volumes of Rolle and introductory essay should be listed somewhere, especially since his work is used earlier in the book.

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Alfred B. Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Mediaeval Times, being the Early History of St Edmund Hall*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1927. pp. xvi, 320.

St Edmund Hall, as sole survivor of the earliest, and for several centuries the commonest and most characteristic, type of academical community within the mediaeval universities —"the normal resort of all scholars furnished with sufficient means to maintain themselves at the university"— is a subject fully worthy of the painstaking and exhaustive researches which its devoted vice-principal has bestowed upon it. Yet the reader who turns to this volume in the expectation of finding a full and well-knit account of the rise and growth of St Edmund Hall, considered by and for itself, will meet with disappointment. The author has assembled valuable fragments of information concerning the probable origin of the hall in the thirteenth century and the earliest known history of the site on which it stands, concerning the life of St Edmund of Abingdon and the association of his name

with the hall, concerning all the known principals, and particularly the Lollard principals William Taylor and Peter Payne, and concerning the fate of the hall at the dissolution of the monasteries (Osney Abbey then being its proprietor) and the ultimate transfer of ownership over it to Queen's College. All that was possible has been done, but the organic history of St Edmund Hall can, for want of adequate sources, never be written.

This, once more, is not the author's fault, and, in compensation, he has enlarged our outlook and made a notable contribution to one of the larger aspects of mediaeval university history, which to many readers will seem of more importance than the history of any particular hall. Hitherto the study of the numerous and early *hospicia* out of which the academical halls or hostels developed has been somewhat overshadowed by interest in the colleges which were ultimately almost completely to supplant them. In the early chapters of his book the author has done much to redress the balance by devoting himself to the origin and early history of the halls in mediaeval universities in general and in Oxford in particular, and in a later chapter he has studied their internal administration through a fresh examination of the Aularian Statutes (*Statuta Aularia*), which date from near the end of the fifteenth century. The most notable feature of this more general portion of the book consists in a correction of the view, which has gained wide currency through the authority of Rashdall, that the halls originated in self-governing societies of youthful students who rented a lodging-house and elected their own head or principal, sometimes choosing one of their own number for the office. This view is shown to have the support of no early evidence, and on the other hand the author advances convincing reasons f or the belief that the halls originated in lodging-houses established by graduates who rented them from landlords and took in resident scholars over whom they exercised authority as principals; and he shows that throughout the whole of the mediaeval period, and even later, the principals were regarded as having a proprietary right in their offices. There is no evidence for the election of principals by scholars before the sixteenth century, and even then it appears to have been exceptional and little more than a formality.

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Lucy Allen Paton, ed., *Les Prophécies de Merlin: edited from MS. 593 in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Rennes*, published for the Modern Language Association of America, New York: D. C. Heath and Company; London: Oxford University Press, 1926. Two volumes. Pp., xxxix, 496, 405.

This distinguished work is worthy of an extensive notice. It was chosen by a committee of the Modern Language Association of America to inaugurate the association's series of monographs; a series which not only will make available important works not commercially profitable, but by crowning the best will set a conspicuous standard for future scholarship. The fact that the producer of this large work is a free-lance scholar, who has not usually held a teaching position, reminds one of the handicap which scholarship in general suffers from in this country; after a man has published his doctoral dissertation, only if he is zealous indeed can he produce a major work in the fag-ends of time left from lecturing, directing individual students, administration, and, one might add, producing 'pot-boilers.'

The editor had the satisfaction of working in virgin soil. The French text had never been printed since 1528, and there is so little critical literature on it that she is spared controversy. Her text is printed from the MS. (written about 1303) which she finds most satisfactory on grounds of age, completeness and orderliness. The text is preceded by a full account of all the early texts, and followed by supplementary collations, summaries of episodes in other texts than that printed, and selections (how chosen we are not told) from the *editio princeps* of 1498. The second part and volume contains (besides a full index) her Studies in the Contents, in which, with some diffuseness of style, she throws floods of light on this work and on literary conditions in mediaeval Italy. The longest section here is a study of these prophecies in general, and further discussion of certain of them; one rather regrets that she did not present briefly her interpretation of all of them on which she can throw light. Continuing, Miss Paton decides with greater or less positiveness that the work was produced by a single author, a Venetian Franciscan of Ghibelline sympathies, between 1272 and 1279; who (though pretending to translate from Latin) composed in French, like some other Italians, in order to give his work greater vogue; that he was not the Maistre Richart d'Irlande who is named as author, and who it seems would therefore take his place among literary stalking-horses along with Gulliver and Cid Hamet; and that the work shows strong influence of the writings and school of the abbot Joachim da Fiore, and though loyal to the church attacks its abuses, especially those of the papal court. She treats at some length the romantic Arthurian episodes interwoven with the prophecies, and shows that the author made special use of the prose *Lancelot* (among other Arthurian romances), of which he was producing a

kind of continuation by adding material probably of his own invention. In spite of some failure to anticipate the reader's convenience, her single-minded devotion to her highly specialized subject, her literary and historical learning, her thoroughness and sense make us look forward to her edition of the Italian text, and still more to her study of the whole Merlin legend. We welcome such bits of insight as her recognition of the importance of practical aims and even of propaganda in mediaeval literature, her wariness about postulating lost versions as was so common thirty years ago, her realization that except in the Christian and classical traditions the mediaevals had small respect for the written word, and altered and disordered and even invented and pretended at their own sweet will.

In this direction is the most interesting general reflection which we can draw from Miss Paton's book. In the main current of modern literature we are used to a sort of diastole and systole of romanticism and rationalism from Elizabethan to Restoration, from Revolution to our own day. If contemporary fiction is not in the main rationalistic, what excuse has it? Without undertaking here to carry back the antithesis systematically, or even to determine how far it exists earlier, still less to define its terms, the free inventiveness of the imagination, sometimes its horrible baffling excesses, which are one aspect of romanticism, and which become more marked in the later middle ages and in the sixteenth century, seem to have begun in the main in the thirteenth. This is true even though the chief intellectual current of the middle ages, from the eleventh and twelfth centuries on, was rationalistic.

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F. M. Bartoš. *Soupis Rukopisů Národního Musea v Praze (Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Musaei Nationalis Pragensis)* (Prague: 'Melantrich,' 1926–27), 2 vols., pp. 330, 424.

For a small nation, Czechoslovakia can boast of excellent historical bibliographical helps. The monumental work of Čeněk Zíbrt, Bibliography of Bohemian History,[1] comprising a detailed and fully exhaustive treatment of the subject to the end of the seventeenth century, the bibliography of the MSS of the University and the Public Libraries of Prague published by Joseph T. Truhlář,[2] and of the Library of the Prague Cathedral Chapter by Dr. Antonín Podlaha [3] are works of exceedingly great value to the historical student; thanks to the painstaking labors of a brilliant Czech his-

[1] *Bibliographie České Historie*, Prague, 1900–12; 5 vols.

[2] *Catalogus Codd. MSS qui in C. R. Bibliotheca Publica atque Uniuersitatis Pragensis asseruantur*, Prague, 1905–06; 2 vols.

[3] *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum, qui in Archiuio Capituli Metropolitani Pragensis asseruantur*, Prague, 1923.

torian well known for his research in the Husite period, Dr F. M. Bartoš, the list is now extended by the addition to it of the Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the National Museum at Prague.

This latest bibliographical handbook, written in Czech, enables research scholars to inform themselves about the manuscript treasures of this great and important repository of source materials, the National Museum, so that their search for source materials is greatly facilitated. It is, of course, impossible to give more than a general notion of the contents of the work: among the most important items are materials from the fourteenth century (the reigns of King John of Luxemburg, Emperor Charles IV, and King Wenceslas), a rich collection relating to John Hus and the subsequent Husite period, documents relating to the history of the Bohemian Brethren, pamphlets and other material from the period of the Thirty Years' War, as well as sources for the history of the modern period. Juridical codices, legal collections, and similar documents are also represented in considerable numbers. Besides, materials belonging to philosophical, philological, medical, and especially theological fields are fairly numerous.

The two published volumes describe 4061 items, but this does not complete the undertaking; a third volume, devoted largely to a description of the paleoslavic manuscripts of the Museum, is to be published later.

It might be suggested that the work could have been made more useful had the material been grouped chronologically and topically, rather than in the accessional order. Under the present arrangement, material dealing with Hus, for instance, is scattered through several sections, so that the student studying the subject is obliged to search through the entire two volumes. But as for its intrinsic value, the work must be greeted with genuine appreciation, not only for its merit but also for the painstaking care with which it has been prepared. It will prove an indispensable tool for every scholar working in the field of mediaeval Czech history, as well as highly useful for the study of the entire mediaeval period.

Matthew Spinka,
The Chicago Theological Seminary.

Karl Strecker, *Die Apokalypse des Golias* (Texte zur Kulturgeshichte des Mittelalters, herausgegeben von Fedor Schneider, 5, Hft), Rome: W. Hegenberg, 1928. RM 2.

In 1925, Fedor Schneider conceived the happy idea of making accessible to readers interested in the Middle Ages various works of brief compass, but of much significance in the history of mediaeval culture, which were not included in the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*. The latter collection, which comprises in convenient octavos many of the texts published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, is confined to prose. The new *Texte* include both prose and poetry. Thus far there have appeared Heft 1:

Fünfundzwanzig lateinische weltliche Rhythmen aus der Frühzeit (Fedor Schneider); Heft 2: *Magister Boncompagno, Rota Veneris. Ein Liebesbriefsteller des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Friedrich Baethgen); Heft 3 and 4: *Bruchstücke aus der Weltchronik des Minoriten Paulinus von Venedig* (Walther Holtzmann).

For the *Apocalypse of Golias*, to which the present number is devoted, a more competent editor could hardly have been selected than Karl Strecker, fresh from his monumental publication of *The Cambridge Songs* (see above, p. 262). The little work, of enormous vogue in its day, was first printed by Bale in 1546. Only thrice was it again issued by the press until the first critical edition appeared in 1841, that of Thomas Wright, who included it in the *Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Map*. That edition was hardly definitive, nor have the few editions that have since appeared included any thorough-going collation of the manuscripts. Wilhelm Meyer had devoted much study to the work; his notes and those of R. Peiper were accessible to Strecker.

It must have been hard for the editor of *The Cambridge Songs* to have refrained from a no less elaborate edition of the present piece. He has kept within the limits of the series and accomplished its requirements well. Of the sixty-eight manuscripts that he lists he saw nine (those in Germany or near by), he had photographs of eight more, and was furnished with information on passages of special importance. Still, if I correctly interpret his statement (p. 14) he did not have complete collation of nine of the twelve oldest manuscripts (Nos. 14, 19, 22, 29, 37, 46, 49, 54), all at least as old as the thirteenth century and one (54) possibly of the twelfth, all the others being of later date. A thorough collation of the whole number would still seem desirable, in order to establish the families of text with all certainty and to amass all possible evidence bearing on the nationality of the author of the poem and his identity. The task might well be begun by some Britisher or by some scholar of another land summering in England, since no less than thirty-five of the manuscripts are to be found in London, Cambridge, and Oxford.

The question of the authorship of the piece is discussed with acumen by Professor Strecker. He inclines to the theory of an English writer, not merely on account of the obvious English vogue of the poem and the direct mention of *Anglia* in some of the texts, but because of the rather blunt character of the satire, especially the raps at inordinate guzzling, which sad to relate, was a characteristic English vice in mediaeval times (p. 11). Possibly some Englishmen might feel that it was not an exclusively English vice. The question may remain unsolved, for whether *Anglia* or *Neustria* or *Austria* be read in the stroph in question, it is the kind of hit that could readily be emended or interpolated or left out. Nor does Professor Strecker

believe that the positive ascription in fifteen manuscripts to Walter Map should be regarded as conclusive evidence. Possibly this matter needs further consideration. In the opinion of the reviewer, the day may yet come when Walter Map may be admitted to the noble company of Goliath.

Meanwhile we may be grateful for what Professor Strecker has given us,— for a complete account of the material with which the next editor must reckon, for a most readable text, constructed with an apparently infallible discretion from a bewildering mass of variants, and for the explanatory notes, which guide the reader successfully through the mazes of intricate phrase and innuendo. It would be gratifying, indeed, if Professor Strecker himself should complete elsewhere the task that he has here so well begun.

E. K. Rand,
Harvard University.

Studi Medievali, Nuova Serie, diretta da V. Crescini, F. Ermini, P. Fedele, P. S. Leicht, E. Levi, L. Suttina and V. Ussani. Turin: Casa Editrice Giovanni Chiantore.

Under new auspices and in a handsome new cover the always precious *Studi Medievali* makes a new bow to the learned public. Between the old *Studi Medievali* and the present rebirth came a short-lived *Nuovi Studi Medievali*, with the editors named above but with Zanichelli of Bologna for a publisher. Scholars will recall, in its last number, an article by Roger S. Loomis on *Romance and Epic in the Romanesque Art of Italy*.

The revived periodical begins with the issue of April 21, 1928. One notes immediately the names of several great masters. Rajna discusses the origin of the designations *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, which he associates with Charlemagne's reforms, finding it posterior to Isidore, to Bede, and apparently to Alcuin. Zingarelli, considering the development of the Tristram story, raises the question whether it may not have been almost entirely of Chrétien's invention. *Giullari Farfensi* is the title of a short investigation by De Bartholomaeis. Serafino Ricci informs us fully about the *augustali* that Frederick II coined; and Gerolamo Biscaro discourses, with illuminating abundance, of Dante's 'buon Gherardo.' Ezio Levi takes as his theme *L'ultimo Re dei Giullari*.

The above enumeration is by no means exhaustive. Mention should be made, also, of some fifty-five pages of book-reviews. There is in the whole number very little that any earnest mediaevalist, whatever his specialty, will want to skip. And all those who have sympathetically watched the fortunes of this excellent publication, while it valiantly

Cadde, risorse e giacque,

will breathe a sigh of relief to see it on its feet again.

C. H. Grandgent,
Harvard University.

Don Agostino Saba, *Montecassino e la Sardegna Medioevale; note storiche e codice diplomatico Sardo-Cassinese*, (*Miscellanea Cassinese*, No. 4). Badia di Montecassino, 1927.

This important series, begun by the Abbot Amelli in 1897 for the purpose of making available to scholars some of the documents in the Cassinese archives, lapsed after the second number (P. Kehr, *Le bolle pontificie anteriore al 1198 che si conservano nell' archivio de Montecassino*) but was revived in 1926 with the publication of the admirably edited *Diplomi inedite dei principi Normanni de Capua, Conti de Aversa*, by the learned Cassinese scholar, Don Mauro Inguanez. In this, the fourth volume of the series, Professor Saba presents a comparative and critical study of the sources for the history of Cassinese-Sard relations with an appendix containing the documents, some of which are hitherto unpublished; three original maps showing the location of the places mentioned; and a few illustrations.

Professor Saba has confined himself to the part played by the monks of Monte Cassino in building up civilization in Sardinia after the liberation of the island from the Moslems early in the ninth century and before the Spanish occupation which began in the fourteenth century. In the course of his study he has unraveled tangled personalities, established some hitherto dubious identifications, disproved others, and corrected various errors of his predecessors, all with a clarity and moderation that wins the reader. He dedicates his work to Pietro Fedele, his 'più carissimo' master, who sent him to the archives of Monte Cassino; and the general reliability of his conclusions is further vouched for in a brief preface by Don Mauro Inguanez.

The forty-eight documents, dating from 1065 to 1474, which Professor Saba has edited, although principally records of donations with monotonous repetitions of the quaint mediaeval legal formulae, throw light on local customs by their allusions to agriculture, fishing rights, cattle-grazing privileges, farm labor, etc. They also show that for at least 400 years Monte Cassino had important interests in the island. The earliest document records the donation of two churches by Barisone I of Torres for the benefit of the newly-come Benedictines; and in the latest document (1474), though the Spaniards were then in full possession of the island, Pope Sixtus IV lists fifteen churches in Sardinia which were still dependencies of the Badia of Monte Cassino. Several allusions occur to objects of ecclesiastical art and to service-books of various kinds, among which it is scarcely to be doubted were some of the products of the famous Cassinese scriptorium; especially as codices and bibles are specifically mentioned as part of the equipment which the Abbot Desiderius sent to Sardinia with the original twelve monks whose disastrous encounter with Pisan pirates on the way to the island is recorded by Leo of Ostia, in his *Chronicon Cassinese*.

It seems fair to suppose, therefore, that South Italy may have had a more formative influence in Sardinian painting than is always recognized, as for example by Miss Georgiana G. King in her important monograph, (*Sardinian Painting*, Bryn Mawr, 1923). In her discussion of the frescoed apse of Saccargia, Miss King, while recognizing Italian (Pisan) influence and pointing out similarities to Cavallini, is nevertheless impressed with its close likeness to Catalan painting. This is interesting in view of Miss King's wide knowledge of Spanish art, but it may be observed that the details mentioned are also peculiarly characteristic of South Italy; and if the 'Moslem gesture' of the Madonna of Saccargia is that of 'Catalan Pentecostal Virgins down to fifteenth century' it is also that of a Virgin in an Exultet Roll now at Pisa whose text, script, neums, and miniature-style place it securely in South Italy in the eleventh century. The fresco of Saccargia, therefore, suggests that while the architecture and sculpture of Sardinia were closely linked to Tuscany, the earliest Sard painting may have drawn its inspiration from the manuscripts of South Italy.

Myrtilla Avery,
Wellesley College.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

H. E. Allen, *The Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography.* Published for the Modern Language Society of America, New York: D. C. Heath, 1927. Paper. Pp. xvi, 568. $7.50.

P. H. Allen, *The Romanesque Lyric,* Studies in its Background and Development from Petronius to the Cambridge Songs, 50–1050, with Renderings into English Verse by H. M. Jones. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xviii, 373. $4.50.

C. S. Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400), interpreted from Representative Works.* New York: Macmillan, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xvii, 321. $2.50.

A. R. Bellinger, *The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 35). New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1928. Paper. Pp. 27.

R. B. Burke, transl., *The Opus Maius of Roger Bacon.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928. 2 vols, cloth. Pp. xiii, 840. $10.00.

R. A. Cram, *The Ruined Abbeys of Great Britain* (rev. ed.). Boston: Marshall Jones, 1927. Cloth. Pp. xiii, 298. $6.00.

S. Gaselee, Ed., *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse.* London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xiv, 250. $3.75.

W. J. Gruffydd, ed., transl., *Math vab Mathonwy,* an Inquiry into the Origins and Development of the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi with the Text and a Translation. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xvii, 392. 10/6*d.*

E. J. Holmyard, D. C. Mandeville, edd., transl., *Avicennae de Congelatione et Conglutinatione Lapidum, being Sections of Kitâb Al-Shifâ,* the Latin and Arabic texts, edited with an English Translation of the latter and with Critical Notes. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1927. Paper. Pp. ix, 86.

Sister M. S. Kaniecka, *Vita Sancti Ambrosii . . . a Paulino eius Notario . . .* A Revised Text, and Commentary, with an Introduction and Translation (Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies, Vol. XVI). Brookland, D. C.: Catholic Education Press, 1928. Paper. Pp. xvi, 186. $3.00.

Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, Walter Goetz zu seinem 60. Geburtstage dargebracht von Fachgenossen, Freunden, und Schülern. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927. Pp. iv, 567.

R. Levy, *The Astrological Works of Abraham ibn Ezra.* A Literary and Linguistic Study with Special Reference to the Old-French Translation of Hagin (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Vol. VIII). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1927. Paper. Pp. v, 172. $1.25.

G. Masi, *Il Nome delle Fazione Fiorentine de' Bianchi e de' Neri.* Aquila: Vecchione, 1927. Paper. Pp. 38.

R. M. Merrill, *American Doctoral Dissertations in the Romance Field.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1927. Paper. Pp. 87. $1.00.

W. R. Newbold, *The Cipher of Roger Bacon*, edited with Foreword and Notes by R. G. Kent. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xxxii, 244. $4.00.

G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. I. From Homer to Omar Khayyam (Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication No. 376). Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1927. Cloth. Pp. xi, 839. $10.00.

M. Schlauch, transl., *Medieval Narrative: A Book of Translations*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1928. Cloth. Pp. vi, 456.

J. S. Sivera, ed., *Quaresma de Sant Vincent Ferrer*, Predicada a Valencia l'Any 1413, Introducció, Notes, i Transcripció. Barcelona: Institució Patxot, 1927. Paper. Pp. lviii, 357.

C. F. E. Spurgeon, *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, Vol. XIII. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. 144. $2.50.

Sister J. A. Stein, *Encomium of St. Gregory, Bishop of Nyassa on his Brother, St. Basil*, A Commentary, with Revised Text, Introduction, and Translation (Catholic University of America, Patriotic Studies, Vol. XVII). Brookland, D.C.: Catholic Education Press, 1928. Paper. Pp. xcvi, 166. $3.00.

K. Strecker, *Einführung in das Mittellatein.* Berlin: Weidmann, 1928. Paper. Pp. 42. RM.1.60.

L. L. Tucker, A. R. Benham, *A Bibliography of Fifteenth-Century Literature, with special Reference to the History of English Culture* (University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 113–274, also independently paged). Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1928. Cloth. $1.00.

A. A. Vasiliev (transl. S. Razogin), *History of the Byzantine Empire.* Vol. I, From Constantine the Great to the Epoch of the Crusades (A.D. 1081) (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 13). Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1928. Paper. Pp. 457. $3.00.

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

THOMAS AQUINAS' DOCTRINE OF KNOWLEDGE AND ITS HISTORICAL SETTING

By RICHARD McKEON

HISTORIANS of philosophy, until recently, penetrated only rarely into the fifteen hundred years that preceded the seventeenth century. But in the last two decades we have been accustomed to the judgment that, if there is a properly modern period, it should be made to begin with the thirteenth century and its first great figure should be Thomas Aquinas. Whatever else such opinions may indicate, at least the paradoxes and the fashions of the history of thought are exhibited in them. Scholasticism had been arid formalism, logic chopping and unsubstantiated apriorism. Information to that effect could be gathered from the repeated statements of critics and historians since the seventeenth century. But now mediaeval philosophy may be fitted in a continuous flow of thought which will discover in it a homogeneity with the philosophy of the present day: the thirteenth century, it is specified, saw the separation of philosophy from theology in subject-matter as well as in method; reason had therefore vindicated for itself, by this time, a proper content; nature had taken on again a separate reality.

The newer estimation gives rise to questions as important to philosophy and to the history of thought as were the paradoxes involved in the older view. There are, indeed, dangers in the conception of scholasticism which traces its progress in the jostling positions of faith and reason; in effect it is but little removed from the injustice of the view that disposed of scholasticism as superstition

and authority-ridden. If philosophy was constituted in the western world for the first time during the thirteenth century, the status of speculative inquiry in the centuries which preceded the thirteenth remains to be examined. If the statement be taken literally and if the homogeneous development of earlier philosophy be considered in conjunction with it, the conclusion may suggest itself that between Porphyry in the third century and Aquinas in the thirteenth no philosophy was expounded in the Christian world — and on that conclusion should follow at least some further speculation concerning what philosophy must then be. It should be made clear what, for example, the basis of the speculative independence discovered in the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas is. What in the relation of thinking and being, in the status of truth and error, in the systematic and metaphysical formulation of thought, distinguishes his philosophy so sharply from those which preceded it? These are questions, moreover, that prepare for a further question, since the attitude which Aquinas strikes, modern in contrast to an earlier one, is to lead to an evolution of thought through four hundred years until in the seventeenth century a reaction may take place to result in an attitude of mind, so it is insisted, again characteristically modern. The critical canons from which Aquinas turned no less than the critical canons which resulted from the dissolution of the Thomist system demand detailed examination unless these newer estimations are to be taken as new aphorisms and half-truths on turns of history.

The discussion of the nature and the limits of knowledge has sometimes been supposed to have undergone but little change or alteration in the Middle Ages. The formulae of the discussion are repeated from writer to writer, and read superficially treatises seem to expound the same doctrines in the same words. Aristotle had set the terms of the discussion before the beginning of the period: we define the truth, he had written, saying that that which is is and that which is not is not.[1] Augustine repeated the doctrine in his statement of what truth is: the true is that which is,[2] and truth is

[1] Aristotle, *Meta.*, Γ, 7, 1011b.

[2] '*Ergo illud dico et sic definio, nec uereor ne definitio mea ob hoc improbetur, quod nimis breuis est: nam uerum mihi uidetur esse id quod est.*' — Augustine, *Soliloquiorum Libri Duo*, ii, 5 (*Patr. Lat.* XXXII, 889).

that by which that which is, is shown.[1] Anselm quotes Aristotle's statement, though of course without mention of Aristotle,[2] and on the basis of it develops his favorite definition of truth: truth is rightness perceptible to the mind alone.[3] Finally, Aquinas brings all these together and finds among them one, borrowed from Isaac Israeli, particularly suited to his purpose, and in complete harmony with the rest: truth is the adequation of thing and understanding.[4] Sharply opposed philosophies may repeat these definitions and seem, therefore, in accord, since on crucial questions they can express themselves in identical phrases. But it is important that in the respective systems the definitions undergo a dialectical translation and take changed meanings, though the words are unchanged, from the doctrines among which they are placed. Abstracted from the systems in which they are placed the formulae have no philosophic significance.

For obviously, if truth is an adequation of thing and understanding, the question remains still untouched — what evidence will show forth satisfactorily the accord of a judgment with things? in what does the adequation consist? The history of the ontological argument and of proofs *a priori* of the existence of God may be used as vivid illustration of the divergences which are possible among philosophers who hold to a single description of truth. Anselm's proof was an expression of his conviction that thought penetrates significantly to the ultimate nature of things. Ideas are to be considered, not as images or replicas, but as realities, and they are, like other realities, possessed of degrees of perfection. The idea of a being than which a greater cannot be conceived is itself a reality — the idea of a perfect being is a perfect idea — and consequently the transition from idea to reality has been made in the very being of the perfect idea. If the idea of God or if the nature of knowledge be examined,

[1] '*Sed cui saltem illud manifestum est, falsitatem esse, qua id putatur esse quod non est, intellegit eam esse ueritatem, quae ostendit id quod est.*' — Augustine, *De Vera Religione*, 36 (*Patr. Lat.* XXIV, 151).

[2] Anselm, *Dialogus de Veritate* ii (*Patr. Lat.*, CLVIII, 469, 470).

[3] '*Possumus igitur, nisi fallor, diffinire quia ueritas est rectitudo sola mente perceptibilis,*' Anselm, *de Verit.* ii (*Patr. Lat.* CLVIII, 480).

[4] Aquinas, *de Veritate*, q. 1, a. 1, *ad Resp.*

they must be seen to involve in themselves the presence and efficacy of God. But there were men to object to this analysis of thinking as soon as Anselm had stated it, and the objection of Gaunilon has come down, to be repeated at each stage of the history of the ontological proof. To Albertus Magnus the argument seemed a Pythagorean sophism;[1] Aquinas argued that, even if the word God meant a being than which a greater cannot be conceived (which may be doubted), even then it would not follow that that which is signified by the word, is in the nature of things; it is certain only that it is in the apprehension of the understanding.[2] Hobbes, Huet, Gassendi, Locke, and others were to repeat that the presence of an idea in the understanding is no warrant for the existence of the thing without the understanding, and Kant had objections which are different chiefly in terminology.[3] Yet the ontological argument did not die with the criticisms of Gaunilon or Aquinas. It had been indigenous to the Augustinian philosophy before Anselm; it continued to be developed after him. Bonaventura does not oppose it during the very years in which Aquinas attacked it;[4] Duns Scotus approved of it with important reservations and modifications;[5] that it had persisted in the tradition to the seventeenth century is indicated by Descartes's use of it as well as by Spinoza's predilection for arguments *a priori;* and it has by no means fallen from the philosophic issues of to-day. Between the Augustinian *a priori* approach and Aquinas's insistence on the *a posteriori* is more than an historic development; there is also a rooted philosophic difference.

Distinctions may be made, then, in what is thought to constitute an adequation of understanding and thing. Anselm was clearly aware of the implications of the interpretation he makes. At the

[1] '*Haec et huiusmodi sophismata multa induci possunt contra ea quae determinata sunt, si rationes Heracliti et Pythagorae et Anselmi in libro de Veritate*' — Albertus Magnus, *De Praedicamentis* ii, 13 (Paris: Vivès, 1890, I, 192).

[2] Th. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Ia, q. ii, a. 1, ad 2um. Cf. IV *Sent.*, I, d. III, a. 2, ad 4um; *Super Boeth., de Trinit.*, q. i, a. 3, ad 6um; *Quest. disp. de Veritate* q. x, a. 12, ad 2um; *Cont. Gent.*, I, c.x, xi.

[3] I. Kant, *Kritik der Reinen Vernunft* II, iii, 4. Also *Prolegomena zu einer jeden kunftigen Metaphysik* III, iii, 55.

[4] Bonaventura, *IV Sent.*, I, d. VIII, p. 1, a. 1, q. ii (pub. Quaracchi, 1882, I, 154).

[5] Duns Scotus, *IV Sent.*, I, d. II, q. II, n. 31–32 (Paris: Vivès, 1893, VIII, 478), cf. n. 14, p. 418 *ibid.*

beginning of his dialogue *De Veritate* he raises the question whether the truth of a true statement is to be sought in the thing.[1] Obviously it is not; it is to be sought in the proposition itself — not, of course, in the grammatical form of the proposition, but in considerations which can be satisfied without leaving the discursive realm. To be sure, the relation of understanding and thing is such that a proposition is true when things are in fact as it states them to be, but it should be considered too that a thing is as it is by reason of the supreme truth.[2] Most discussions of truth are confused, Anselm feels, because 'everyone speaks of the truth of meaning, but very few consider the truth which is in the essence of things.'[3] That a thing is, involves the definite exhibition in being, of what it is: for it to be necessitates that the definition of what is meant for it to be be fulfilled. 'Truth, therefore,' Anselm says, 'is in the essence of all things which are because they are that which in the supreme Truth they are.'[4] The very being of things is the truth and the rightness of that which they are in Truth. The problem of knowledge is soluble precisely because the definition of truth takes on an ontological significance.

To work among things, consequently, is to become involved in meanings; the truth of things is a rightness to a certain Truth; the truth of meaning is a like rightness. Not only the conventional signs and symbols with which we ordinarily communicate, but all our actions, are permeated with meanings. Anselm illustrates this saturation of things with significance: if you were in a place where there were deadly herbs and if you asked a man who knew, which were deadly and which salubrious, and if he indicated some as salubrious and himself ate of those he said were deadly, it would not be difficult to develop significances from his actions. It is metaphysical dogma that the rightness of meaning is in a statement whenever the statement is formed according to a rightness which never changes. Truth does not begin or end with the thing to which it is applied, for rightness does not begin to be at the moment when the thing which is signified begins to be, nor does it perish when the meaning

[1] Anselm, *de Verit.*, ii (*Patr. Lat.* CLVIII, 469).
[2] *Ibid.* X, 479. [3] *Ibid.* IX, 478. [4] *Ibid.* VII, 475.

is not as it should be or when there is no meaning; these are examples of a deficiency from a rightness which is not deficient. 'The rightness by which meaning is called right does not have being and non-being or any movement through meaning howsoever the meaning itself may be moved.' [1]

The philosophy of Anselm is turned to the source from which the essence of things and their truth are derived. If the question be of truth, truth is, of course, the signifying of something which is in fact, but what that is and, therefore, what truth is, should not lead to a consideration of the thing. 'Truth is improperly said to be of this or that thing, since it does not have its being in things or out of things or because of things in which it is said to be, but when things are according to that which is always present in things which are as they should be, then the truth of this or that thing is spoken of, as the truth of a word, of an action, or truth of will, just as one speaks of the time of this or that thing, although time is one and the same for all things which are together in the same time. And if there were not this or that thing, the same time would none the less be, and therefore one speaks of the time of this or that thing, not because time is in things, but because things are in time. And just as time, considered in itself, is not said to be the time of anything (but we speak of the time of this or that thing when we consider the things which are in it) so too the supreme Truth, persistent through itself, is the truth of nothing, but one speaks of the truth or rightness of a thing when that thing is according to the first truth.' [2]

Anselm's questioning is engaged wholly in the discovery, from many beginnings, of an identical truth, for Augustinism moves in a Platonic tradition, seeking to find, in truths which are demonstrated, the presence of a truth which is not to be demonstrated but rather to be contemplated and perceived. For Augustine and Anselm this is the activity of faith seeking the understanding of itself. The philosophy of each depends on the demonstration of the existence of God, but that demonstration is only the rational exploration of an idea irrationally derived, and therefore, though Anselm is rigorously precise, Augustine seldom takes the trouble even to state his proofs

[1] Anselm, *De Verit.* XIII, 485. [2] *Ibid.* XIII, 486.

in detail or to insure their formal cogency. All things are reminiscences and indications of God. The elements of this confidence concerning the nature of things might be stated as the postulates of a naturalistic philosophy or of a theology, but the exclusive preoccupation of Augustinians, at least prior to the thirteenth century, turned toward God. Human ingenuity is capable of only a few out of infinite possible truths, and wisdom seemed to counsel that only those be sought which would aid the soul on its itinerary back to God. Truths were to be the object of contemplation so long as the mind might be elevated by them to the Truth, and Bonaventura in his *Reductio Artium ad Theologiam* is the fitting representative of the tradition against Aquinas.

It is not always easy to be sure how far Thomas Aquinas has departed from the fundamental tenets of this tradition. He can assimilate most of its formulae with little modification; his references to Augustine are cautious and respectful, and he usually conciliates the opinion of Anselm. Yet his philosophy marks an important turning-point, for before him Albertus Magnus gives a place in his philosophy to the ontological proof,[1] notwithstanding that it seemed to him a sophism, whereas after him Duns Scotus finds he must 'color' the proof, although it seems to him a cogent and tenable demonstration. The philosophic significance of the Thomist reform is bound intimately with the suspicion of *a priori* demonstration. In Aquinas' philosophy, knowledge is no longer to be accounted for by referring it to divine illumination. For Augustine the presence of God is central in philosophy, and the simple fact of understanding alone need be determined; if the question of error arises the power of the understanding is not placed under suspicion, but a distinction is needed: when one is deceived, one does not understand, and so either the thing is understood as it is or it is not understood. The Augustinian conclusions, therefore, are true enough for Thomas, but he goes further to analyze what the signs and the metaphysical implications of the distinction are. God may still be implicated in things, but questions of truth and error are of greater philosophic

[1] *Sum. Theol.*, Ia, t. III, q. 17 (Paris: Vivès, 1895, XXXI, 116). Cf. *ibid.* t. IV, q. 19, m. ii, p. 128.

importance and they suggest primarily logical and metaphysical considerations. The historical interpretation of Thomism can account for this change; it is without doubt the rediscovery of nature; the translation of the works of Aristotle doubtless made the reorientation possible; obviously the reform was prepared by the long discussion of the universal in which the twelfth century submitted extreme realism to criticism. Whatever its origin, however, the philosophic consequences of the change are sweeping.

Aquinas's pursuit of this further inquiry into logic and metaphysics came as the natural consequence to his doctrine. But the contrasts between the statement he gives of the problem and that of his predecessors are often striking. Thus, when he takes up the problem of the mutability of created truth in the sixth article of the first question on *Truth*, the first four contrary opinions are all quoted from Anselm. In these passages it appears, not so much that Anselm thought created truth was immutable, but that his chief concern was with an immutable truth. In his replies, Aquinas agrees with Anselm's doctrine; all truth is derived from the first truth, as well the truth in things as the truth in understanding. But in any particular judgment the problem is presented in the possibility that the truth of the understanding may not correspond to the truth of things. The problem is stated most clearly in its metaphysical formation: 'The thing existing without the soul,' Aquinas says, 'imitates by its form the art of the divine understanding, and it is constituted to make a true apprehension of itself in the human understanding by that same form by which it has its being; wherefore the truth of existing things includes in its reason the entity of things, and it super-adds the relation of adequation to the human or divine understanding.' [1]

The question of truth does not arise, then, from the the apprehension by the mind of a reality distinct from the mind. The determinations of each existent thing by which it has its being are intellectual as well as physical. It is the formal determination of the thing which the understanding seizes, and the form of the thing is not limited to the particular exemplification which any one thing

[1] Aquinas, *Quaest. disp. de Verit.*, cf. I, a. 8, *ad Resp.* (Paris: Vivès, 1875, XIV, 334).

affords. Our concepts represent abstract essences, not individuals, but that representation is no falsification of reality, since in the nature of things the unreceived form is unlimited: *forma irrecepta est illimitata.* Knowledge is possible because the thing which is known is, in a sense, other than itself. According to its immaterial being, in so far as it is not determined by matter, a thing is not only that which it is, but also in a certain manner something else. Consequently, although there can be no element in knowledge which has not previously been experienced sensibly, although it is the very nature of the understanding to be conformed to things, still the test of a true judgment is not in its reference to things. Not even sensations are tested by such a reference. 'It is not necessary, even though the sense were altered by sensible things, that the judgment of the sense be true according to the conditions of the sensible thing. For it is not necessary that the action of the agent be received in the patient according to the mode of the agent, but according to the mode of the patient or the recipient.' [1] Moreover, far from knowing the thing as it is, there is no intuition of material singulars; our intelligence renders everything it touches abstract. To insist on this alteration in knowing is no criticism of the origin of our knowledge but rather a flat identification of the data of the understanding with reality, for knowledge is not representation. There is no more question of the truth or falsity of the understanding in the apprehension of reality than there is of the senses, because the question, by this approach, is without meaning. 'The understanding is always true concerning essence, just as the sense is always true concerning its proper object. . . . There is no falsity in the understanding of simple quiddities because either they are not attained at all and we understand nothing concerning them, or else they are understood as they are.' [2] Significantly there is no reality to which the knowledge of things is to be referred, because such a reality would have to be a known reality, and essences as they enter the mind are the very nature of things in their intelligible expression.

[1] Aquinas, *In IV Meta.*, lect. 3 (Paris: Vivès, 1875, XXIV, 495–496).

[2] Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. lviii, a. 5, *ad Resp.* Cf. *Quaest. disp. de Verit.* q. I, a. 12, *ad Resp.* (Paris: Vivès, 1875, XIV, 340–341).

This difference of interpretation is at the bottom of the changes which Aquinas introduced into the Augustinian doctrine. Anselm was certain that reason could not exhaust the things of nature, and he was little concerned with the surety of the mind's knowledge of any particular things; but he was convinced that thinking penetrates the nature of things, and that the nature of things in general must be determined prior to the analysis of the parts, or of the sciences, of things. Aquinas denied the possibility of the enterprise. But beginning with the quiddities of things which are presented to the mind, he proposed to examine what can be determined of their interrelations and significances. Anselm's philosophy, consequently, although it is by no means incompatible with logical and scientific developments, might move satisfactorily to an ideal of contemplation. But even this beginning of Aquinas requires metaphysical development and logical justification.

The knowledge of essences which is in the simple uncompounded idea cannot be false, for the uncompounded idea contains no part and therefore implies no comparison. Truth is not in the quiddity which the understanding apprehends, for that apprehension is the ideal aspect of the thing which exists outside the soul. Of itself such knowledge cannot be right or wrong, any more than the image of the sensible thing which is received in sensation can be right or wrong, for in both there is only a single element and there can be no contradiction of that by itself. This is not to insist that the essential nature of the thing must of necessity present itself to the understanding, but it is a recognition rather that howsoever the thing present itself in knowledge that is one way of apprehending it; there is no question of truth until a comparison is made, and comparison is possible only between different things; therefore, truth is to be found only in the understanding and in the understanding only after the understanding has added something proper to itself. Truth is not in the apprehension of quiddities for they are formally identical with things, but in the activity of the understanding compounding and dividing. For then the understanding has added something proper to itself which is not to be found in things and which nevertheless may be compared to things. It follows, moreover, that the

nature of truth and the test of truth, the adequation of that understanding and the thing, require no reference beyond the mind that understands. 'Since indeed the truth of the understanding is the adequation of the understanding and thing by which the understanding says that that which is is or that that which is not is not, truth in the understanding pertains to that which the understanding says, not to the operation by which it says it. For the understanding does not require for truth that the act of understanding be adequated to the thing, since the thing is material and understanding immaterial, but that what the understanding says and knows in understanding be equated to the thing, that is, that it be in fact as the understanding says.' [1] It is not necessary that there be something beyond the soul to correspond to its truth since the truth of soul is entirely within it.

A term, then, or a simple idea is neither true nor false. But if the uncomplex essence is stated or defined in relation to another essence or if it is asserted to be present in a subject, questions of truth and falsity must be implicated in the judgment. Falsity may arise from the inconsistency which results from attaching a definition to a certain subject or from the inconsistencies involved in the definition or in a group of definitions. Of itself the idea, say, of a circle is neither true nor false; any given definition of it which involves no logical contradition is true; the application of the definition to any subject is true if no contradititon follows from the judgment which applies it. Even simples which seem to involve a contradiction are not really contradictory; the idea of a square circle is neither true nor false since it may be made the subject of a true statement such as: a square circle involves a logical contradiction. Truth, then, the correspondence of understanding and thing, is to be examined, not in a relation between our minds and things, but in a relation wholly within our minds.

Knowledge, nevertheless, is derived from experience, and the judgment of truth bears on relations among the elements furnished by experience. Experience informs the understanding with the matter of knowledge; still, as soon as understanding judges of the

[1] Aquinas, *Cont. Gent.*, I, 59.

matter of experience, it no longer suffers the action of things, but is, in a certain manner, active. This activity of the understanding includes all the processes which begin with sensation and terminate in the abstractions and judgments of the active intellect. To suppose that the truth of the final product of all that activity can be tested by referring to an object which is supposed to underlie and to be mirrored in sensation, would be to falsify the relation of form and matter; it would be to suppose that the intellect is in a world somehow unintelligible of itself and that the manipulation of the mind begins with elements somehow alien to it. Our ideas are not reflections which mirror things; on the contrary, ideas are things in so far as things enter knowledge; they are things objectified to our understanding. Truth is this intellectual reality; judgment is the expression of it, and no other metaphysical statement of it is adequate or possible than that its ideas are formally identical with the things which are known. The soul is in a certain sense all things, and knower and known are one more truly than are matter and form. What must be inquired into is not how the idea images the object, but how ideas have been put in relation in judgments, since it is there that truth or error may enter.

If it is true that Thomas Aquinas succeeded in setting up the autonomy of philosophy by insisting on the independent reality of nature, his insistence on the fundamental intelligibility of things is an aspect of his doctrine no less important to the reconstituted philosophy. In an intelligible world the mind is formed to handle concepts, and the concern of philosophy should not be an inquiry into the impossible relation of identical things and ideas; that relation is caught up in the operation of the understanding according to its own principles. If the understanding is to discover itself in conformity with things, it must be only by reflecting on its own acts. Such reflection, if it yield anything, must reveal the understanding as an active principle whose nature it is to be conformed to things. Its operations, moreover, must be seen to be according to principles proper to itself and discoverable only in those operations, not built on the habit of its experience of a world external to it. The first principle, that of contradiction, is not 'acquired by demonstration

nor in any similar manner, but it comes as if by the nature of the one possessing it, as if known naturally and not by acquisition. Indeed, first principles are made known by the natural light itself of the active intellect; they are not acquired by ratiocinations, but only by the fact that their terms are known. That occurs because memory is derived from sensibles, and experience from memory, and from experience the knowledge of terms, and when they are known, common propositions are known of such sort as the principles of the arts and sciences.' [1] This process is the activity of the active principle, and by knowledge of it or of its logical consequences, the truth of propositions may be tested.

In the problem of knowledge, the question clearly does not concern only the substance of our mind, nor, on the other hand, is our understanding the thing understood. But our mind has its proper operations, and by them it forms a kind of interior 'word' which is a likeness of the thing understood. Its relation to the knower is as an accident to its subject; but when it is compared to the thing known, it goes beyond the mind and its intention indicates something outside the mind. Intellectual substances, in so far as they know something placed beyond themselves, proceed in a certain manner outside themselves, but in so far as they know themselves knowing, they begin to return to themselves. The understanding has this self-knowledge as a consequence of judgment; by it the comparison is possible by which the distinction of true and false is possible; it is the basis of metaphysics. The senses have no such knowledge of self and, therefore, there is no comparison in them of their representation with the thing perceived. But intellectual substances by reason of their greater perfection return to their essences with a complete return. Thomas Aquinas quotes from the *Liber de Causis* to enforce the conclusion that a thing returns to its essence when it knows its essence.

God is present to illuminate the mind in this system as he was in the philosophy of Anselm, and all truths are still derived from one truth. But thinking is no longer itself sufficient to indicate the existence and nature of God. The Augustinian tradition had come early

[1] Aquinas *In IV Meta.*, lect. 2 (Paris: Vivès, 1875, XXIV, 476).

to the insistence that the *a priori* proof, proceeding as it does from cause to effect, is the surest mode of demonstration; the nature of God must be known first; all other truths depend upon it and all sciences are trustworthy only as they are ordered to the knowledge of God; the nature of things in general must be determined before the nature of anything may be investigated. Aquinas agrees that the *a priori* proof is surer, but he insists that it is impossible to proceed from the nature of God to his effects because the nature of God is not known. Far from illuminating his effects we know him only through his effects. With this reorientation, all the formulae of the *sapientia christiana* may be repeated, but their significance has changed. Truth is to state that that which is is and that that which is not is not; it is the indivision of being and essence. For Augustine these formulae are true because God exists and they are themselves compelling documents of his existence. For Aquinas they call up only the consideration that man is possessed of an intellect in a formally intelligible universe. Although God is in the background, the adequation of understanding and thing must be explained by the transcendental psychology of the active intellect, and it is to be recognized in the manipulation of concepts according to primitive principles.

But the Thomist reform, even if it be considered the beginning of modern philosophy, was by no means its final or determining attitude. The Augustinian and Thomist conceptions of truth stand in sharper outline against the position which in varying forms largely superseded them in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The criticisms to which the Averroïsts, Duns Scotus, Ockham, and the followers of Ockham in turn submit the philosophy of their predecessors reduced to mere probabilities, one by one, the most definite certainties of the schools. Duns Scotus had insisted that the knowledge of God, the immortality of the soul, and the whole series of related theses be relegated as probable knowledge to theology, and theology became for him a source of rules of action and therefore a practical, not a speculative, science. Before the end of the fourteenth century Aristotelian scholasticism had been forced to a dissolution by criticisms directly in line with the criticisms it had initiated. The ma-

terials of knowledge come from experience, the ordering of knowledge from the mind: but what authenticated information do the senses afford? what are the principles of understanding and their certainty? In large part the writings of the Ockhamites of the fourteenth century read as if they were dictated by cautions learned from the experimental sciences and from critical philosophy.

Thus, one of the few surviving writings of Nicholas of Autrecourt expresses amazement that Bernard of Arezzo should hold that clear intuitive knowledge may judge a thing to be whether it is or not.[1] Bernard seems by Nicholas' specifications to be a contemporary Thomist, for it is among the Thomist principles that a true idea does not necessitate the existence of something corresponding to it outside the mind. In the view of Nicholas all knowledge is reduced to uncertainty by such a position; one can be sure of nothing, not of the objects of one's senses, or of one's own acts, or finally even of the articles of faith. He chooses to avoid such absurdities by maintaining that he is certain of the objects of his five senses and of his own acts. But in a second letter addressed to the same Bernard,[2] probably in reply to a lost letter, he expresses even greater amazement that Bernard should imagine that he has evident knowledge of abstract substances. No one, not even Aristotle, had evident knowledge of abstract substance. In fact, for that reason there are not more than one or two conclusions from evident knowledge in the *Metaphysics;* and for the same reason the third book *de Anima* should never have been written. In their examination of the bounds of knowledge there is only one principle on which Nicholas and Bernard can agree, the principle of contradiction: it is impossible that something both be present and not be present in the same thing at the same time: contradictories cannot at the same time be true. On that principle Nicholas bases all certitude; certitude founded on it is absolute; all certitude is to be resolved to it and consequently there are no degrees of certitude, for all certitude except only faith, can be reduced to the first principle.

[1] Nicholas of Autrecourt, *Epistola ad Bernardum* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* VI [1908], ii, 2*).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 6*.

But this analysis may be applied, not only to substance, but to other common notions of metaphysics, to causality, God, the external world. The relation of causation presents no necessary or evident consequence, for the principle of contradiction does not permit us to conclude from one thing which is known to be, that some other thing is. A causal relation is at most only probable, and past experience alone authorizes the affirmation of such a relation. The idea of substance, moreover, is a particular case of causality. It is not valid to infer from physical properties or psychical operations a material or spiritual substance in which those properties or operations inhere. Substances so concluded are not even probable consequences, for there is no past experience on which to base them. And, of course, the conventional proofs of God fall by this criticism. The existence of a first cause is no more probable than that of a substance, and if we are to believe the document in which Nicholas' errors were condemned by the Masters of the University of Paris, he carried his criticism to the logical extent of insisting that the proposition, God exists, and the proposition, God does not exist, are two ways of expressing the same truth.[1] We have only two sources of certainties: direct apprehension and syllogisms reducible to the first principle. Only individuals exist outside the mind, and the criticism which establishes their separate existence clears metaphysics of all the entities consequent to Aquinas' analysis: God, the Soul, the active intellect, substantial species and even things cannot be known certainly. What had been the subject-matter of metaphysics is transferred either to faith or to the probable knowledge which falls in the disciplines based on experience.

This fundamental attitude is repeated in the works of the numerous followers of Ockham in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There were still recognizable Augustinians, but the uncritical confidences of Augustine and Anselm had been left far behind. Aquinas could usually reconcile Anselm's position with his own, by the device of pointing out that Anselm was speaking of the truth which is an

[1] Denifle-Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, II, 580 (Paris, 1891). J. Lappe, 'Nicholaus von Autrecourt' (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Phil. des M. A.*, VI [1908], ii, 37*, I. 14–15).

adequation of the thing to the divine understanding and not of the truth which is an adequation of it to the human understanding. But apart from the partial nature of his philosophy Aquinas seems to have objected only to Anselm's attempt to pass directly from thought to a conclusion of existence. Cardinal Peter d'Ailly completely rejects the argument of the 'Venerable Anselm, because his arguments are not demonstrable, but are purely sophistic and faulty in logic, and because of that defect in logic this devout man was often deceived, not only in this place but in other passages.' [1] For Peter d'Ailly, as for Nicholas of Autrecourt, individuals alone exist, and ideas of universals are nothing, unless perhaps they can be called things, existing simply in the mind, common to things without the mind, and universal by predication. Certainty is based either on evidence or on faith, and evidence is of two sorts: *absolute evidence* which is evidence of the first principle or reducible to it, and *conditioned evidence* or evidence *secundum quid* which is the evidence our inquiry uncovers of whatever is according to the first type of evidence. Absolute knowledge is limited, therefore, to purely formal knowledge. All intellectual knowledge of things is derived from and depends on sensitive knowledge of the same things, and since our experimental knowledge begins with an intuitive presentation, it must always be conditioned and probable. But a statement of the Ockhamite currents of this period would be incomplete if the philosophic disputes were not balanced by the scientific interests. D'Ailly's doctrine of knowledge is not unconnected with the attitude of mind which turned him to the sciences; he was a noted geographer, astronomer, and astrologist; Christopher Columbus wrote that he had found the confirmation of his idea of sailing west to arrive at the Indies in the *Imago Mundi* of d'Ailly; Amerigo Vespucci was influenced by d'Ailly's commentary on the *Meteors* of Aristotle; a French Revolution is predicted in the sixtieth chapter of the *Concordia astronomiae cum historica ueritate* to occur 375 years later, in the year 1789. D'Ailly had insisted, in line with his criticism of substance, that the division of the soul into faculties was without evidence, since a single power might have many operations; his

[1] D'Ailly, *Quaest. in Sent.*, q. iii, a. 1.

interest in the soul turned, therefore (doubtless in a tradition continuing from Chartres through Oxford), to the localization of the functions and the discovery of the organs of the understanding. He wrote, finally, on the principles of ecclesiastical and political organization to such effect that Luther acknowledged his authority and boasted that he knew the works of Cardinal d'Ailly by heart. The Aristotelian scrutiny which Aquinas turned on the world had given away to empirical and positivistic inquiries long before the seventeenth century had formulated its philosophy and program of science. But even more significant, the Thomist doctrine and criteria of knowledge had yielded before further investigation of the exigencies of rational demonstration, and new criteria had emerged. The critical cautions made necessary by the inquiries of the fourteenth century make clear the careful Augustinian statements of the *De Causa Dei* of Bradwardine and the more elaborate formulation of a supra-rational field of intellectual intuition of the *De Docta Ignorantia* of Nicholas of Cusa; and, further removed, even the materialism and empiricism of Telesio and the modifications of them in Campanella are more fully conceived solutions to these post-Thomist difficulties.

Into this historical and intellectual environment the Thomist reform of the doctrine of knowledge must be fitted. If Aquinas is to be conceived as the beginning of purely philosophical tradition, then philosophy begins by a reaction away from the tenets of Platonism and Augustinism. It is not difficult to recognize that Aquinas' researches are concerned, more than those of his predecessors, with problems which were to become traditional in later philosophy. But there should be some hesitance before it is insisted that a philosophical inquiry is more philosophic if it treats of the passions of the soul or the nature of the understanding than if it treats of the attributes of God or the relations of angels to each other. If the study of logistics and the analysis of the continuum contribute to philosophy, perhaps the study of angels may be made to take on a like importance. In any case the statement that Aquinas gave reason a content of its own and nature a reality of its own, is not difficult to understand, though it is a little confusing if the history of philo-

sophical development is considered. It is in part a statement concerning subject-matter, and in that respect it is relevant that, for what concerns the philosophy of knowledge, no product of the human spirit, not even theology, is totally unrelated to the nature of things. It is partly a statement concerning method, and surely recent investigations concerning postulates and their relations to their systems would place the certainty of the postulates of mathematics on a basis no surer than that of the postulates of theology. The beginning of modern thought is somewhat arbitrary if it is to be dated at the point at which a man chose to take his axioms from Book IV of the *Metaphysics* and Book III of the *De Anima* of Aristotle rather than from the *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Scepticism is no surer a beginning for philosophy than faith, provided only the postulates of the faith are clear; and faith seeking its understanding may engage the philosopher with as much propriety as understanding seeking itself. To see in Thomism the beginnings of philosophy is to deny the name philosophy to much of Neo-Platonism.

Or it may be only that the attitude of the Academics to profess scepticism in all questions until persuaded by sufficient reason to forsake it, is better suited to modern predilections. Certainly Thomism was to be followed rapidly by an academic scepticism with its accompaniment of experimental and empirical interests. But these, once more, are the paradoxes of the history of thought, and that they occur is the consequence, partly at least, of the circumstances, inconvenient enough to the historian, that systems of thought are seldom refuted by the systems which supersede them. It would require no great ingenuity to demonstrate that the philosophies of Augustine and Anselm, however greatly they differ in development, involve many of the fundamental suppositions of those of Bradwardine, Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz, nor would much scholarship be needed to show that many of the crucial arguments are to be found, even when they were not clearly carried over, repeated. There is a tendency in modern criticism, however, to reach over the intervening periods to centre admiration on the nominalistic development of late scholasticism. To call Nicholas of Oresme a precursor of Copernicus, to call Peter d'Ailly a mediaeval

Berkeley and Malebranche, and Nicholas of Autrecourt a Hume and a Bradley [1] is, in that tradition, to speak eulogistically; it is not difficult to conceive the tradition in which the reverse might be true.

The philosophic affinities in the flow of history are too strangely mixed to permit over-simple divisions into periods, or to justify discoveries of affinities, if the fundamental metaphysical postulates of systems be considered: Thomas Aquinas turned in the thirteenth century from a Platonist rationalism; the modern revolt of the seventeenth century against scholasticism was a reaction from empiricism to rationalism; and, to tighten the paradox, after Spinoza and Descartes had criticized the imagination and had turned from the insufficiencies of knowledge based on sensation to the certainties of reason, the eighteenth century came with Bayle, Fontenelle, Voltaire, the Encyclopaedists to call these metaphysical solutions vain imaginations and to turn from them to the certainties of reason. It would be difficult, on any criterion other than that of subject-matter, to know if Aquinas is the beginning of modern philosophy since Augustine may be made to father much of the seventeenth century, and the fourteenth century initiated critical tendencies much like those which grew out of the philosophy of Hume. A philosophic study of the development of philosophies should be content to seek out the bases and cogencies of philosophies rather than engage upon a nostalgic search for sympathetic doctrines, for the shifts and alterations of the subject of philosophic inquiry suggest, not that we are coming after centuries of inquiry to the truth and that we have at last left the false, but that the philosopher, like the poet and the scientist, takes for his subject what he will.

[1] P. Duhem, 'Un Precurseur Français de Copernic: Nicole Oresme (1877),' *Revue Générale des Sciences Pures et Appliquées* XX (1909), 866–873; H. Rashdall, 'Nicholas de Ultricuria, a Medieval Hume,' *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, New Ser., VIII (1907), 1–27; L. Salembier, *Petrus ab Alliaco* (Lille: Lefort, 1886), pp. 150, 161, 163, etc.

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THE *SPECULUM VIRGINUM* WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TREE OF JESSE

By ARTHUR WATSON

THE twelfth-century Latin manuscript *Arundel 44* in the British Museum is entitled *Speculum Virginum*. The *Epistola* begins as follows: *Vltimus Christi pauperum C uirginibus sacris N et N. Gaudium assequi beatę perennitatis.*

At the beginning, the virtue of humility is assumed in the word *Vltimus;* and humility is indeed the root of all the virtues, as pride is of the vices. This the author expounds in Chapter iv, and his teaching is exemplified graphically by representations of two trees (fol. 28v and 29r) having respectively *Superbia* and *Humilitas* at the root. Poverty was the lot of the follower of Christ, a concomitant of holiness. The writer himself says (fol. 90r): *Sancti omnes Christi aduentum precedentes uel subsequentes semper peregrini et pauperes fuerunt.*

The letter *N* occurs in the Middle Ages in place of a relevant name to be supplied on each occasion.[1]

The letter *C* is probably the initial letter of the real name of the author. The work is in the form of a dialogue, and the writer, who was a Benedictine, goes by the name of Peregrinus while the *uirgo Christi* with whom he confers is Theodora. If the writer of this *Speculum* was received into the monastery as a *peregrinus* under a provision of the Benedictine order,[2] it would not have been unnatural for him to assume this name in the dialogue. There is a

[1] Cf. e.g. the following in the order for the consecration of virgins from a MS. of the Monastery of St Victor, Paris, quoted by E. Martène, *De Antiquis Eccles. Ritibus* (Bassano, 1788), II, 192: *Te inuocamus, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, super hanc famulam N quę tibi uouit seruire pura mente. . . .*

[2] Nec magnopere tamen uel cognatorum uel amicorum presentiam querendam putetis, q^{e} Christum sponsum uestrum fratuelem uestrum in corde geritis, in quo et per quem omnia possidetis. . . . Verum quia amor nunquam ociosus est, misi uobis libellum, quoddam mutui amoris insigne; in quo mentem exerceatis, ad sponsi ęterni gloriam proficiatis, minusque de absentia nostra doleatis. Intitulatur autem idem opusculum, speculum uirginum, in quo peregrinus presbyter cum Theodora Christi uirgine tanta contulisse probatur ut studiosis Christi uirginibus sit in eo magnum conservandę castitatis incitamentum.

further possible alternative or additional reason for assuming this name, viz., that it is expressive of a state. *In peregrinatione sumus* the writer says (fol. 95v), and Christ himself was likened to a *peregrinus* (fol. 47v). There was therefore an odor of sanctity about the word. The *Epistola* not only summarizes the contents of the book. It has also a personal character. The writer wished those to whom he was sending his *Speculum Virginum* to take it as a token of affection and to grieve the less for his absence. It appears from this that he did not always remain in the same monastery.[1] Internal evidence points to the writer's having belonged to the Benedictine order.[2] With reference to the formidable ladder which virgins must struggle to climb (the subject of chapter ix) Peregrinus says: *Nonne et huiusmodi scale formam a sancto pastore nostro Benedicto habes traditam, cuius obseruare contendis regulam?* (fol. 93r). That the monastery was at Hirschau in Germany appears to be generally accepted. The authorship was ascribed by Trithemius (1462–1516) to one of the name of Conrad; but he does not quote any authority, and his statement has met with vehement opposition (see Appendix B, p. 467, below).

The *Speculum Virginum* is one of many works of exposition under the title of *Speculum*. What Peregrinus understood by the term *speculum* he himself explains. Maidens look into mirrors, he says, to see whether there is any increase or decrease of their adornment, but Scripture is a mirror from which they may learn how they can please the eternal spouse. In this mirror they can find themselves and understand what they ought to do and what to avoid.[3] Towards

[1] See Johannes de Turre Cremata, *Regula S. P. Benedicti* (Cologne, 1575), p. 29, Cap. lxi, *De monarchis peregrinis, qualiter suscipiantur*. *Patr. Lat.* LXVI, 853.

[2] Attention is drawn to this evidence by Robert Geete on p. iii of his Introduction to the fifteenth-century Swedish translation of the *Speculum Virginum*, cited p. 448, n. 1, below.

[3] 'Specula uirgines oculis suis applicant, ut ornatus sui uel augmentum uel detrimentum intelligant . . . Sunt enim specula mulierum, eloquia diuina uisibus obiecta sanctarum animarum in quibus semper considerant quomodo sponso ęterno aut placeant decore sanctę conscientię aut displiceant peccati feditate' (fol. 1v). . . . 'Speculum itaque scripturę sacrę pagina, uerbi domini efficatia est, cuius pure ueritatis perspicuitas profundę rationis, mentes studiosorum sic illuminat, ut ibi se recognoscant ubi, se in se ipsis uidere non poterant. Scripturam igitur diuinam si quasi speculum attenderis te ipsam repperis et ex ipsa quid agendum sit intelligis' (fol. 36v). Theodora says (fol. 28r): 'Speculum enim uirginibus Christi proposuisti unde uel uitanda uel imitanda possint speculari.'

PLATE I

THE TREE OF JESSE

British Museum *MS. Arundel 44*, fol. 2v

the end of the work Peregrinus bursts out with the fervent hope that this *Speculum* may be broad enough to satisfy Theodora's need for instruction.[1]

Inasmuch as variety in reading is pleasant and a treatise which is uniform and unbroken weakens and burdens the attention of the reader, Peregrinus has divided his work into twelve chapters so that the *uirgo Christi*, eager for the divine word, may wander through fields joined one with another, delight in the varied flowers, in a mystic sense, and glory in weaving for herself a crown of many colors.[2]

The twelve chapters deal with: (1) the mystic flowers of Paradise, the form of Paradise with its four rivers, typifying the four evangelists and doctors making fertile the whole church by their word and example; (2) the danger of going astray; (3) the mystic signification of the virgin's dress; (4) pride and humility; (5) (*a*) the chief of virgins, Mary, with her Son, and John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, the four being likened to a *quadriga* by which virgins who have merited the reward may be borne to heaven, (*b*) the good and bad teachers (*magistri*) of virgins; (6) the foolish and wise virgins; (7) the three grades of married women, widows, and virgins, with their respective thirty, sixty, and hundredfold fruits; [3] (8) the fruit of the flesh and of the spirit, the six ages of the world; (9) the ascent by virgins of a ladder guarded by a dragon and an Ethiopian whom the virgins can overcome by courage and win the sought-for crown; (10) the *actio gratiarum;* (11) exposition of the Gifts of the Spirit (*septiformis spiritus*) and the *uirtus* and *potentia* of the number seven; and (12) the exposition of the Lord's Prayer.

[1] Outinam tuis studiis sufficeret tandem speculi huius latitudo (fol. 114r).

[2] Denique quia lectio uaria delectat, tractus uniformis et continuus legentis intentionem emollit et grauat, opusculum idem in partes duodenas distinxi, ut dum uirgo Christi uerbi diuini auida quasi per prata coniuncta discurrens, floribus diuersis, id est sensibus misticis delectatur, coronam multicolorem capiti suo de uerbo dei texere glorietur (fol. 2r).

[3] This is a special application of what has general application in the parable of the Sower (Matth., xiii, 8). Cf. Aldhelm, *De Laudibus Virginitatis* (Prose, cap. xix, ed. R. Ehwald, *M. G. H., Auct. Antiq*, XV, 1919, 249): His igitur tribus graduum ordinibus, quibus credentium multitudo in catholica florens ecclesia discernitur, euangelicum paradigma centesimum, sexagesimum et tricesimum fructum iuxta meritorum mercimoniam spopondit.

Finally, there is an *Epithalamium*.[1] The *Epithalamium* is missing in the British Museum *MS. Arundel 44*.

The illustrations in the British Museum MS. are as follows:

1 (fol. 2v). A Tree of Jesse which will be described later (Plate I).

2 (fol. 13r). The mystic form of Paradise (Plate II). In the centre is the Virgin holding Christ (cross-nimbed) with an open book on which is written, *Si quis sitit, ueniat et bibat* (*John* vii, 37). Between the centre and the circumference are represented streams connected with full-length horned figures of the four rivers of Paradise. Each river-figure touches with his hands two medallions within which are (*a*) a symbol of an evangelist and (*b*) one of the *doctores ecclesiastici*. Streams connect the medallions with the centre. On the circumference in each case between a *doctor* and an evangelist are medallions each containing a representation of one of the virtues which are at the summits of trees rising from the centre. The subjects on the circumference are in the following order, John, Tigris, Augustine, Justice, Mark, Geon, Gregory, Fortitude, Matthew, Eufrates, Jerome, Temperance, Luke, Phison, Ambrose, Prudence. Twelve virgins, likened to doves settling beside abounding streams, are shown, all of whom drink from two fountain sources, the Evangelists and the Father (*doctores ecclesiastici*). Eight of these virgins represent the Beatitudes, and four represent the Cardinal Virtues. The Beatitudes and Virtues comprise all spiritual knowledge.[2]

[1] The text of this *Epithalamium* (an acrostic of 258 lines in praise of the Virgin), from the MS. in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, *MS. Phill. 1701*, is quoted in a volume entitled *Speculum Virginum: Jungfruspegel* (a translation into Swedish from the Latin by Mathias Laurentii) edited by Robert Geete and published by the *Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet*, Stockholm, 1897, 1898, Vols. 111, 113, 115, pp. 609–616.

The *Epithalamium* is also quoted in an article by G. M. Dreves on 'Konrads von Hirschau doppelchoriges Epithalamium virginum' in the *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* XXV (1901), 546–554, and is printed in parallel columns, for two choirs, the form in which he found it in the Würzburg MS.

[2] Verum licet in omni pictura uel artificio ratio prestet operi, et sit maior qui facit quam quod facit, uolo tamen quendam paradisum speculatorium pre oculis tibi in pictura ponere, ubi fons cum suis fluminibus quadripartito meatu procurrentibus sed intelligibilibus, pocula sumministrent sacris uirginibus, quasi columbis iuxta fluenta plenissima residentibus, sicque siue de fontibus euangelicis seu doctrinis ęcclesiasticis bibant, ut octo beatitudines cum 1111^{or} uirtutibus principalibus in quibus omnis spiritualis disciplinae ratio consistit, imitari ualeant (fol. 13r).

Plate II

The Mystic Form of Paradise

British Museum *MS. Arundel 44*, fol. 13r

The representation of the Beatitudes, a group of eight, is extraordinary in this connection. So also is the association of the Fathers with the Evangelists. Emile Mâle in *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age*, 1922, p. 224, assigns the origin of this association to a later date than the twelfth century: 'Le XV^e^ siècle même,' he says, 'mit en honneur une opposition d'un nouveau genre. Il mit en parallèle les quatre évangélistes, non plus avec les quatre grands prophètes, comme faisait le XIII^e^ siècle, mais avec les quatre Pères de l'Eglise latine: saint Augustin, saint Jérôme, saint Ambroise, saint Grégoire le Grand.' In a footnote is added: 'Ce genre d'opposition apparaît dès le XIV^e^ siècle, à l'autel de Notre-Dame d'Avioth.'

3 (fol. 28v). The Vices, represented by a tree with *Superbia* at the foot holding a chalice, the words written across the page being *Aureus calyx Babilon*. Branches right and left divide the Vices which spring from *Superbia* into an elaborate classification and sevenfold grouping, *Luxuria*, however, having two sub-divisions of six each. Near the top is *Luxuria*, with folded arms, above whom are the words *uetus adam*. The leaves on which the names of Vices are written, except those which take their rise from *Luxuria*, droop. *Fructus iste descendit* is written across the page. Around the main stem two serpents are twined and venom issues from their mouths. Across the page are the words *Sinistra* and *Babilonia*. Near the top are two griffins, above which is written *Fructus carnis*. There are in all 62 Vices.

4 (fol. 29r). The Virtues, represented by a tree with *Humilitas* at the foot, from whose breast issue two branches; there are two *angeli pacis*, one on each side of her. There is here, as in the preceding illustration, an elaborate classification. The Virtues have a sevenfold grouping, *Caritas* exceptionally having two subdivisions of five each. The leaves point upwards, *Iste ascendit*. Christ is at the top and beneath him the word *Caritas*. In four syllables around His nimbus are the words *Nouus adam*. Corresponding with words in the representation of the Vices appear the words *Dextera*, *Ierusalem* and *Fructus spiritus*. The color blue, absent in the pre-

ceding illustration, is introduced in the representation of the Virtues. The number of Virtues is 60.[1]

5 (fol. 34v). The contest between *Humilitas* and *Superbia*. In the middle *Humilitas* with unconcern is driving a sword perpendicularly into the body of *Superbia*. To her right *Iahel* has *Sisara Dux Madianitarum* at her feet with a nail through his right temple. To the left of *Humilitas* is *Iudith* with *Olafernes* at her feet.[2] Both Sisera and Holofernes have crowns like that of David in the Tree of Jesse (see Plate I).

6 (fol. 46r). The *quadriga*. In the middle is the Virgin standing full length with her feet on a wheel and holding the infant Christ whose feet also rest on a wheel. To the Virgin's right is St John the Baptist, bearded, with nimbus, and with shaggy clothing; on her left St John the Evangelist, these two also having wheels beneath their feet. These four figures, as has been noted, are likened in the text to a *quadriga*.[3] They are all nimbed. At the top are two angels (nimbed) each holding an open book. The following are the inscriptions thereon:

(*a*) Stella gerit solem, rosa fert tibi credule florem
Clarus ut ex sole repareris floris odore.

(*b*) Tempore iam uerno uiret orbis flore quaterno
Flos ut homo uitę sit gramen amando pudicę.

7 (fol. 57v). The Foolish and Wise Virgins (Plate III). This illustration is divided horizontally into three parts. In the lowest

[1] In R. Bruck, *Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen* (Dresden: C. C. Meinhold und Söhne, 1906), pp. 88, 89, are reproductions from a Leipzig MS. of the thirteenth century, entitled *Definitions Viciorum*, which have a marked similarity in general appearance to the trees of Vices and Virtues in the *Speculum Virginum*.

[2] For reproduction of corresponding subject in the Berlin *MS. Phill. 1701* see A. Michel, *Histoire de l'Art* (Paris, 1906), II, i, 301, and for reproduction of the same subject in the Zwettl MS. 180, see E. Winkler, *Die Buchmalerei in Niederösterreich von 1150–1250* (Vienna, 1923), Fig. 53.

[3] *Vere felices animę*, writes Peregrinus beneath the illustration, *quę quadrigę huius exemplo a terra subleuantur et tam florido thalamo inter angelos posito collocantur. Felices ęque uirgines quę horum florum odore trahuntur, et rotas istas quantum possible est imitantur* (fol. 46r). And Theodora is made to say appreciatively, *Pulchre rotas baptistam et euangetistam uirgini matri et agno precedentibus coniunxisti; quorum omnium castitatis exemplo nihil maius nihil prestantius inuenisti.*

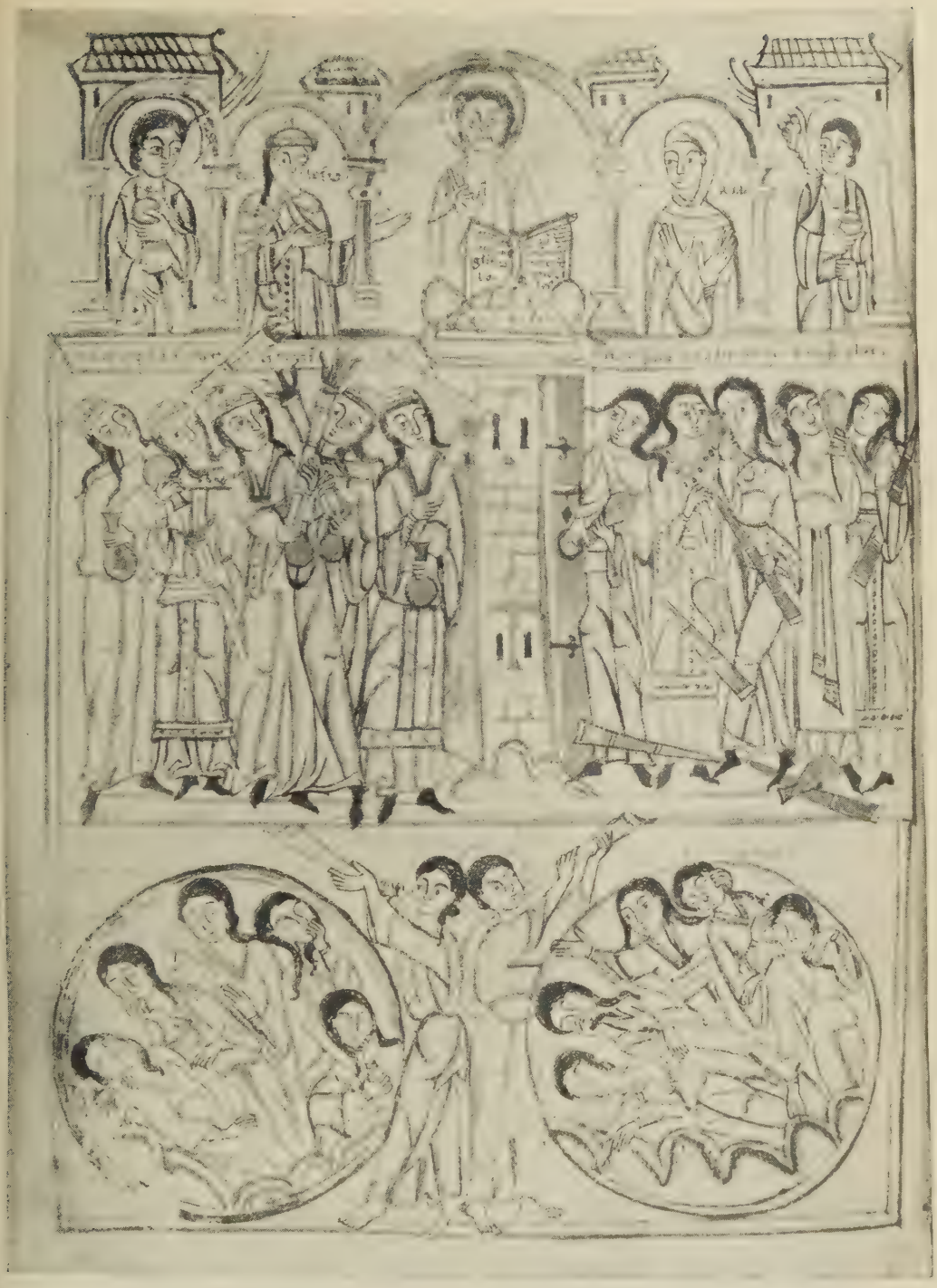

PLATE III

THE FOOLISH AND WISE VIRGINS

British Museum *MS. Arundel 44*, fol. 57v

are 10 virgins, 5 on the left and 5 on the right. Between the two groups of 5 are two nimbed figures holding horns in their hands and above are the words *media nocte clamor factus est* and across the page *Dormitauerunt omnes et dormiuerunt* (*Matth.* xxv, 6, 5).

In the middle division are, on the left, the 5 wise virgins for whom the door is open and on the right the 5 foolish virgins in distress with dishevelled hair, one of whom is in vain trying a door. Above the wise virgins is written *Has opus atque fides celestes mittit in edes*, above the foolish, *Haut patet his aditus quibus excidit et liquor et lux.*

The third division contains a design with five semicircular arches, in the second of which is a nimbed figure representing *ecclesia*, in the third Christ (nimbed) with an open book on which is written *Glorificantes me glorificabo. Qui autem contemnunt me erunt ignobiles* (*1 Samuel* ii, 30), in the fourth Mary nimbed, and in the first and fifth nimbed figures.[1]

8 (fol. 70r). This illustration is in three divisions. At the top are the words *accipio quodcunque peregrinationis et molestie mee solatium a peregrino.* At the foot are *Adam et Eua* above whom the green tree springs with figures enclosed in the convolutions of the branches as in the first illustration, the Tree of Jesse (see Plate I). The lowest division represents the *Fructus tricesimus coniugatorum*, the second the *Fructus sexagesimus uiduarum*, and the highest the *Fructus centesimus* (see Plate I, above). In the lowest are represented on the left *Ab* (Abraham) and his wife, *Za et El* (Zacharias and Elizabeth) and on the right *Noe* and his wife, and *Iob* and his wife. In the second division are on the left *Debbora* and *Iudith* and on the right *uidua q^e duo minuta misit in gazophylacium* (*Mark* xii, 41, 42) and *Anna.* In the highest division are virgins and at the top Christ, cross-nimbed. The *fructus* is represented by blades of corn. In the highest division those at the top are blue and green in contrast with dull red beneath.

9 (fol. 83v). The flesh and the spirit. A Cross is represented divided into compartments. At the bottom is a monster and above

[1] For reproduction of corresponding illustration in the Berlin *MS. Phill. 1701*, see Joachim Kirchner, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen und des Initialschmuckes in den Phillipps-Handschriften* (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1926), opposite p. 66.

it the words *Deceptor ueteranus.* In the second compartment a figure representing *lex* with a sword in her right hand and in her left a book on which is written *non concupisces;* above, a figure against which are the words *Caro Bonum;* still higher, a figure with the words *Spiritus melius;* and at the top Christ, cross-nimbed, with blue robe and blue nimbus, against whom are the words *Gratia* and *Deus optimum.* On the arms of the cross are, left, *Ratio,* and right, *Sapientia;* between these two are the words *Liberum arbitrium. Ratio* and *Sapientia* each grasp one arm of *Caro* and one arm of *Spiritus.* Christ holds the arms of *Spiritus.* Beginning in the highest compartment, continuing in a circle around Christ, and ending with *ris illius,* in the highest compartment but one is written *Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius* (*Rom.* vii, 24) and *Sub te erit appetitus eius et tu dominaberis illius* (*Gen.* iv, 7).

10 (fol. 93v). The Ascent of the Ladder (Plate IV).[1] The meaning of this illustration is described in the text.[2] The bottom of the

[1] For similar subject see Herrad von Landsperg's *Hortus Deliciarum* (Paris, 1877), Tab. ix; this volume contains reproductions from miniatures of the twelfth century in the manuscript which was destroyed in the fire of 1870 at the Strassburg Library. There is no Ethiopian, but there is a dragon at the foot, and towards the top two demons aiming arrows in the direction of the ladder. On the ladder are included a soldier, a layman, and a monk, who are falling off. At the top a *persona* representing *Virtus id est Caritas* is about to receive from the right hand of God the *Corona uitę.*

[2] Fol. 93r. [Peregrinus] Denique scala nobis erigenda est cuius ima draco cautus obseruat, ethiops altiora stricto mucrone possidens arcet ascensum, et ad iuuenem in summitate ipsius scalę collocatum habentem ramos aureolos, premiorum indices accessum. Sed uirginum Christi robur et constantia fidei instar uermis draconem conculcat tormenta diuersa scalę latera ambientia quasi stipulam exsufflat, nigrum ethiopem perterit et perculcat, et immobili nec mutabili desiderio, ad ramos frondentis oleę properat. T[heodora] Memini, pater amandę te nonnulla scalę huius uestigia, pagine superius impressisse, sed quid ista portendant studeas obsecro enucleare. P[eregrinus] An ignoras artam et angustam esse semitam quę ducit ad uitam, et paucos esse qui inueniunt eam? Quę semita, quia semper celestia respicit, et ab ea declinare uel ad dexteram uel sinistram non parui periculi est, cui melius potest compari quam scalę de terra ad celum erectę, cuius ut altiores gradus apprehenderis respectus ad ima in recuperandi discriminis est, summa uero attigisse lauream ęternitatis promeruisse est? Porro draconis et ethiopis sicut natura diuersa sic diuersa malicię efficatia. Draco hominem ueneno interficit, ethiops facie forma demonis appropriantem non tam mucrone quam horrore confodit. Ex altero spiritualia nequicię cognosce, in altero corpus diaboli quod sanctos in hac uita semper impugnat intellige. Draco uersutus mentem quasi spiris uirulentis suggestione pestifera ab altis auertit, malus homo, sanctis hostis apertius imissus, quod alter sibilo illectrici non ualuit, uicarius eius uel terrore uel aperto congressu efficere gestit.

T. Queso te, unde forma scalę huius primum apparuit, cuius misticus ordo tam euidenter eluxit? P. Legitur in gestis martirum de quadam uirgine Christi incarcerata scalę huiusmodi

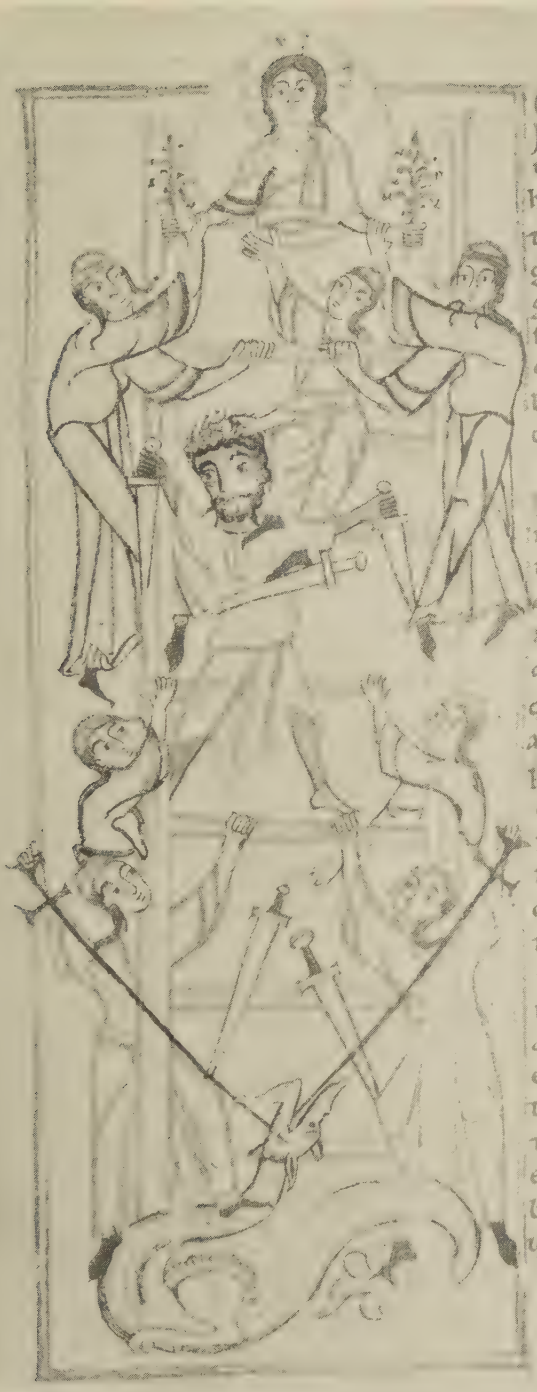

PLATE IV

THE ASCENT OF A LADDER

British Museum *MS. Arundel 44*, fol. 93v

ladder is watched by a wary dragon while above an Ethiopian guards the ascent and tries to prevent access to the figure of Christ, who holds in His hands golden branches, the signs of reward. But by strength and steadfastness the virgins are able to crush the dragon underfoot like a worm, to blow away like grass the various instruments of torment[1] placed about the ladder, to pound the Ethiopian to pieces and trample him down and make their way to the leafy olive branches. In response to Theodora's request that he should give some further enucleation Peregrinus asks her if she has not heard that 'straight is the gate and narrow the way that leadeth unto life and few there be that find it' (*Matth.* vii, 10), and to what could the path better be compared than to a ladder set up from earth to heaven, to reach the top of which was to merit the reward of eternal life. As the dragon and Ethiopian, he continues, are different by nature so are the operations of their evil will. The dragon kills a man by his poison, the Ethiopian slays him not only by the sword but also by terror. The former stands for the spirit of wickedness, the latter for the body of the devil. The crafty dragon turns the mind away from higher things, the Ethiopian by terror and open attack effects what the dragon cannot effect by fascination.

When Theodora asks what was the origin of the ladder Peregrinus says that it might be found in the Acts of the Martyrs, in the vision of a certain *Virgo Christi*, and he refers to a ladder which he assumes she will know, namely, St Benedict's ladder of Humility, the subject of Chapter vii (*De Humilitate*) of the *Regula*.[2]

The author has thus made clearer the meaning of this picture, but he has, nevertheless, left room for further elucidation. Fortu-

figuram in somnis ab angelo didicisse, et uictoria cęlesti certificatam fuisse, uictis et angelis malis et hominibus sceleratis. Nonne et huiusmodi scalę forman a sancto pastore nostro Benedicto habes traditam, cuius observare contendis regulam? Dicit enim latera ipsius scalę typum corporis et animę nostre gradibus inserta cęlistis disciplinę.

[1] In the Leipzig MS. 665 there are two words placed perpendicularly with the points downwards. See R. Bruck, *Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen* (Dresden: C. C. Meinhold und Söhne, 1906), p. 237.

[2] *S. P. Benedicti Regula*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* LXVI, 371. Scala illa erigenda est quae in somnio Iacob apparuit . . . Scala vero ipsa erecta, nostra est uita in saeculo: quae humiliato corde a Domino erigitur ad coelum. Latera enim eiusdem scalae, dicimus nostrum esse corpus et animami in qua latera diuersos gradus humilitatis uel disciplinae euocatio diuina ascendendos inseruit.

nately he has given a clue in the last few lines of the passage quoted in the footnote. By the *uirgo Christi* he means without doubt Saint Perpetua and the imagery on folio 93v is drawn in its origin from the vision, or rather visions, of this saint who, at the age of 22, suffered death as a martyr in Africa in 203 A.D. It is recorded that the visions vouchsafed to her are told in her own words. The manner in which they are narrated is extraordinarily simple and extraordinarily telling.[1] There are two passages on which the subject of the *Speculum Virginum* is ultimately based. The first has reference to the ladder.[2]

The second passage occurs in a further vision of Saint Perpetua in which she describes a contest with the Aegyptius, or Ethiopian, in the arena.[3]

In Saint Perpetua's first vision the ascent leads to the white-haired man; in her further vision the reward is bestowed by the *lanista*. In the *Speculum Virginum* it is Christ who is at the top of

[1] See Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum* (Paris, 1863, etc.) under March 7, p. 632; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* III, 25. The story is told in English in S. Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints* (London: Nimmo, 1897, 98), III, 104.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 632. Video scalam mirae magnitudinis, pertingentem usque ad coeum et angustam per quam non nisi singuli ascendere possent; et in lateribus scalae omne genus ferramentorum infixum. Erant ibi gladii, lanceae, hami, machaerae: ut si quis negligenter, aut non sursum attendens ascenderet, laniaretur, et carnes eius inhaererent ferramentis. Et erat sub ipsa scala draco cubans mirae magnitudinis qui ascendentibus insidias praestabat et exterrebat ne ascenderent. Ascendit autem Saturus prior, qui postea se propter nos ultro tradiderat, et tunc cum adducti sumus, praesens non fuerat: et peruenit in caput scalae, et conuertit se, et dixit mihi: Perpetua, sustineo te: sed uide ne te mordeat draco ille. Et dixi ego. Non me nocebit in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, et de sub ipsa scala, quasi timens me, lente eiicit caput: et quasi primum gradum calcarem, calcaui illi caput. Et ascendi et uidi spatium horti immensum, et in medio sedentem hominem canum, in habitu pastoris, grandem, oues mulgentem: circumstantes candidati millia multa. Et leuauit caput et aspexit me, et dixit mihi: Beni uenisti tegnon.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 634. Et exiuit quidam contra me Aegyptius; foedus specie, cum adiutoribus suis, pugnaturus mecum . . . Et exiuit uir quidam mirae magnitudinis ut etiam excederet fastigium amphitheatri discincatatus purpuram inter duos clauos per medium pectus, habens calliculas multiformes ex auro et argento factas, efferens uirgam quasi lanista, et ramum uiridem, in quo erant mala aurea. Et petiit silentium, et dixit: Hic Aegyptius si hanc uicerit, occidet illam gladio: et si hunc uicerit, accipiet ramum istum et recessit. Et accesimus ad inuicem et coepimus mittere pugnos. Ille mihi pedes apprehendere uolebat: ego autem illi calcibus faciem caedebam: et sublata sum in aere, et coepi eum sic caedere terram concalcans. At ubi uidi moram fieri, iunxi manus, ut digitos in digitos mitterem: et apprehendi illi caput, et cecidit in faciem et calcaui illi caput. Et coepit populus clamare, et fauitores mei psallere. Et accessi ad lanistram, et accepi ramum. Et osculatus est me, et dixit mihi: Filia, pax tecum.

PLATE V

THE TREE OF JESSE

Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, *MS. Phill. 1701*, fol. 3r

the ladder and represented as a youth without beard and described in the text as *iuuenis*.

But the association of the Ethiopian with the ladder cannot be said to have been the invention of Peregrinus. It occurs before his time in a hymn, *De Virginibus, Puella turbata*, in a Kolmar MS. of the eleventh century.[1]

A comparison of this with the description of Peregrinus shows a marked verbal similarity.

11 (fol. 108v). Christ represented in a green-bordered vesica, holding an open book on which is written *Eunuchis meis dabo locum et nomen melius filiis et filiabus* (*Isaiah* lvi, 5). On each side of Christ are two groups in one of which on the left is Mary and in the other on the right John. At the bottom a tonsured figure is inclining in veneration before Christ and holding his right foot. The color blue makes its appearance in the nimbus of Mary, Christ, and John.

12 (fol. 114v). This representation is placed at the beginning of chapter xi which is an exposition of the *Septiformis Spiritus cum suis appendiciis*. The picture is in some measure another version of the subject of the frontispiece. There is, for example, in the middle an abbreviated Tree of Jesse including only Jesse, the Virgin, and Christ, and the top is substantially a repetition of that

[1] See F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1853–55), III, 157–8. The following are the first 16 out of 68 lines:

1. Scalam ad coelos
subrectam, tormentis cinctam
2. Cuius ima
draco seruare cautus
inuigilat iugiter,
Ne quis eius
uel primum gradum possit
insaucius scandere;
3. Cuius ascensus
extracto Aethiops
gladio uetat,
Cuius supremis
innixus iuuenis
splendidus ramum
aureolum retinet . . .

J. Kehrein in *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1873), p. 332, refers to an Einsiedeln MS. of the tenth century containing this hymn.

in Plate I above. This representation, however, draws much of its imagery from architecture. Between the columns are the words: *Egredietur uirga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet et requiescet super eum spiritus domini spiritus sapientię, et intellectus, consilii et fortitudinis, scientię, pietatis, timororis* (*Isaiah* xi, 1, 2).[1]

Above is *Sapientia edificauit sibi domum excidit columnas septem* (*Prov.* ix, 1).

On the open book which the Virgin holds is written *Dominus possedet me in inicio uiarum suarum* and *Ab eterno ordinata sum et e* (*Prov.* viii, 22, 23). On the closed book held by Christ are the words *Spiritus domini super me eo quod unxerit me* (*Isaiah* lxi, 1).

There are on fol. 17v two small representations of Peregrinus and Theodora, and on fol. 82r are shown by drawings in red the signs of married women, widows, and virgins. Chapter xi has marginal drawings of the heart-shaped leaves which appear at the top of the first illustration.

Peregrinus was a teacher, and the *Speculum* may perhaps be regarded as the precipitation of his experimentally-acquired views as to what should be taught to his students. He realized the value of graphic exposition, and the appeal to the eye would be, he thinks, of special service if Theodora should chance to find among her companions any who did not understand what they read, since to those who were unlettered the picture was a kind of writing and in any case would render an understanding less tardy.[2]

There is an approach to humor in Theodora's request that Peregrinus should proceed with *modica lucubratiuncula* (fol. 127r) and an expression of marked irritation on his part a little further on (fol. 127v) when he says, '*Ignorantia tua ad strophas te excitat ut defendas quod nescis et nescias quod defendis. Multotiens tibi litera repetenda est, quę semper in eodem neglegentię luto hesitare uideris.*'

And the following passage brings to life again a little banter:

[1] Some words are much abbreviated as, e.g. *sci* for *scientię*.

[2] Quod ergo de hoc capitulo queris sicut a patribus accepimus, pauca ponenda sunt, premissa tamen figura, ut consodales tue si forte quod legunt non intellegunt, uel proficiant ex forma subposita, quia ignorantibus litteras, ipsa pictura scriptura est (fol. 57r). *And again*, Attende igitur ut profectum habeas ex mistica pictura si tardior fueris ex scriptura (fol. 13r).

PLATE VI

THE TREE OF JESSE (DUTCH)

British Museum, *MS. Additional 38527*, fol. 4v

P[eregrinus]. Contigit te aliquando templum intrasse uitreo decore illuminatum? T[heodora]. Mecum ludis cum adeo usus hic in ecclesiis preualuerit ut sine huiusmodi decore quicquid ornamenti adhibueris nihil (fol 122r).[1]

The treatise deals largely with the gifts of the spirit and naturally with the *Song of Solomon* from which there are numerous quotations. It is a handbook of knowledge regarded as specially suitable for virgins, an encouragement to them to persevere in what they have undertaken so that they may obtain the crown which is promised them if they are faithful. The writer does not lay claim to have added to knowledge. Near the end he says that his *Speculum* is rather a work of demonstration than of creation.[2] He makes abundant use of metaphor. A striking exemplification of this is to be found in the praise of the Virgin beginning on fol. 44r:

Maria itaque lucis ęternę porta perfulgida, cęlestis aulę gloria, clauis paradisi reserandi, materies seculi renouandi; singulare sancti spiritus habitaculum, solis ęterni tabernaculum; ipsa amor, decus, et forma uirginum, totius ęcclesię continens in se sacramentum; orta uirga de radice Iesse in terris, ante tempora cuncta praesignata Christi mater in celis; Syon et Ierusalem filia regali stirpe progenita, Christi ancilla credentium mater et domina, cęlestis militię regina; reconciliatrix mundi, sacrarium spiritus sancti; iudicis et sponsi tribunal et secretarium, prolis et domini uirginale puerperium; solium regis regum, flos et fructus uirginum, fructus florens mulierum; ipsa forma florentis pudicitię, ipsa uernantis sigillum castimonię. Maria stella matutina, sole et luna splendidior, angelis superior, ipso ethere purior, uirtutum operatrix, humani generis amatrix, perditi mundi prouisa reparatrix; ipsa in patriarchis occulta, a prophetis ostensa, in sinagoga radix floris, in ęcclesia fructus radicis; ipsa gradu uitę speculatiuę quasi cedrus exaltata, quasi palma florens et oliua fructifera; ipsa uirgo prudens; in olio uel lampade, lumen indeficiens totius uirginalis uitę; facie decora, corpore et mente decentissima; lapsis ueniale patrocinium, iustis ne ruant defensaculum, cęli et terrę speculum; et ut breuiter concludam, totius summa salutis humanę causa et gloria benedictionis ęternę.

This passage is divided into two parts, each of which begins with the word 'Maria,' and it might be set out as verse with rhymed

[1] This passage is of interest also in its reference to stained glass windows.

[2] Ecce Theodora, tandem per prolixiores sermonum circuitus speculum uirginum pro posse nostro monstrando potius quam fabricando exhibuimus (fol. 114r).

endings. It may be a quotation. In any case it arrests attention as being an outburst in praise of the Virgin, the object of such adoration in the Middle Ages that the attempts to express it created a vast treasury of metaphor.

Peregrinus was a mystic and wrote with verve. There is a record of the effect which his *Speculum* had in the fourteenth century on one who came under its influence, namely, St Bridget of Sweden. In the *Attestationes Domini Petri Olavi* (British Museum, *MS. Harl. 612*, fol. 267v, col. 1063)[1] it is asserted that, when on a certain day he was reading to Bridget in the monastery of Alvastra from a book which was called *Speculum Virginum*, she was enraptured. That the book was largely used in monasteries may be judged from the fact that there are no fewer than sixteen manuscripts still existing.

As to the literary value of the *Speculum*, Trithemius' appreciation of the author as *Tullianam resonans eloquentiam*[2] may be regarded as excessive, yet there is an attraction in his *affluentissima exuberantia*. He had some knowledge of classical Latin — a considerable knowledge if, as there is some reason to believe (see Appendix B), he was the author of a *Dialogus super Auctores siue Didascalon*. In the *Speculum* he definitely mentions Horace when he says to Theodora (fol. 126v), *Non iniuria prouerbium illud oratianum tibi potest asscribi que semel arripuit tenet occiditque loquendo* (*Ars Poetica* 475) and his expression *quomodo solent magnis minima conferri* (fol. 65v) is suggestive of Virgil.[3]

The Tree of Jesse (Plate I)

The first illustration (11″ x 7⅛″) in the *Speculum Virginum* is a Tree of Jesse.[4] It is placed at the beginning (fol. 2v) because, as

[1] Preterea dixit iste loquens testis [Petrus Olavus] quod cum ipse quodam die legeret in monasterio Aluastri predicto coram domina B. in libro qui uocatur *Speculum Virginum* in quo Peregrinus monachus disputat de omnibus uirtutibus cum Theodora uirgine, tunc domina B ipso teste loquente hoc uidente ut asseruit rapta fuit in spiritu. See Robert Geete, *op. cit. supra*, p. xvi.

[2] *Cathalogus illustrium uirorum* . . . (Mentz, 1496 ?), fol. xviii^{v}.

[3] Sic paruis componere magna solebam. *Ecl.* i, 24.

[4] With regard to colors: *red* is used for the tree, for the *calami*, and edges of some of the leaves, *green* for the headgear of Booz, Obeth, Jesse, and one of the virgins, for the crown of David, for the vases held by Christ, and in the dress of the four corner figures, and in the nimbus of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist; *blue* for the streams flowing from

it appears, it was the most convenient way which the writer could find of expressing *figuraliter* the main purport of the treatise. So far as the genealogy is concerned it will be noted that it goes back to Booz[1] who is seated on the margin. He holds with his hands the two branches which proceed from his breast. Above to his left is Obeth, his son, and above to his right Jesse, his grandson. Directly above Booz is David who is crowned, and above him, with the omission of all the intervening generations, is the Virgin holding an open book on which is written *Quasi terebintus extendi ramos* (*Ecclus.*, xxiv, 22). Against the Virgin who is nimbed is written the word *uirga* and above is Christ who is cross-nimbed, *Flos filius eius.*

Above Christ are seven *calami* leading to heart-shaped leaves representing the seven Gifts of the Spirit named together in each case with the associated qualities. Still higher are seven other leaves. The following is a transcription, in full, of the words which are in some cases much abbreviated:

1. (*a*) Beati pacifici
   (*b*) Santificetur nomen
   (*c*) Vox domini super aquas
   (*d*) Vincenti dabo stellam matutinam
   (*e*) Baptismus
   (*f*) Lex scripta
   (*g*) Fides

(I) Spiritus Sapientie
Mobilis
Stabilis

2. (*a*) Beati mundo corde
   (*b*) Adueniat regnum
   (*c*) Vox domini preparantis ceruos
   (*d*) Qui uicerit dabo ei calculum (candidum)
   (*e*) Sermones
   (*f*) Spes
   (*g*) Incarnatio

(II) Spiritus Intellectus
Mundus
Subtilis

the vases, in the dress of Jesse, David, and Obeth, in the nimbus of the Virgin, Christ, Isaiah, and Zachariah, and in the borders of the heart-shaped leaves, and *brown* generally for the hair and features. There are instances in the other illustrations where blue appears to have been selected as indicating what was to be regarded of high spiritual import.

[1] The writer of this article knows of no pictorial representations of a Tree of Jesse which begin with Booz except those in manuscripts of the *Speculum Virginum*. Such representations may, however, exist. See Appendix C, pp. 468, 469, below.

3. (*a*) Beati misericordes
(*b*) Fiat uoluntas tua
(*c*) Vox domini concutientis desertum
(*d*) Qui uicerit uestietur uestimentis albis
(III) Spiritus Consilii
unicus
longe prospiciens
(*e*) Passio domini
(*f*) Expositores
(*g*) Caritas

4. (*a*) Beati qui esurient et sitiunt iustitiam
(*b*) Panem nostrum cotidianum
(*c*) Vox domini intercidentis
(flammam ignis)
(*d*) Vincenti dabo manna absconditum
(IV) Spiritus fortitudinis
certus
Securus
(*e*) Descensus ad inferos
(*f*) Epistole canonice
(*g*) Fortitudo

5. (*a*) Beati qui lugent
(*b*) Dimitte nobis debita
(*c*) Vox domini confringentis cedros
(*d*) Qui uicerit faciam illum
columnam in templo
(*V*) Spiritus scientie
Multiplex
Disertus
(*e*) Resurrectio
(*f*) Euangelium
(*g*) Iusticia

6. (*a*) et ne nos inducas
(*b*) Beati mites
(*c*) Vox domini in magnificentia
(*d*) Qui uicerit dabo ei sedere
mecum in throno
(VI) Spiritus Pietatis
Suauis
Benignus
(*e*) Ascensio
(*f*) Prophecie
(*g*) Temperantia

7. (*a*) Beati pauperes spiritu
(*b*) Libera nos a malo
(*c*) Vox domini in uirtute
(*d*) Vincenti dabo edere de ligno uite
(VII) Spiritus Timoris
Acutus
Humanus
(*e*) Lex composita
(*f*) Prudentia
(*g*) Aduentus domini

Under (I) to (VII) are set forth the Gifts of the Spirit (*Isaiah* ix, 1, 2) and beneath them the qualities.[1]

For (*a*) the Beatitudes and (*b*) Petitions, see *Matth.* v, vi; (*c*) *Voces Domini*, *Ps.* xxviii in the Vulgate; (*d*) the Triumphal Crowns, *Apoc.* ii, iii. The series (*e*) consists of references to Articles of the Creed; (*f*) to sources of divine guidance; and under (*g*) are the Virtues.[2]

Above David to his right and left are six virgins to whom the following written words apply, *In odore*[3] *unguentorum tuorum currimus* from the *Song of Solomon* (i, 3), *Trahe me post te currimus in odorem unguentorum tuorum.* On the virgins descend the streams from the two vases and also on the two figures to the right and left of the Virgin, who are respectively John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. Some evidence as to the intention with regard to these two figures is to be found in the corresponding illustration from the Vatican *MS. Palat. cod. Lat. 565*, where the abbreviations *Ioh bapt* and *Joh eu* appear against the figures. And in the fifteenth-century Dutch manuscript (British Museum *Add MS. 38527*, see Plate VI) the figure to the right hand of Christ is holding a lamb, and that to the left a chalice. Further, if attention is directed to the subject-matter of Chapter v of the *Speculum* (see pp. 447, 450 above) there appears to be no doubt that the four figures at the top of the design represent the *quadriga* — Christ (*Angus*), the Virgin, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist.

In the two medallions at the top are represented Isaiah and Zachariah. Isaiah (nimbed) holds a book on which is written his

[1] *Wisdom of Solomon* vii, 22. Est enim in illa (sapientia) spiritus intelligentiae, sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, disertus, mobilis . . . .

Theodora (fol. 124v) points out that Peregrinus has altered the order given in Scripture.

[2] Towards the end of the treatise Peregrinus attempts to frame paragraphs in which references to each Gift and its associates (*a*) to (*g*) are knitted together. As an example (from fol. 125r) may be given the following, the letters within round brackets showing how the various ideas are introduced:

Qui sapit (I) *quę sunt spiritus domini per pacis* (a) *custodiam uenire festinat in adoptionem filiorum domini. De qua pace* (a) *quęrenda tenenda, uox domini super aquas* (c), *id est predicatio domini semper ad populos ferebatur quia ipse est pax nostra* (a) *qui fecit utrumque unum, propter nos baptizatur* (e), *ubi et dominus maiestatis intonuit, hic est filius nobis delectus et cet. In hac itaque uoce sapientię* (I) *legis* (f) *summa in cordibus fidelium non atramento sed digito domini scribitur* (f); *ut fides* (g) *excitetur fide, nomen domini sanctificetur* (b), *per laborem presentis uitę stella matutina* (d) *id est ęterna corona quęratur.*

[3] That the syllable 'do' appears twice is no doubt due to inadvertence.

prophecy (ix, 1): '*Egredietur uirga de radice Jesse et flos de radice eius ascendet et requiescet super eum spiritus domini.*' On the right Zachariah (nimbed) also has a book in his hand and on this is written *Quid est pulchrum domini nisi frumentum electorum et uinum germinans uirgines* (ix, 17).

The two medallions at the bottom have within them figures representing Peregrinus and Theodora. On the book which Peregrinus holds are his first few words in the whole dialogue, '*Collaturo tecum, o Theodora,*' and Theodora's book similarly has written on it her first words, '*Quia frater in Christo peregrine.*' The position in which the second finger and thumb of her right hand are shown may possibly be intended to have reference to the *centesimus fructus*. Mention of this sign as representing virgins does not appear in the *Constitutiones Hirsaugienses*[1] of the eleventh century, where a totally different *signum uirginis uel muliebris* is given. Peregrinus, however, in chapter vii of the *Speculum* gives three signs, two of which are made with the left hand and stand for married women and widows. The third for virgins is made with the right hand by forming a circle with the thumb and first finger.[2] In the illustration the circle is made with the thumb and second finger, but this variation may possibly be due to the fact that the index finger is needed for pointing, as in the case of the three other corner figures.

Booz is seated. In all the representations of this subject in the *Speculum* which the writer has seen, neither Booz nor Jesse is recumbent.

The sitting position of Jesse is supposed by Emile Mâle to have originated in the fifteenth century:[3]

> Donnons un exemple des audaces que se permettent les maîtres. Il y a eu vers la fin du XV^e^ siècle un artiste qui a osé modifier l'iconographie de l'arbre de Jessé. Au lieu de nous montrer le patriarche *couché* et voyant en

[1] Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CL, 948.

[2] The verbal description of these signs and of their meaning (fol. 82r) is the same, apart from unimportant differences, as that of St Jerome, *Aduersus Iouinianum*, Lib. i (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXIII, 213). The signs are for the numbers 30, 60 and 100, and are made to stand for the *tricesimus*, *sexagesimus* and *centesimus fructus*. With regard to the use of signs for numbers, see Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XXIII, 213, footnote b, and J. E. B. Mayor, *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal* (London: Macmillan, 1886, 1888), II, 142, note on l. 249 of the tenth Satire.

[3] *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France* (Paris: Colin, 1922), p. 82.

rêve un grand arbre sortir de son ventre, il le represente *assis* sous un dais en forme de tente . . . L'origine de cette innovation remonte au *Speculum Humanae Salvationis:* c'est là que l'on voit pour la première fois Jessé, non plus couché, mais assis.

Mâle, however, with some apparent inconsistency, mentions in his book dealing with twelfth-century art in France[1] an instance of the representation, assigned to the end of the eleventh century, of Jesse seated. If, however, this should be judged too timid to be taken into account, the illustration in at least four representations in the *Speculum Virginum* not later than the thirteenth century of Booz as seated and wide awake deserve some attention.[2]

This tree of Jesse occurs in eight other MSS, viz., those at Zwettl, Rome, Berlin, Troyes (2), Leipzig, Cologne (*W kf 155*), and in the British Museum *Add MS. 38527.* There is also a reproduction in R. Forrer, *Unedirte Miniaturen und Initialen des Mittelalters* (Strassburg, 1907), Vol. II, Taf. IV, in which the kinship to the illustrations in the MSS of the *Speculum Virginum* is clear. Plates V and VI are reproductions of the Tree of Jesse from two of these manuscripts.

The illustration from the Berlin *MS. Phill. 1701* (Plate V) ($15\frac{1}{4}'' \times 11''$) shows a divergence in several details of design from that in *Arundel 44.* The representation of the gifts of the spirit has disappeared. David is shown full length, in majesty. His attitude, the folds of his robes, his grasp of the branches, showing to the front the palm of his right hand and the back of his left, have a marked similarity to the representation of one of the kings (the fourth above Jesse) in the window of the Cathedral at Chartres.[3] It may be noted that the four figures representing the *quadriga* are

[1] *L'Art Religieux du XII^e Siècle en France* (Paris: Colin, 1922), p. 171, second footnote. The reference is to the Tree of Jesse reproduced in F. J. Lehner, *Česká Škola Malířiská XI. věku* (*Die Böhmische Malerschule des XI. Jahrhunderts*), Prague, 1902, Plate VIII.

[2] The artist of the *Windmill Psalter* in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century was daring enough to represent Jesse as seated in a fine illumination of the initial B of the first Psalm. This is reproduced in the *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan (Bennett Collection)* (London: Chiswick Press, 1906), opposite p. 41. Jesse is also represented as seated in an initial L at the beginning of St Matthew's Gospel in the British Museum *MS. Burney 3*, fol. 801r. The MS. is a Bible, 1245, from St Augustine's, Canterbury.

[3] See J. B. A. Lassus, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres* (Paris, 1842), Plate 58.

more closely grouped together and form the summit of the design. Joachin Kirchner[1] assigns this illumination to French origin and draws attention to the delight which French artists showed in manual skill while with the German it was the subject which was of prime interest.

The fifteenth-century British Museum *Add. MS. 38527, Spieghel der Maechden* ($7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{3}{8}''$) (Plate VI), a Dutch translation, has a Tree of Jesse on fol. 4v. The leaves at the top of the *MS. Arundel 44* have been replaced by female heads, and scrolls each with the name in Dutch of one of the Gifts of the Spirit. Isaiah, Zachariah, Peregrinus, and Theodora are full length. The branches have become changed into intersecting thin circle-lines. The branch issues on two sides from the mouth of Booz. The subject has become realistic and lost a good deal of its original simplicity and significance as a religious subject. There is a mass of blue background, and red within the circles. The branches are green, and gold appears on every nimbus, on David's crown, on the two vases and chalice, and on the robes of Peregrinus.

Representations of the Tree of Jesse in the Middle Ages and in later times are so numerous and so varied in their content that it may well happen that even an important class should escape notice. Neither Corblet in his *Etude Iconographique sur l'Arbre de Jesse* (Paris, Arras, [printed 1860]), nor Emile Mâle in his three great works on ecclesiastical art in France makes any mention of the Tree of Jesse in the illustrations to the *Speculum Virginum*. These illustrations are of interest, however, as having a significance distinct from that of other representations. In this Tree of Jesse the author has found a means of expressing iconographically his special religious teaching. With it are associated ideas not only of what should be believed and worshipped but also of what should be done, and it may be regarded as an abbreviature for those whom he was addressing.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

APPENDIX A

Manuscripts of the *Speculum Virginum*

1. London. XIIth cent. *Brit. Mus. Arundel 44*, 129 fol. Imperfect. One or two folios at the end and the *Epithalamium* missing. Illuminated.

On the outside of fol. 1, is a hymn, '*Audite o lucis filie aduerli te coheredes regis et saluatoris nostri*,' with musical notation, neums on a four-lined stave the second of which is red and the fourth yellow. This appears to be of about the same date as the *Speculum;* it is not, however, referred to in the *Epistola* which contains a summary of the contents of the manuscript. The words at the top of this page, *hugo mag*, indicate that the manuscript was once in the possession of a *magister*.

2. Cologne. XIIth cent. Historisches Archiv, *W f 276a* from St Maria in Andernach. Imperfect, begins in the third chapter and ends in the ninth. Illuminated.

3. Wuerzburg. XII–XIIIth cent. Universitäts-bibliothek, *Mp. th. f. 107*. From Ebrach. First book missing. Contains the *Epitholamium*. Without illuminations.

4. Zwettl. XIIIth cent. (1st half). Cistercian Monastery. *Cod. 180*. Contains the 12 books and the *Epithalamium*. Illuminated.

5. Rome. XIIIth cent. Vatican, *Palat. cod. Lat. 565*. Illuminated.

6. Berlin. XIIIth cent. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, *Phill. 1701*. 148 folios. Contains the *Epithalamium*. Illuminated.

The career of this MS. is interesting. It originally belonged to the Cistercian monastery at Igny, afterwards to the Jesuit Collège de Clermont in Paris. In 1763 it passed to Meerman, in 1824 to Sir Thomas Phillipps, and in 1887 to the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.[1]

[1] See Valentine Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. XII. *Verzeichniss der Lateinischen Handschriften*, vol. I (Berlin: Asher, 1893), pp. 133, 137 and Robert Geete: *Speculum Virginum: Jungfruspegel* (Stockholm: 1897, 1898) pp. x, x, xi.

7. Troyes. XIIIth cent. Bibliothèque de la Ville, *252*. From Clairvaux. Contains the *Epithalamium*. Illuminated.

8. Troyes. XIIIth cent. Bibliothèque de la Ville, *413*. Varies from *252* only in small details. Illuminated.

9. Arras. XIIIth cent. Bibliothèque Municipale, *943–282*. From the Abbey of St Vaast. Originally 141 folios of which 40 are missing. Nine illuminations.

10. Leipzig. XIVth cent. Universitäts-bibliothek, *Mscr. Nr. 665*. Germany (Saxony); 165 folios. Illuminated.

For reproductions of five subjects from this MS. see R. Bruck, *Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen* (Dresden: 1906), pp. 234–238.

11. Reims. XIVth cent. (end). Bibliothèque de la Ville, *611* (*F 432*). Contains only 20 folios and these belong to the 6th book. Without illuminations.

12. Cologne. XVth cent. Historisches Archiv. *W kf 155*. From Kreuzherrnkloster in Cologne. Illuminated.

13. London. XVth cent. Brit. Mus. *Add MS 38527*. Dutch translation, Utrecht. At the end is written, '*Dit boec hoer totten sustenen bi onser vrouwen in den wijngaert t' Utrecht.*' Contains only the first six chapters. Illuminated.

For reproductions of four subjects from this MS. see A. W. Bijvanck and Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederlandsche Miniaturen in Handschriften der* 14e, 15e *en* 16e *Eeuwen* ('s Gravenhage, *publisher* 1921–25), Plates 83 and 84.

14. Munich. XVth cent. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Cod. Lat. 3561*. Imperfect. Contains at the end a graphic exposition of the *Pater Noster*.

15. Stockholm. XVth cent. Kongl. Bibliothek, Antikvitelsarkivets. Translation into Swedish by Mathias Laurentii (Mats Larsson). 164 folios. Without illuminations.

16. Arras. XVIIth cent. Bibliothèque Municipale, *704–916*. From the Abbey of St Vaast. Without illuminations.

In the sixth volume of Mabillon's *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti* (Paris, 1739), p. 210, Edmond Martène, who completed the work after Mabillon's death, adds, under the year 1131, in reference to

the *Speculum Virginum: quod editioni paratum penes nos habemus.* The MS. from which it was intended to issue a printed copy may be additional to those enumerated above.

APPENDIX B

Authorship of the *Speculum Virginum*

Trithemius refers to the *Speculum Virginum* in his books *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, Cathalogus Illustrium Virorum* and *Chronicon Insigne Monasterii Hirsaugiensis.* Valentine Rose, and after him Robert Geete, utterly mistrust Trithemius' assignment of the authorship of the *Speculum* to Conrad. They point out that at first Trithemius was content with stating the assumed name Peregrinus, but that later than 1492 he introduced the name of Conrad. If Trithemius was in a more or less large number of cases inaccurate, it does not follow that he was never accurate, and he may have had some evidence of weight in this particular case. Valentine Rose states that in the Berlin MS. and elsewhere in MSS without exception the *Speculum Virginum* is anonymous.[1] The *Epistola* of the Berlin MS. begins *Ultimus Christi pauperum N virginibus sacris N et N.* Rose refers to one of the Troyes MS. and the Vatican MS. In the former the first initial letter is also N. In the latter it appears from a rotograph that there are spaces with no initials inserted.

The twelfth-century Cologne MS., the British Museum *MS. Add. 38257*, and some other MSS are not helpful, since they do not contain the *Epistola.*

On the other hand, in the twelfth-century British Museum *MS. Ar. 44* the *Epistola* begins as has already been noted: *Vltimus Christi pauperum C. . . .* The Swedish translation, fifteenth century, edited by Robert Geete, begins: *Äptherste aff Christi fatighom C. . . .* and the Zwettl, Leipzig, and Cologne I (*W kf 155*) MSS also have *C.*

Valentine Rose apparently was unaware of the existence of these five MSS. Robert Geete knew of one case in which the letter *C* appeared, viz., that of the Swedish translation which he edited. He is unwilling, however, to admit that the letter could stand for

[1] Rose, *op. cit. supra*, p. 137.

Conrad. He gives reasons for thinking that the MS. was copied by Christina Hansdotter Brask who entered the Vadstena monastery in 1459. His conclusion is that she inserted her own initial as a little piece of vanity.[1] It is simpler, in the light of the fact that the letter *C* occurs in other MSS, to suppose that it is a reproduction from a Latin MS.

The appearance of the initial *C* in the *Epistola* of five MSS does not prove that the author's name was Conrad. But that it occurs in a twelfth-century MS. should warrant at any rate some hesitancy in assuming finally that the assignment of the authorship to one of the name of Conrad was unfounded.

The only contribution here made with regard to the authorship of the *Speculum Virginum* is this internal evidence in the *Epistola*. The claim that the author's name was Conrad is supported by G. Schepps [2] and B. Hauréau.[3]

With reference to books in the Hirschau library of a monk named Peregrinus, see G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), pp. 219, 220, and Lessing, *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur* (Braunschweig, 1773), Zweyter Beytrag, pp. 356 ff.

APPENDIX C

The Inclusion of Booz in the Tree of Jesse

In representations of the *Linea Christi* Jesse is ordinarily chosen as the initial figure and the reason for this is of course to be found in the prophecy of Isaiah (ix, 1, 2).

The representations accordingly implicity or explicitly have reference to the Gifts of the Spirit. But the tree-representation does not necessarily begin with Jesse. In the *Speculum Virginum* it is Booz

[1] Geete, *Speculum Virginum: Jungfruspegel* (Stockholm, 1897–1898), pp. xxiv–xxvi.

[2] *Conradi Hirsaugiensis Dialogus super Auctores sine Didascalon* (Würzburg: A. Stuber, 1889). Schepps quotes a number of similarities in expression between the *Dialogus* and the *Speculum*, and there appears to be some ground for assuming a common authorship of the two works.

[3] *Les Oeuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Paris: Hachette, 1886), pp. 143–148. Hauréau believed that Conrad was the author of the *Speculum Virginum* and of the *Libellus de fructibus carnis et spiritus* attributed to Hugo de S. Victore (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CLXXVI, 997).

who is placed at the base. And it is quite possible that there exist some representations of a different kind in which the creator has had Booz in mind. For though a reason is given above for the selection of Jesse there are other grounds on which Booz might be represented in the position at the foot of the tree assigned to him in the *Speculum Virginum*. Booz is a more picturesque figure in biblical story than Jesse, the latter being outstanding as the father of David and the ancestor of Christ specially named by Isaiah, whereas Booz is a character in the dramatic story of Ruth. He was the son of a Canaanitess (Rahab) and the husband of a Moabitess (Ruth) and there is thus associated with him the idea of the transferred allegiance of Gentiles to the people and God of the Israelites. Again, Booz was by some writers in the Middle Ages regarded as the type of Christ. In the ninth century Rabanus Maurus in a *Commentary* on the *Book of Ruth* [1] asks, '*Quis est iste uir, qui consanguineus erat Elimelech? nisi Redemptor noster*', and in the same century Paschasius Radbertus in an exposition of *St Matthew's Gospel* says: [2]

> Nurus autem Synagogae non immerito Ecclesia accipitur, quae utique sponsa meruit appelari. Nam et ex ea patres fuerunt ex quibus Christus nasci dignatus est. Ideo eiusdem Synagogae filius recte nuncupatur: Ergo Booz iste hoc in loco figuram Christi tenuit.

St Isidore in the seventh century in his *Allegoriae Quaedam Scripturae Sacrae* [3] writes: '*Ruth alienigena, quae Israelitico uiro nupsit Ecclesiam ex gentibus ad Christum uenientem ostendit. Booz autem Christum uerum Ecclesiae sponsum expressit.*'

The fact that Victor Hugo in his poem, *Booz Endormi*, has also assigned to Booz the place usually given to Jesse is of interest in this connection. The poet represents Booz as recumbent and dreaming:

> Et ce songe était tel que Booz vit un chêne
> Qui, sorti de son ventre, allait jusqu'au ciel bleu;
> Une race y montait comme une longue chaîne
> Un roi chantait en bas, en haut mourait un Dieu.[4]

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[1] *Patr. Lat.* CVIII, 1205. [2] *Ibid.* CXX, 62. [3] *Ibid.* LXXXIII, 112.
[4] Victor Hugo, *Légende des Siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 1921), I, 84.

Finchley, London.

THE PERFECT PRINCE: A STUDY IN THIRTEENTH- AND FOURTEENTH-CENTURY IDEALS

By LESTER KRUGER BORN

IN the political thought of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the central figure about which the whole revolves is the prince. This emphasises the personal view toward rulership, which is characteristic of the period. Furthermore in accordance with the mediaeval attitude, the writers of these centuries considered the real in terms of the ideal, and were interested in nothing less than the pattern of the perfect prince.

Numerous treatises have been written on that subject from the time of classical antiquity itself. Sometimes the discussions formed incidental parts of larger works; sometimes they were units in themselves. At all events, from the time of St Augustine and his *Ciuitas Dei* there has been a long chain of writers and treatises such as those of Cassianus, *Liber de Principatibus;* St Isidore, *De Principis Honestate*, and *De Regnis;* Jonas of Orleans, *De Institutione Regia;* Hincmar of Rheims, *De Regis Persona et Regio Ministerio;* Sedulius Scotus, *De Rectoribus Christianis;* Peter Damianus, *De Principis Officiis;* Theophylactus Bulgar, *Institutio Regia;* Hugo of Fleury, *De Potestate Regia*. . . . These treatises bear the marks of ecclesiastical thought and training, which, on the whole, aided the idea of national monarchy, in the ascendency from the period with which we start in this paper. The twelfth and following centuries were especially productive of this type of literature.

The importance of these numerous treatises on the training of the prince varies greatly. All of them were well known in their own day, and some of them still hold their place. Others are now hardly more than 'the shadow of a name,' except to the bibliographer. Some of them were prepared for the use of a particular prince and follow what seemed expedient for him; others have a distinctly pedagogical form and, although dedicated to some one prince, are really intended

for the use of the children of all nobility; [1] and still others theorize on the subject of government in general.[2]

Many of the works bring in, more or less incidentally, points that are of great importance — or better, were later to become of great importance. Such ideas as the controversy over church and state; the theory of divine right; the idea of unity; the 'contract' theory; the distinction between *dominium politicum* and *dominium regale;* the problems of internal administration; the matter of coinage; economic relationships; the idea of 'law' are all present in one or more of the writers that we are dealing with. But our interest here is confined to the one central figure — the prince.[3]

John of Salisbury [4]

While the date of his treatise puts it before the real limits of this paper, no treatment of mediaeval political ideas could overlook John of Salisbury, whose influence was so predominant in later generations.

The Policraticus of John of Salisbury is the earliest elaborate medieval treatise on politics. . . . It [is] a landmark in the history of political specu-

[1] Vincent of Beauvais' treatise, *De Eruditione Filiorum Regalium,* seems to come in that class. It was written in 1249–54 at the request of the mother of Louis IX of France, and is largely a reworking of matter contained in his *Speculum Doctrinale,* VII. It contains such ideas as the body and head of the state; the training of officials; the development of the prince's character; reverence to God. The work is extremely rare, and I know it only through the article by Daunou in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XVIII (1895), 463; 466–7; 496; and the dissertation of R. Friederich, *Vincentius von Beauvais als Pädagog . . .* (Leipzig, 1883), which gives all the chapter headings.

[2] Due to the limits of this paper, only the most readily accessible standard references have been given in the notes to each section. For the biography, bibliography, studies, and appreciations of the writers here discussed, the reader is referred to the various dictionaries of biography, such sources as Chevalier, Molinier, and Potthast, and the histories of literature. Of general interest is Wm. Münch, *Gedanken über Fürstenerziehung aus Alter und Neuer Zeit,* Munich, 1909.

[3] Dr Lydia Lothrop, of the Department of History and Political Science, University of West Virginia, has generously allowed me to use her notes on Gilbert of Tournai, Aegidius Romanus, and Marsiglio of Padua.

[4] Born ca. 1110; died 1180; Salisbury wrote the *Policraticus* in 1159. For the latest treatment of this work, see the translation by John Dickinson, *The Statesman's Year Book of John of Salisbury* (Knopf: New York, 1927), and introductions, pp. xvii-lxxxii. The best text is that of C. C. I. Webb (Oxford, 1909), 2 vols. Cf. also W. A. Dunning, *History of Political Theories* (Macmillan: New York, 1916), I, 181–188; and P. Janet, *Histoire de la Science Politique dans ses Rapports avec la Morale* (4th ed., Paris, 1913), I, 341–344.

lation for two reasons. It is the only important political treatise written before the western thought had once more become familiar with the Politics of Aristotle. . . . In the second place it comes just before the important turning-point in the institutional development at the end of the twelfth, and the beginning of the thirteenth, century, when legal precision began to be stamped on a great number of previously indefinite relationships. . . . It contributed a heritage of ideas whose momentum made them, in spite of the newer influences, the dominant force in political thought down to at least the middle of the sixteenth century.[1]

Therefore let us see what he has to say about the 'perfect prince.'

Salisbury is really interested only in monarchy (iv, 1 ff.), and so he begins at once with the place of the prince (i.e., a single leader) in the state, which is likened to the human body. The prince is the head, and is 'subject only to God and to those who exercise His office and represent Him on earth;' the senate fills the place of the heart, and the judges and governors of the princes represent the eyes, ears, and tongue; officials and soldiers are the hands; the constant attendants of the prince correspond to the sides; officers of the treasury are like the stomache; and the farmers are like the feet, 'which always cleave to the soil . . . and deserve aid and protection . . . since it is they who raise, sustain, and move forward the entire weight of the body.'[2]

From this it is clear that Salisbury foreshadows the theory of divine right, and in chapter 6 of the same book, he says that the prince is established in his seat by God. However, he does not believe in absolute hereditary succession. The prince may only hope to have his son succeed him if that son is worthy of his father. Succession in the family, then, is both a reward to a good ruler for the proper training of his son, and an incentive for the son to be deserving (iv, 11; cf. also v, 6). The evils that spring from the strife over rights of succession are many (v, 6–7; cf. iv, 11).

The duties of a good prince are manifold.

> [He] should be chaste and avoid avarice (iv, 5); he should be learned in letters (iv, 6); he should be humble (iv, 7); he should banish from his realm actors and mimes, buffoons and harlots (iv, 4); he should seek the welfare

[1] Dickinson, *op. cit.*, pp. xvii, xviii.

[2] v, 2. This is the first formulation of the 'organic analogy.'

of others and not his own (iv, 8); he should wholly forget the affections of flesh and blood and do only that which is demanded by the welfare and safety of his subjects; he should be both father and husband to them (iv, 3); he should correct their errors with the proper remedies (iv, 8); he should be affable of speech and generous in conferring benefits; he should temper justice with mercy (iv, 8); he should punish the wrongs and injuries of all, and all crimes, with even-handed equity (iv, 2); he has duties to the very wise and the very foolish, to little children and to the aged (iv, 3); his shield is a shield for the protection of the weak, and should ward off the darts of the wicked from the innocent (iv, 2); he must act on the counsel of wise men (v, 6); he must protect the widow and the orphan (v, 6); he must curb the malice of officials and provide for them out of the public funds to the end that all occasion for extortion may be removed (v, 10); he must restrain the soldiery from outrage (vi, 1); he should be learned in law and military science (vi, 2);[1] he must in all things provide for the welfare of the lower classes (vi, 20); he must avoid levity (vi, 23); he is charged with the disposal of the means of the public welfare (vi, 24); and is the dispenser of honour (vi, 26); he must not close his ear to the cries of the poor (vi, 27); he must raise aloft the roof-tree of the Church and extend abroad the worship of religion (vi, 2); he must protect the Church against sacrilege and rapine (vi, 13); and finally, he must ever strive so to rule that in the whole community over which he presides none shall be sorrowful (vi, 6).[2]

The prince who is to perform all these many obligations must have good advisers. They are to be chosen from among the old men (following the successful practice of both the Greeks and Romans), and such as fear God (v, 9). 'Unjust men are therefore to be excluded, and men who are overbearing and avaricious, and all such manner of human plagues. Nought, indeed, is more deadly than the unrighteous counsellor of a rich man' (v, 9). The prince must also bear in mind that there is no greater glory than the favor and praise which comes from good men (viii, 14); and that he shall place his friendship only in such honorable men (iii, 12). Obviously flattery and the association of toadies is to be shunned at all times (iii, 4–7). Luxury and the dissipations of lust lead only to undoing (viii, 6). The prince should never forget that he and his money both belong to his people (iv, 5), for the love of wealth for its own sake can lead only to great evil (vii, 16). An evil prince is a nucleus of countless

[1] The discussion on military service is based largely on Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, and occupies chapters 2–19 of Book VI.

[2] Dickinson, pp. l–li.

evils to the state (vi, 20). 'Then and then only will the health of the commonwealth be sound and flourishing when the higher members shield the lower, and the lower respond faithfully and fully in like manner to the just demands of their superiors, so that each and all are as it were, members of one another by a sort of reciprocity, and each regards his own interest as best served by that which he knows to be most advantageous for the others' (vi, 20).

The original state of society was good, and in it we may infer there was no need of checks and laws (viii, 17), but now that state no longer exists and there is a prince and there are laws.[1] The prince is the 'envoy of God on earth' and holds his power from Him (iv, 1, 10, 12; v, 2, 6, 25–26; vi, 1). If the prince controverts the law of God, his subjects are justified in refusing obedience (vi, 9, 12, 25). But this is not to be a violent disobedience (v, 6; cf. vii, 20). The prince is to serve his fellow-servants of God (iv, 7), and is responsible *for* his state, not *to* it (v, 7), and will be judged in Heaven for the discharge of his trust (v, 11; vi, 1). Therefore according to divine law, the prince is subject to the law (iv, 4), albeit the will of the prince has the force of law (iv, 1). This is explained by the fact that as soon as the prince acts contrary to the established law, he ceases to be a prince and becomes a tyrant. In enforcing these laws to which he himself is subject, the prince should be regular and consistent (iv, 6–7), although officials are to be punished more severely for their misdeeds than are the commoners (vi, 1). Laws which only catch the lowly, and allow the great to go unpunished, are like spider-webs which catch the flies but do not hold the larger creatures (vii, 20). But the prince should not fail to temper his justice with mercy (iv, 8).

Salisbury believes that liberty and virtue are inseparable (vii, 25), and that real liberty can only be obtained if there is freedom of speech (vii, 25). Hence the good prince in a good state should 'accept with patience the words of free speaking, whatever they may be. Nor [should] he oppose himself to its words so long as these do not involve the casting away of virtue' (vii, 25). Consequently,

[1] Salisbury refers to the well-ordered social state of the bees (vi, 21), which is so much used by later writers. It is taken from Virgil's *Georgics*, iv, 153–218.

in hearing a charge of *lèse-majesté*,[1] the person of the accused must be looked to, to see if he could have committed the offense and, if so, if he was of sane mind at the time. 'Nor ought a mere slip of the tongue be drawn into punishment' (vi, 25).

From a discussion of *lèse-majesté* it is but a step to that of tyrannicide.[2] Salisbury says 'it is just for a public tyrant to be killed and the people set free for the service of God' (viii, 20 passim). The origin of tyranny he gives as springing from pride and 'ambition, that is, the lust of power and glory' (vii, 17). Cupidity is the companion of folly. If a man possessing these qualities succeeds in gaining the highest position from which he may 'oppress a whole people by rulership based on force,' he is a tyrant (vii, 17).[3] With an accumulation of arguments and examples to show that all tyrants come to a bad end, Salisbury brings his *Policraticus* to a close.

Giraldus Cambrensis [4]

In Book i, 19, Giraldus explains the significance of titles both temporal and spiritual. 'A prince is held to be a sort of head. Just as the head of man or other animal sees and hears not merely for itself, but uses these and other physical senses to the ordering of the whole body, so the head of a state is thought not only not to hear and see, but not even to live, for himself, but rather for his people. What a head is without limbs, this a prince is without subjects' (i, 19).

[1] This was one of the most serious offenses possible, and was severely punished upon conviction.

[2] Dickinson points out that Salisbury was the first to formulate a real doctrine on this subject.

[3] For a comparison of a tyrant and a king see viii, 17.

[4] Born 1146 ?; died 1220 ?. Giraldus wrote the *De Principis Instructione* about 1217, and it was inspired, as he tells us, by the prevalence of evil practices of both the princes and prelates in his own day (pref. to Bk. i). The work is divided into three long books or *Distinctiones*, as he calls them. The first is general and didactic in nature, while the second and third are historical and consist of reflections about the contemporary rulers. The treatise is dedicated to posterity in general, and in particular to Louis of France, "because he has been imbued with liberal studies since early boyhood and is outstanding in his liberal attitude." Extracts of this treatise were first published in Bouquet's *Recueil des Historiens*, xviii, 122–163; and the second and third books (with short extracts from the first) were printed separately in 1846. The best edition of this work is by G. F. Warner, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, viii (1891), being number 21 of the Rolls Series. It is only with the first book that we are primarily concerned in this study.

The need for princely power is not confined to man, but is found also among the animals and even in the Kingdom of Heaven (i, 1). A good prince has many duties and responsibilities. To meet them he should be careful to offend no one by his actions (i, 1); to be mild in his attitude (i, 2) as many of the great princes of antiquity have been; to be modest, which will win the praise of all (i, 13); to be dignified in his public appearances at all times, and to relax as an individual in private (i, 2); to be loved rather than feared, but yet not grow too easy (i, 2); to act with propriety, 'for in every time of life one must be careful to keep his actions appropriate and his conduct of life fitting and becoming' (i, 3); to keep untainted from moral weaknesses which are especially shameful in a prince whose example is aped by so many (i, 4; cf. i, 20); to be patient with the failings of others after the example of Christ and some of the good Roman Emperors (i, 5); to be moderate in manner and studiously avoid quick anger (i, 6); to be careful not to inflict punishments while aroused by wrath (i, 6); to remember that great anger has an injurious effect on the physique (i, 6), whereas clemency is one of the greatest of all good qualities (i, 7); and that it is 'a glorious thing to hold punishment well within the maximum bounds' (i, 7); not to forgive too much nor yet to thirst for the blood of even an enemy (i, 7); to be munificent, but not without restraint, for the treasury must not be drained nor his patrimony dissipated, since excessive generosity becomes prodigality (i, 8); to be prudent, since that quality prevents justice turning to cruelty, bravery to temerity, and temperance to laxity (i, 11); to remember that the greatest princes have been devoted to letters (introd. to Bk. i), and that learning is of distinct advantage, as the example of Charlemagne showed (i, 11); that although 'fortune favors the brave' (i, 14), prudence enables the prince to make the necessary decisions in emergencies (i, 11); and the reading of history furnishes help by examples of strategy and outcomes (i, 11); to realize that it is obviously folly to make war rashly, albeit the magnificence of the prince is bound up with his bravery (i, 9; cf. i, 14), but so is his idealism (*magnanimitas*), his faith, his safety, his stability, and his patience (i, 9); and, finally, to know that 'just as the glory of a father lies in the wisdom of his son,

so the glory of a prince is reflected in the peace and tranquility of his subjects' (i, 15).

From this it is clear that the prince should be the pattern for his subjects — in fact, there is nothing more praiseworthy (i, 20). From his exalted position his virtues and his vices are equally displayed (i, 20) and

Mobile mutatur semper cum principe uulgus.[1]

To be good and to have good adherents the prince must be devoted to religion and the general teachings of the Christian faith (i, 20). These principles are often exemplified in the laws of the Empire. The good prince, whose chief aim is to please God (i, 21), merits a great reward because of his efforts to 'save' his fellowmen by word and deed (i, 20).[2]

Giraldus believed that the Kings of France in his day were the best princes. They did not rage among their people as would bears or lions, but were courteous and amiable. They were modest in their successes. Their oaths were not blasphemous. They were just in their relations and beyond question in their moral standards. They did not gain their power through violent turmoil, and they left it to their successors without disorder. An eternal reward will be theirs (iii, 30).

In the actual work of the administration the prince should exercise forethought, and encourage agriculture, architecture, commerce, mechanical arts, manufacture of wool and linen, etc., to keep the staples of life well supplied (i, 12). Giraldus also believed in a virile 'preparedness.' The encouragement of the arts just mentioned, together with the construction of city defenses, the training of soldiery, the manufacture of munitions, and the employment of field maneuvers are a peacetime defense against war. This, after all, is only after the example of the ant who gathers its winter store in summer (i, 12).

[1] Claudian, *De Quarto Consulatu Honorii*, 302.

[2] Giraldus cites many such good rulers beginning with Moses and continuing with other Biblical and Roman Imperial names down to the time of Arthur and his own day. This occupies pages 122–133 in Warner's edition. Cf. i, 18, pp. 76–103, for another list of praiseworthy princes and the ends that were theirs.

In legal administration the prince shall take care to be just. Justice breaks incipient attacks against the prince and keeps him and the state in security. It is the binding substance of society, and, by 'assigning and preserving for each man his own position' (i, 10),[1] adjusts differences even out of the law courts; e.g., the different social conditions that will arise from success or failure in business. In the enforcement of the law, justice should be tempered with mercy (i, 10), although new laws should be rigorously carried out to make them felt at once (i, 10). A sick limb is not immediately amputated before less heroic measures are employed. Neither should capital punishment be the first resort in the correction of disorder (i, 7 and 10). Giraldus advocates a gradation of punishment. 'A good prince who is concerned in bringing force upon the wrongdoings of certain men will now imprison them, now inflict bodily pain upon them, and sometimes even cut off a bit of their flesh. Only when he has exhausted all other remedies will the prince have recourse to the supreme penalty' (i, 10).[2]

'It is better . . . to be loved than to be feared by subjects. Yet it is essential to be feared somewhat, provided that the fear is engendered in admiration and not coercion; for whatever is loved in tender affection must of consequence also be feared. What is feared, however, is not at once loved. Therefore, let fear be tempered with love, but in such a way that unbounded liberality does not become inextricably involved in carelessness, nor fear which has been aroused through overbearing rigidity be made [an opportunity for] tyranny' (i, 2).

Giraldus seems not to have committed himself to an opinion on tyrannicide beyond this: '*Percussori uero tyranni non quidem poena, sed palma promittitur*' (i, 16); but he quotes a great many examples

[1] The evil practice of despoiling the property and cargo of ships that were wrecked calls forth a strong protest from Giraldus. He points to the old English laws of shipwreck, in which such property as was recovered went to the survivors of the disaster. But he believes that the laws of the ancients contribute something more. Plundering from the salvaged goods had to be repaid four-fold. The existing conditions he believed to be intolerable (i, 20).

[2] Again Giraldus has drawn his ideas from French practice, which he refers to us as '*laudabilis et digna memoria dispensatio.*' The first offense merits flogging; the second is punished by branding the face or cutting off a lobe of the ear; and the third by blinding or death (i, 10).

of tyrants who have all come to a bloody end (i, 17 passim). At all events, the fate of tyrants is hard and they flourish for a while, but for a while only (iii, 31). With this Giraldus closes his final chapter.

Gilbert of Tournai [1]

Gilbert is quite clear as to the prince's position and duties. He accepts the idea of monarchy without question, and believes in hereditary succession (i, 2, 11). The prince should be able to raise himself mentally to a point where he can see the evils of his realm in their true perspective, and thus correct them (ii, 1, 3). He should even be acute enough to detect those committed under cover of secrecy (ii, 1, 4), for one of the chief functions of the prince is the abolishment and prevention of evils within the state (ii, 1, 1–3; ii, 2, 1). The prince should be inspired to these duties by a worthy regard for his position (ii, 2, 1).

Humility is one of the most essential qualities in a prince (i, 2, 9), and he should be virtuous (i, 1, 10), for his wicked acts are copied by everyone (i, 2, 2). The prince should love his subjects, and generally look out for their welfare (iii, 1; iii, 2), not only because it is right to do so, but also because it makes his own position more secure (iii, 3). Great wealth and avarice are to be shunned, because they obscure the glory of the kingdom (i, 2, 4). The end to be gained is a state in which the subjects may live in peace with their neighbors and in harmony with each other (iii, 6). Education and the study of the learned letters must be carefully planned for (i, 2, 5). In the establishment of this good order the prince should be guided by councilors who are upright, not susceptible to bribery, and free from the bonds of greed (i, 2, 6).

Gilbert has quite a bit on laws and legal procedure. Divine law is the foundation of human law (i, 2, 5; ii, 1, 5). Therefore, if a law

[1] Died 1270. Gilbert of Tournai wrote his *Eruditio Regum et Principum*, in three epistles, at the request of St Louis (Louis IX of France) in 1259. Among the sources of his treatise is the *Speculum Doctrinale* of Vincent of Beauvais, with whom Gilbert was a contemporary; the *Policraticus* of Salisbury; the church fathers, ancient philosophers, and the general list of Roman authors. The text is printed by A. de Poorter, *Le Traité Eruditio Regum et Principum de Gilbert de Tournai*, in 'Les Philosophes Belges,' Vol. IX (1914), with a full introduction. Cf. Felix Lajard in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XIX (1838), 138–142.

is unjust, it is not a true law and should be abolished (ii, 1, 5–6). The prince is not subject to the law. But this is not so that he may do wrong with impunity. It is to be hoped that, free from fear of punishments, he will act from a love of justice and service to the state (ii, 1, 5). Among the chief causes of evil are gambling (i, 2, 1), hypocrisy (ii, 1, 16–17), especially when the clergy are the offenders (ii, 1, 12–15), and bribery of officials not to notice misdeeds at the court. This last is so serious that mere 'winking at' court corruption is a grievous matter (ii, 1, 8). Justice is always to be strictly enforced although punishments are to be meted out humanely (ii, 2, 3; ii, 2, 4, and 7–8). The prince should realize that clemency does not weaken justice (iii, 4). However, officials should be punished more severely than the average man, because they know the law better (ii, 2, 8). The procedure of a trial is as follows: Both plaintiff and defendant shall be sworn. If the former refuses to take oath, the case shall be dismissed; if the latter, he shall be judged guilty. In the trial the judges should take plenty of time, but should also try to prevent cases continuing for more than two or three years (ii, 2, 4). Witnesses should be preferred to evidence, since the judges have an opportunity to examine and question them (ii, 2, 5).[1]

'A prince in the exercise of mildness bears the image of God, but the tyrant, relying upon tyranny, prefers him who from the first chose the title of 'Homicide' (iii, 6). 'The difference between a prince and a tyrant is this: the latter rages with worldly pleasure and licentiousness unrestrained; the prince acts only through necessity and for a reason' (iii, 1, 3). The good prince should do all he can by his personal acts to avoid the condition of tyranny, and allow his subjects to dwell in peace and prosperity (iii, 1, 6).

Thomas Aquinas[2]

Man is a social and political animal (i, 1), and therefore it is necessary to have the organization of society, with someone at the head (i, 1; cf. *Sum. Theol.* 1^{a}, 2^{ae} quaes. 96, art. 4). This Aquinas

[1] Not every case should be accepted in the courts, according to Gilbert's ideas (ii, 2, 6).

[2] Born 1226; died 1274. The *De Regimine Principum* was written for the King of Cyprus (probably Hugh III, who died in 1267) about 1265–66. The work, which is in four books, is commonly considered to be Aquinas' only as far as ii, 4. This short treatise does not cover all the political ideas of Aquinas, but nothing of really vital importance is omitted. Although

illustrates by the organic analogy, and the commonplace of the social life of the bees (i, 2; cf. 1, 3 and 12; *Com. Polit.*, iii, 12). All other creatures have their necessities of life created for them, but man has to provide his own. Since it is not possible for each individual to do everything for himself, the community developed (i, 1; cf. iv, 3 and 4; *Com. Polit.*, iii, 5). According to Aquinas, the rule of *one* has been proved best by practice (i, 2; cf. 1, 5–6),[1] and consequently that form of government which has the least evil in it should be chosen (i, 5). Those states not governed by a single prince have to endure many misfortunes and internal dissensions (i, 2). However, Aquinas does not advocate an absolute and unqualified monarchy (i, 6; cf. *Sum. Theol.*, 1^{a}, 2^{ae}, quaes. 90, arts. 3 and 4).[2] *Dominium politicum* in the original state of innocence was best (ii, 8–9). But *dominium regale* (ii, 9; cf. iii, 11) under present conditions is most advantageous (*in natura corrupta regimen regale est fructuosius*).[3]

overshadowed by his greater works, it has had wide popularity, having been translated into French, Spanish, Italian, and German. A new French translation of the authentic portion was published at Paris in 1926. A separate edition (with the *De Regimine Iudaeorum*) was published at Turin in 1924. I have used the text of the *Opera Omnia* (Parma, 1852–71), XVI (1864), 224–290. Cf. Janet, *op. cit.*, I, 367–402, espec. 381 ff.; and Dunning, *op. cit.*, I, 191–207. J. J. Baumann, *Die Stadtslehre des H. Thomas von Aquino*, Leipzig, 1873, has a translation of Bks i, and ii, 1–4, with a discussion of selections from the *De Regimine Iudaeorum;* the Commentary on Aristotle's Politics; the *Summa Theologica;* and the *Summa contra Gentiles.* C. A. Bosone, *Der Aufsatz 'De Regimine Principum' von Thomas von Aquinas*, Bonn diss., 1894, is a chapter by chapter summary of the four books with notes and discussion.

[1] I, 1–11 are devoted to the general subject of the necessity, preference, and advantage of a monarchy for both the prince and the people. All dominion is based on the example of God, the *one* ruler of the universe (iii, 1–6). Aquinas thus defines the term prince. 'Him we call a prince, to whom the *summa regiminis* in human affairs has been committed' (i, 14; cf. i, 1). Some of the duties of a prince are summed up in i, 12, and the best ways of ruling the state in i, 14-15. The idea of peace, unity, and harmony as requisites of a good state is elaborated by the later writers.

[2] Cf. *Sum. Theol.* 1^{a}, 2^{ae}, quaes. 105, art. 2, where Aquinas says a monarchy is best, but since it is hard to get a good prince, a limited monarchy is therefore necessary; and 1^{a}, 2^{ae}, quaes. 105, art. 1: 'In the good direction of princes in any state or people, two things must be present: all should have a share in the principate, for this preserves the peace of the people . . . Whence the best form of principate is in a state in which one man is the head . . . ; under him are some others of authority, but nevertheless such a principate belongs to everyone, not only because these men *can* be chosen by all, but because they *are* so chosen. Such is the organization of every polity that is a combination of monarchy, in so far as that one man rules; an aristocracy, in so far as that many have ruling authority; and a democracy, that is, power of the people, in so far that the prince can be chosen by the common people, and the election of princes is a function of the people.'

[3] Cf. iv, 8. 'There are certain provinces of a servile nature. Such ought to be governed

Peace is an indispensable requisite for the attainment of good through social organization (i, 2), and this peace can only be attained through the efforts of a good prince (i, 15), following, to the best of his ability, the ways of God (i, 13). 'A true and perfect polity is like a physical body functioning properly, in which the organs are in perfect condition. If supreme virtue, which is reason (*ratio*), controls the lower powers . . . then there results a calmness and perfect affinity of the forces one to the other. This is called harmony' (iv, 23). It is clear then, that the members of a community are unlike as individuals, but are one in the common association (i, 1; cf. *Sum. Theol.* 1^{a}, 2^{ae} quaes. 96, art. 4). The prince looks out for the common good (i, 1; cf. *Com. Polit.*, iii, 6).

There are three main obstacles to the permanent existence and good order of the state. By nature, man can not endure long in this life. This the prince should offset by care in training the younger generation to replace the previous one (i, 15). A second difficulty is caused by 'radicals' or chronic objectors. The corrective for them is found in laws, precepts, and punishments to check the existing trouble and to forestall similar conditions in the future (i, 15). The third is for external causes such as war. The only protection in that case is to guard against all possible enemies. In addition the prince should do his best to keep firm the bonds of peace and mutual good will within the state, and to provide for the essentials of a normal life (i, 15).

It is the work of a prince to rule his subjects well (i, 8), for he is in the state what the soul is in the body, and God is in the universe

by a despotic government, including in despotic, *regale*. Those men, however, who are of strong character, bold in heart, and reliant upon their own intelligence, cannot be ruled except by a *dominium politicum*.' On the importance of this whole distinction, and its later development, see Dickinson, *op. cit.*, pp. xli, xlii. John Fortescue, in his *The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy* (written after 1471), goes one step further and says that there are two forms of government especially to be considered — *dominium regale* and *dominium politicum et regale* (I–IV). In the former, the people are ruled by laws which are made by the prince alone without their consent (II). In the second (and better) form, the people's assent is essential (I). But if the prince is a good prince, this form is really advantageous for him, for he 'may thereby the more sewery do Justice, than by his owne Arbitriment' (II). But if the prince rules *per ius regale*, and his people are subjected to dire oppression, it is really a state of tyranny (IV).

(i, 12).[1] Nothing is more fitting for a prince than magnanimity (i, 7), and he should consider the friendship of his people the best thing to achieved be (i, 10). The prince should realize that glory is not the only reward he will achieve as a result of his good administration. In fact it is a thing scorned by the Christian philosophers. The true reward will come from God (i, 7–9).

If the prince has the task — or privilege — of instituting a new state, he should carefully select a region that is fertile, suited for cities, towns, universities, camps, military maneuvers, and business, with places for religious worship and law courts (i, 13). The climate should be temperate (ii, 1), healthful (ii, 2), and favorable to the abundant farming of food-stuffs (ii, 3). The region should also be attractive in natural beauty (ii, 4), with a natural wealth of vines, groves, forests (ii, 5), with large herds of cattle and draft animals (ii, 6). Dependence upon commerce for the staples of life is a great evil (ii, 5). In his administration the prince should have sufficient wealth to carry on the various departments of the government properly (ii, 7; cf. i, 14; ii, 5).[2] In this he should be aided by ministers carefully selected with regard to the kind of state they will serve (ii, 8 and 10). The prince should have his own system of coinage, which should be kept stable. From this much good will come, and not the least will be sound commercial standards (ii, 13). A standard system of weights and measures should also be established (ii, 14). Roads and highways are to be kept open and safe. That will do much to promote internal peace and also to stimulate commerce (ii, 12).

Aquinas devotes some time to a discussion of tyranny (i, 3, 6, 9–11; cf. ii, 9; iii, 9), which he believes is more liable to come from democracy than from monarchy (i, 5).[3] The opportunity for tyranny

[1] The government of the universe (and therefore of the state) is likened to the good navigation of a ship, in which the pilot brings it safely to the right port (i, 14).

[2] The poor should be provided for from the public treasury (ii, 15).

[3] This is in accord with the general ideas of both Plato and Aristotle. Perhaps the best way to illustrate is by diagram. 1 equals the best form of government; 2 equals the medium; 3 equals the poorest.

Good Conditions	*Bad Conditions*
1 Monarchy	3 Tyranny
2 Aristocracy	2 Oligarchy
3 Polity (democracy)	1 Democracy

is to be carefully guarded by tempering the prince's original power (i, 6). A prince voids the mutual agreement of defense and support with his people by his acts of tyranny (i, 6),[1] and therefore tyrannicide is justifiable (i, 6; cf. i, 7–11). But no move should be made against the tyrant except by public authority, for all order would be overthrown if private citizens could commit homicide on the grounds of tyranny (i, 6). At all events tyrants seriously err in forsaking the care of justice for mundane powers (i, 10), for they only store up more charges against themselves (i, 11). The reward of a good prince will not only be of this world, but will be in Heaven (i, 9).

William Perrault [2]

The state is comparable to a mountain which is so great that it is hardly visited by God. Even if He did 'visit it with the waters of His grace, it would be dried up by the evil winds' (i, 1). Consequently some one must be placed over it, not for his own private good, but for the good of the people (i, 1). This princely power is

If a monarch is ruling well, there is no chance for dissention, and all is peaceful. If a tyranny is set up, only one man gets the good of all things (cf. i, 3), and that is obviously the worst possible situation. If an aristocracy rules, they will be inclined to act in accordance with the desires of a few; the same will be true under an oligarchy. In a polity, where everyone is concerned in the outcome of events, if the rule is perverted, the 'good' is still distributed to the greatest number of people, because everyone is trying to satisfy selfish ends. Therefore it is the best of poor conditions. In the midst of all this dissension, a tyrant may easily set himself up as the champion and organizer of the confused state of affairs, thereby usurping *all* the power before the people realize it. Once having gained this position, he holds it through the power of fear (i, 3). In either a monarchy or an aristocracy conditions are too stable and severely organized to readily permit of such usurpation. It must be remembered that Aquinas favors a *limited* monarchy (i, 14).

[1] '. . . hoc ipse meruit, in multitudinis regimine se non fideliter gerens, ut exigit regis officium, quod ei pactum a subditis non reservetur.' Again Aquinas has sounded a note which was greatly to be enlarged upon in later centuries.

[2] Born ——?; died *ca.* 1275. Perrault's *De Eruditione Principum* in seven books was attributed to Thomas Aquinas, among whose works it is included. His treatise is more methodical than that of Aquinas. Bk i deals with the things in general that pertain to the prince; ii, with his relation to God and the church; iii, to himself; iv, to his immediate followers; v, to his children and family; vi, to his subjects; and vii, to his enemies. Bk v, which constitutes nearly half the work, is really a treatise on education for the sons and daughters of nobles. Chapters 9–36, 44, 47–48 are devoted to the proper training and marriage responsibilities (or the alternative of celibacy) for boys. The same subjects are treated for girls in chaps. 49–67. The treatise is the usual mine of classical and Biblical citations. The text I have used is that in Thomas Aquinas, *Opera Omnia* (Parma, 1852–71), XVI (1864), opus c. XXXVII, 390–476. Cf. Petit-Radel in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XIX (1838), 307–316.

rather to be feared than sought, because of the perils, trials, brevity, and temptations. '*Arundinea est haec potestas; exterius habet nitorem; interius uacuitatem*' (i, 1). From all of this the author arrives at the natural conclusion — the prince is not to despise his subjects, for he gets his lofty place from them alone. Here the organic analogy appears again: the head is higher than the rest of the body and the body is ruled by it. But it is the body after all that sustains the head (i, 6).

The prince should often stop to think what he is, who he is, and what sort of creature he is (iii, 6).[1] He should be of good character (vi, 7), mild (vi, 1), truthful (i, 7; i, 13; vi, 1), just in his relations with his subjects, and content with his income (vi, 1). He should always act so as to be a pattern for his subjects (vi, 7). Above all he should not be so concerned with the welfare of others that he neglects the care of himself (iii, 1) — the greatest triumph is self conquest (v, 37) — for evil in the prince is widely diffused by his wicked example (vi, 7). He is culpable who neglects the formation of his character in his youth (v, 7). He should be free from all vices (iii, 2), and especially avoid too great leisure (iii, 7). Youth is the time for study (v, 4). Among the many virtues requisite to a prince are humility (iii, 7–9; v, 31), the avoidance of arrogance (i, 6) as the best means of avoiding vices in general (vi, 8), devotion (*pietas*) to his people (i, 15), compassion (i, 15), and patience with the weaknesses of others (vii, 2; v, 34). The prince should guard against wrath as a grave danger, and therefore avoid irascible advisers who will arouse him (vii, 5); he should be especially lenient in punishing injuries directed against himself (i, 14), for clemency makes the difference between a prince and a tyrant (i, 14). On the other hand the prince should be very severe against incendiaries who cause so many evils, not only by their original act, but by its consequences (vii, 10). Yet homicide is to be feared and guarded against (vii, 11), and the life of a sinner is not to be taken except under sanction of divine law (vii, 12). Above all the prince should be wise, so that he may know how to use his power, for the greatness of power is not

[1] ii, 13 is devoted to selections from many diverse authors on the prerequisites in the character of a good prince.

in its magnitude, but in its laudable application (i, 2); and the task of the prince is not to burden, but to help his people (i, 2). He should season his bravery with prudence for the same reason (iii, 4), and likewise guard his tongue (v, 18–21).

Only from a good man can good deeds come (i, 3). Fear of God is essential to the good prince (iii, 8–11). Much good will result from early association with the works of God (v, 5). Faith is needed in all men, but especially in the prince (ii, 1–3), and likewise hope (ii, 5–7). Vanity of temporal things should not be valued, but regarded as the least of the 'goods' to which a prince should aspire (i, 8)— including vanity of wealth (i, 9), pleasure (i, 10), glory and praise (i, 12; vii, 4), and favor (i, 11). The dignity of his position should make the prince humble rather than proud (i, 6). The prince 'must greatly fear prosperity, that is to the unwary what fire is to wax, what the sun is to snow or ice' (iii, 7). He should not tax too severely (vi, 3). Especially must he guard against plundering habits in himself, his associates, and lower officials (iv, 5–6). This calls down the wrath of God (iv, 7–8). Some princes are so disliked that they do not dare to go about their own cities unarmed — a most deplorable condition (i, 1).

The prince should be loved by his people rather than feared (i, 6; vi, 7), and give of his own goods readily to help them, protecting them from evils and oppressions (vi, 7). The general principle of all this may be summed up in 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' (Matth. xxii), and is substantiated by reference to nature, the fraternal nature of man, for '*nihil tam discordiosum uitio, tam sociale natura, quem genus humanum*' (quoted from St Augustine), and the example of Christ himself (ii, 12). True nobility consists in the absence of ignobility and shameful servitude; in shunning evil; giving freely and liberally, devotion to good men (cf. iii, 3); severity to rebels; scorn for small things; interest in the great; and freedom from all vain terrors (i, 5). The prince should realize that unto the poor was given the Kingdom of Heaven (i, 15). From such a relation as outlined there will be mutual faith and dependence between the prince and his subjects (vi, 4).

When the prince marries, he should choose his wife with great

care, for if he errs in this selection, it is serious to all (v, 27). His wife should be his equal (v, 28), and together they should look after the education of their family (v, 3), for the neglect of parents in this regard is the cause of lack of interest in things worth while (v, 2).[1] Equal care is to be exercised in the selection of companions, on the basis of reliability, habits, and congeniality (v, 42–43). All undesirable associates are to be kept away (iv, 40). The three evils to which youth is most prone are arrogant impetuosity, luxurious extravagance, and lasciviousness (v, 45). From earliest youth care should be taken to guard against these by a consistent and progressive program beginning with the simplest things such as dress, speech, and manners, and ending with preparation for marriage (v, 12–22). Especial care and restraint are to be devoted to the prince's daughters who are to receive all the training essential for a 'perfect lady' (v, 49). This is partly to be achieved through the use of the learned letters — but at all events these young ladies must be kept busy at something (v, 50).[2]

The prince should have about him such men as he can trust with his secrets (iv, 2), and if possible a philosopher to help his course through life, as Alexander had Aristotle, and Nero Seneca (i, 2) — but with better results we hope.

It should be a special care to the prince to see that his ministers are of the right sort, for if they corrupt him by their evil advice, the harm is not to the prince alone (iv, 1). He should guard against the entertaining of false accusations against his subjects by these officers (iv, 4), and against their corruption by bribery and other means (iv, 4). In the case of the judges, special care must be exercised (iv, 3). Some of the most frequent (and flagrant) vices of the prince and his ministers are pillaging, arrogance, false simplicity, oppression of the weak to win the great, and cruelty (iv, 9).

The prince should be ready at all times to ask counsel as well as to give it; to be able to choose his advisers well; to evaluate their advice; and, if found to be good, to make use of it (iv, 2). Before

[1] When the tutor is selected, he should be one who is careful of his manners (v, 11), and who leads an honorable life, with lofty ideals, eloquence and skill in his profession (v, 9).

[2] This recalls the solicitude of Charlemagne, as told by Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, chap. 19.

any definite act, he should first consider the possibility, the expediency, and the suitability of his plan (iii, 5). It is very important for a prince to think before acting: it checks possible excesses, orders the plans, makes his life honorable (iii, 4). Especially is this forethought necessary in the matter of making war. War is to be avoided if possible, because of the countless evils that result from it — burning, plundering, theft, reduction of the poor to thievery, and defilement of their women (vii, 8). Most of the burdens fall on the poor commoners who have done nothing to deserve such afflictions (vii, 8).

The prince should be good in the fullest significance of the word. The wicked prince is a creature of the forsaken one, and his punishment will be poverty, diminution or entire loss of his realm, oppression at the hands of greater princes, and future punishment with the loss of the Kingdom of Heaven (vi, 6).

Aegidius Romanus[1]

Aegidius is much more definite than some of his predecessors in his ideas of the state and of the 'perfect prince.' Hereditary monarchy, he believes, is the best form of government (iii, 1, 2; iii, 2, 5), just as tyranny is the worst (iii, 2, 7). Aristocracy is placed second (iii, 2, 4), and democracy last.[2] Very interesting is Aegidius' belief in the benefits that come from the establishment of cities and towns (iii, 1, 1; iii, 2, 31); namely, convenience in procuring the necessities of life, the enjoyment of a full life, and the use of laws. He also understood the value of a strong middle class (iii, 2, 31). This prevents the evils that arise from the great contrast between the very rich and the very poor; and makes possible for all a life according to reason and law.

[1] Born 1247; died 1316. Aegidius, a pupil of Thomas Aquinas at Paris, wrote the *De Regimine Principum* in three books, at the request of Philip the Fair, *ca.* 1287. Upon his succession, Philip ordered the work translated into French. The treatise is a clear and more complete expression of the ideas of Aquinas, who died before he had completed his own work. There have been numerous editions of Aegidius' treatise. Of these, the edition of the French text by S. P. Molenaer in 1899, under the title, *Les Livres du Gouvernement des Rois; a XIII Century Version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise, De Regimine Principum, now first published from the Kerr MSS*, is the most easily accessible and is here cited. Cf. Janet, *op. cit.*, I, 402–410; and Dunning, *op. cit.*, I, 207–212.

[2] He also disapproves of 'communism' (iii, 1, 4).

The perfect prince for this state must have many virtues. In fact he should be endowed with *all* virtues (i, 2, 27). The prince must be prudent (i, 2, 6–8). As a means of attaining this virtue, the prince should ponder deeply over the affairs of his realm, and abstain as far as possible from '*tout les jieus et les recreacions et les esbatemenz*' (i, 2, 9). He should be dignified, sympathetic, kindly (i, 2, 28–29), and truthful; and, if he has this last quality, he will not be boastful (i, 2, 30). He should also be energetic, vigorous, and ready to encourage pleasures among his people (i, 2, 31). He should also be just (i, 2, 10), for without justice the state could not exist (i, 2, 11–12). Yet justice should be tempered with mercy (iii, 2, 13). The prince should be courageous (i, 2, 13–14), but should not become rash (i, 3, 6). Moderation in all things, especially physical, is very important (i, 2, 15–16). Yet generosity is not to be excluded — although it must be carefully guarded so as not to become a vice (i, 2, 17–21) — because it wins the love of the people. The prince should be magnanimous and munificent in his undertakings. These virtues inspire the possessor to great things, and prevent discouragement and misfortune (i, 2, 22–23). He should love honor (i, 2, 24), but at the same time not forget to be humble (i, 2, 25–26), and be on friendly terms with his subjects (iii, 2, 34). However, he should at all times be so dignified and worthy of respect that his authority be not diminished (iii, 2, 9). As a result of this attitude, the people should obey their prince and his laws. From this will come a condition of peace (iii, 2, 32–33).

In his home, which should be such as becomes his station, but not too elaborate (ii, 3, 1–8), the prince should be master just as he is in the state (ii, 3, 11–18), but his wife should be his equal and well endowed with 'temporal, physical, and spiritual goods.' She should be such an one that she may share the prince's secrets and help him with advice (ii, 1, 9–21). Toward his children the prince should be affectionate, but should devote his especial attention to their welfare (ii, 2, 1–18).[1]

All men, and princes in particular, should love the common good and not merely their own advancement (i, 3, 3). They should desire

[1] The training of his daughters receives especial attention (ii, 2, 19–21).

only the welfare of the state (i, 3, 4–5). Princes should work diligently to see that their states are so ordered that their subjects may enjoy the highest benefits — virtue, knowledge, and temporal goods (iii, 2, 8–9). Wise men and enlightened priests should be encouraged to settle in the state, so that education may be widely diffused (iii, 2, 8).

Princes should be powerful enough to keep off enemies from their realms,[1] but should not enlarge their territory by injuring others (iii, 2, 9). As a means of preventing internal disorder, in addition to these things already named, the prince should not allow small fortresses to be built within his realm; should respect, however, the position of all his people; should choose the best men for his officials, and move them about frequently; should keep the country well policed; and above all, should learn from experience, and never repeat a mistake once made (iii, 2, 13).

Aegidius devotes some space to the subject of law (iii, 2, 18–19). The laws of a state are to be established in accordance with the customs of the peoples (iii, 2, 24). Natural law differs from the law of men in that the former recognizes the offense, the latter defines the degree of guilt and punishment (iii, 2, 23). To be effective, the laws must be promulgated (iii, 2, 25), and once so published, must be observed (iii, 2, 29). Nor should they be rashly amended (iii, 2, 29). In rendering judgment, the judges should not be swayed by private inclinations (iii, 2, 19), or emotions (iii, 2, 18), but realize that the law is the basis of judgment, for it would not have been created unless there was need for it (iii, 2, 18). But withal, justice should be tempered with leniency and compassion (iii, 2, 20).

We may conclude with one of the most important of Aegidius' suggestions. The prince should surround himself with wise men and councillors. Their advice should be given in private and after due deliberation. Above all they should speak the truth even though it may not please the prince. It is not enough for these councillors to be wise — they must be practical, and should spend their time

[1] Aegidius gives a rather elaborate summary of Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, in iii, 3, 1–22. From this it is obvious that he expects his prince to be a good general, as well as a good peace-time ruler.

only on the bigger problems of the state, such as the collection of the income and the preservation of wealth; commerce, especially in providing food for cities and towns; trade laws; maintenance of internal order; declaration of war; and the formulating of laws (iii, 2, 14–17). Under such a plan, with a good prince, we may hope for the best.

Jaques de Cessoles[1]

De Cessoles believes in an hereditary monarchy. 'It is better to have princes through the succession of primogeniture than through election or the desire of princes' (ii, 2). Often there is dissension in the election, or the one so elected won his place through private interests and not through general good. Since the prince is the head and heart of all, everyone has from him whatever they possess and are subject to his royal dignity (iv, 2). If all went about their own interests without any united action at all, the whole kingdom would be lost (iv, 2). '*Regis sine regno nomen uacuum est et inane*' (iv, 2). Furthermore, violent rule can not persist. Therefore it is necessary that the first-born especially be educated to the ways of goodness, morality, and proper deeds (ii, 2).

This prince should realize that it is unjust to attempt to rule others if he can not first control himself (i, 3; cf. iii, 6), but that the

[1] Date of birth and death unknown. It has been conjectured that his work (the title varies), *De Moribus Hominum et Officiis Nobilium super Ludo Scaccorum*, was written about 1300. The author tells us in his introduction that he has the three-fold purpose of '*regis correctio; otii euitatio; rationum subtilium multiplex inuentio.*' The work is divided into four parts: i is taken up with the origin of the game; ii with five chapters on the various pieces, i.e., King, Queen, etc.; iii with eight chapters on the common pieces; iv with eight chapters on the actual playing movements. On this background de Cessoles gives his own ideas on political theory. Most of the work (like the others of its day) is taken up with quotations from classical antiquity and earlier medieval writers. It seems to have enjoyed a great popularity in Europe until the middle of the sixteenth century. The first edition was in 1472, and was followed shortly by others in 1479, 1497, 1505. The work was translated into German in 1337, French, 1347 and 1350; English by Caxton, 1474 (from the French); Dutch, 1479; Italian, 1493. There were a number of others, the latest of which seems to be that in Italian in 1829. De Cessoles' work seems to have been adapted (or imitated) by Ingold, a German Dominican, in his *Gulden-Spil*. Another work (written apparently without knowledge of de Cessoles' work) is that of Marco Aurelio Severino, *La Filosophe degli Scacchi* . . . Naples, 1690. I have used the text edited (with critical notes) by Ernst Köpke in *Mittheilungen aus dem Handschriften der Ritter-Akademie zu Brandenburg A. H.* (Brandenburg, 1879). Cf. Felix Lajard in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XXV (1869), 9–41.

'glory of a people is in the dignity of the ruler' (ii, 1). All perfection should exist throughout the whole state, but the *summa* in those who counsel the prince and the state (iv, 4).

A prince should be just (ii, 5), for the sake of doing right, and also because, if he is too unjust, his subjects will not support him in time of need and he will lose everything (iv, 2). He should be especially careful never to break an oath (ii, 1), realizing that truth with compassion and justice are the mainstays of his throne (ii, 1). The prince should do nothing strenuous or of a doubtful character before consultation (iv, 4). He should be clement (ii, 1), and merciful in his victories (ii, 4), remembering, as Seneca tells us, that the 'king' bee is without sting (ii, 5). He should be patient (ii, 5), and affable in his manner, for that endears him to the people (ii, 5); and ready and eager to listen to the corrections and suggestions made to him (i, 3). The study of letters is useful and essential to a prince (ii, 2), for '*omnis sapiens liber est et omnis stultus seruus*' (iii, 1). It is the part of a wise man to do nothing he would repent (iii, 2). Too much leisure is one of the greatest causes of this trouble (ii, 1), for nothing is so strong that it cannot fall a prey even to the weak (i, 3).

Avarice is the worst thing that can beset a prince (iii, 4 *passim*). Voluntary frugality (*paupertas*) was at one time highly esteemed (ii, 5). Prodigality, on the other hand, is ultimately a cause of ruin (iii, 8). Furthermore the prince should realize that 'the more famous he becomes, the more burdened with cares and worries will he be' (ii, 5), for envy follows on glory (ii, 5). All the acts of his ministers, whether he knows of them or not, are attributed to him alone (ii, 5).

The prince should have only one wife, and should devote all his attentions to her, his children, their education, with preparations for his succession (ii, 1). The queen should be chosen from a good family, of good character, and such a one as will bear successors to the realm (ii, 2), and be capable of directing their training, both moral and educational (ii, 2).

The prince's counsellors are the judges. It is their task 'to advise the prince, formulate laws in accordance with his directions, to

sustain the whole state, to interpret the law, to render decisions just and equitable without regard to the parties in the case . . .' (ii, 3). With them, then, rests the hope of the prince in securing internal peace and harmony (ii, 3). They are to be firm and steadfast, unmoved by love, hate, anger, or family ties (ii, 3), for from inequality of legal restrictions come civil wars and social disorders in general (ii, 3).[1] Evil doers should be severely dealt with, for 'in this should justice exist. What are states without justice except companies of brigands?' (ii, 1).

The other officers, and the duties and responsibilities of the commoners are treated in chapter ii, 4 and iii, 1–8.[2] One general statement in regard to them will suffice, since our interest is primarily in the prince. 'Let no one scorn the common people, for [some of them] have attained to the highest places, both temporal and spiritual' (iv, 7).

Anonymous, *Liber de Informatione Principum*,[3] and *Speculum Dominarum*[4]

The *Liber de Informatione Principum* is divided into four parts, which treat respectively of the excellence of royal dignity, and the virtues most essential in a prince; the obligation of the prince to

[1] Here de Cessoles brings in the figure of laws as a spider web, which has been quoted in detail under Occleve, pp. 499 ff. below.

[2] These sections treat in detail of the knights, the farmers, the smiths, notaries, city officers, merchants, etc., and occupy pages 9–12 and 16–30 (half the treatise) in Köpke's edition.

[3] Written between 1297 and 1314, perhaps for the sons of Philip the Fair. This work seems to have been hardly less famous among its contemporaries than the treatise of Aegidius Romanus, under whose name a French translation was issued in the reign of Francis I. Many manuscript-copies are still extant. The material here given is from the article by Leopold Delisle in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XXXI (1893), 35–47.

[4] Delisle assigns this work, otherwise referred to anonymously, to Durand du Champagne, who died in 1340. The *Speculum Dominarum* is dedicated to '*Dominae Johannae Dei gratia illustrissimae reginae Franciae et Navarrae*,' who is probably the wife of Philip the Fair. Since she died in 1305, the treatise was probably written *ca.* 1300. Other possible recipients of this treatise might be Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Charles the Long, who died in 1329; and Jeanne d'Evreux, wife of Charles the Fair, who died in 1371. While intended primarily 'for the use of all women,' this treatise also has something to say on the training and qualities of the prince. It abounds in the usual commonplaces of Scriptural citation and quotations from the church and pagan writers. Although widely known in its own day, it seems to have lost its vogue in the later fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The account of this work is also known to me only from the article of Delisle in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XXX (1888), 302–330, especially 311–329.

himself, his wife, his children, his parents, and his subjects; the wisdom of a prince; and the administration of justice. Like most works of its day it lacks originality, and is the usual storehouse of citations to the Scriptures and classical antiquity.

Among the requisites of a prince should be an interest in the church on earth; a desire to erect monasteries and churches (i, 26); and a restraint from plundering and despoiling as the princes of the day were doing. The prince should also assist the poor among the ex-soldiers, and the widows; he should also visit the monasteries; give alms to the needy; provide means of education for the young; and furnish doweries for poor girls (i, 30). He should realize that the *summa iustitia* is an indispensable quality of the prince (iv, 20), and that this embraces justice to God (iv, 21), himself (iv, 22), and his fatherland (iv, 23). He is to avoid carelessness (iv, 25) and cruelty (iv, 26), realizing that clemency does not lessen the efficacy of justice (iv, 27). This is both distributive and reflex in its effects (iv, 29–30), and should be enforced swiftly and without delays (iv, 28). These last chapters are almost a complete parallel to chapters 22–29 in Part iii of the *Speculum Dominarum.*

This treatise, the *Speculum,* is divided into three main divisions. Part i has one section in five chapters on the miseries of human conditions; a second, in twenty-three chapters, on the brilliant condition of the queen, by way of contrast; and a third dealing with the effect of divine grace, especially in queens. There is one chapter each on Grace, Character, Emotions, and Virtues. Part ii has thirty-two chapters on the advantages of wisdom, and especially that which comes from reading. Charlemagne is the example of the good that results from this practice. Part iii is devoted to the spiritual character of the queen.

In with this all, we get the relation, expressed or assumed, to the prince. Especially does he need education, for 'a King without training is like a fool with a sword in his hand; like an inexperienced sailor who holds the helm in the midst of storms; like a judge, ignorant of the laws, who sits in his court rendering wrong judgment.' Wisdom leads to moderation, which carries with it a long train of virtues.

Pierre du Bois [1]

While the ideas of du Bois do not come under the strictest interpretation of our subject, they are certainly closely allied. Surely his proposals on education and arbitration can only be associated with *good princes*. He points out at once that experience, prudence, and youth are not a natural combination. Therefore the prudence which comes from experience, possessed by the older men, should guide the young men (with their theoretical training) in the vigorous accomplishment of action ([iii] 2). But it is only in peace that virtue and the sciences can be fostered and developed. 'Therefore we ought to seek and ask of God a general state of peace, so that in the time of peace (it cannot be done otherwise) we may acquire perfection in qualities moral and learned. Intellectual faculties which are rational are not protected, but all too often are wiped out through the continuance of wars, discords, and civil suits as bad as wars. It is clear, then, that every good man should dispossess and shun these things, and . . . when this is not feasible, to cut them short to his utmost ability' ([xiv] 27).

The prince should be magnanimous and magnificent in the giving of donations. He should also be much braver than all others ([lxxiii] 118). Yet, if there is a war, he should not expose himself in battle. He should let his troops be led by his faithful dukes and members of his house, and not forsake the administration and needs of his whole people just to exercise personal command over a comparatively small number in the army. Besides, some men are by nature intellectually the rulers and directors of men. Their wisdom and prudence is one of quiet ([lxxiv] 119). Furthermore, the prince should be free to administer justice and judgment in person in the larger cases and problems, and to supervise his officials in the others. He should also be free to give thought to his family and the rearing and training of his children ([lxxiv] 119).

[1] Born *ca.* 1255; died *ca.* 1321. Du Bois wrote his *De Recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* between the years 1305–07, and dedicated it to Edward I of England. The first printed text is that of Bongars in *Gesta Dei per Francos* II, 316–361. Cf. Dunning, *op. cit.*, I, 228–229; and R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of Medieval Thought* (1884), chaps. iv–vii. The best edition is that of E. Langlois in the *Collections de Textes pour Servir à l'Etude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* (Paris, 1891), Vol. IX.

World peace is an essential. This du Bois aimed at attaining through *international arbitration.* [1] This recommendation occurs in his discussion of the great and varied problems in connection with the crusading forces:

> But when those states (*ciuitates*) and many great princes, who render justice to themselves according to the laws and customs of the places, will try to stir up controversy, before whom shall they lay the charges and conduct the litigation? One answer is to let a council order some clerics or others to be chosen as arbiters. They shall be men of wisdom, learning, and trustworthiness, who are under oath. There shall be three prelates and three laymen from each party as judges. They shall be wealthy and of such a sort that they very probably cannot be corrupted through love, hatred, fear, greed, or in any other fashion. They shall assemble at a suitable place, having been strictly bound by oath, and, having received prior to their assembly the briefs of both the plaintiffs and defendants, drawn up concisely and plainly. They shall then receive witnesses and documents and painstakingly examine them. The examination of every witness shall be in the presence of at least two sworn men of faith and prudence. The depositions shall be written and rigorously safeguarded by the judges to prevent any fraud or falsification . . . . If either party is not satisfied with the decision of these judges, the judges themselves shall send the proceedings of the whole suit, together with their opinion, to the apostolic See for change and revision by the incumbent Pope. . . . If there be no appeal, the opinion shall be sent to be established as permanent record, and recorded in the records of the Holy Roman Church ([vii] 12).[2]

Among other reforms advocated by du Bois is the reform of the feudal army ([lxxvi] 121–[lxxviii] 127). A primary duty of the king is to defend his kingdom. He may use church property, if necessary, to supply his needs to this end, if his own resources are insufficient

[1] Du Bois seems to have been the first to advocate such a measure. Cf. E. Bagdat, *La 'Querela Pacis' d'Erasme* (Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1924), p. 104, and note 3. Prof. Gustave Schnürer brought this out in the *Historich-politische Blätter* CXLI (1908), 279–284, at the first negotiations of the Hague Tribunal. Arbitration was also proposed by Erasmus, the great advocate of peace, in 1514, 1516, 1517. On the general subject of 'Peace,' cf. A. H. Fried, *Handbuch der Friedensbewegung* (2d ed., Leipzig, [1913?]), II, 'Geschichte, Umfang und Organization der Friedensbewegung.'

[2] See also sections [lviii] 99; [lix] 100, 101. Here du Bois tells us that the Pope should provide a court for the new dwellers in the Holy Land. 'If it is the right thing to labor for . . . the establishment of peace in one state . . . how much more so is it to work for the lasting peace, both temporal and spiritual, of all' (Cf. [xiv] 27; [lxvii] 108).

([lxxvii] 123). Du Bois also brings out the evil consequences of debasing the coinage of the land ([lxxxi] 135). As a corrective for social ills he recommends emigration to the new lands. He dwells considerably on the care to be exercised in the selection of city sites, etc. ([lxv] 107–[lxvi] 108).

The educational ideas of du Bois are important. He deals most with advanced training, but also touches on elementary requirements ([xlv] 71–[xlvi] 72), so that his program is quite complete. He would emphasise the study of languages, especially those of the Christian peoples, so that there may be a freer interrelation between nations, and in consequence a better understanding. The curriculum should contain the usual liberal arts, and also special courses in surgery and veterinary surgery.[1] So far the courses were to be followed by both sexes alike ([xxxvii] 61). In addition to these studies, the girls were to be taught those things which make the 'perfect woman' ([liii] 85). Most of these ideas are apparently on education in general, yet du Bois really has in mind the upper classes, and at times only the sons and daughters of the rulers.

Du Bois closes his book with the hope that everything may turn out for the best, whether by the use of his suggestions or upon better ones.

Marsiglio of Padua[2]

Marsiglio, like Dante, is most concerned with the perfect prince as a defender of his subjects against the usurpations — so he regards them — of the papacy.[3] Favoring, as he does (iii, Nos. 32–36), the

[1] For a select few, more highly specialized courses in language ([xxxvi] 59), pharmacy ([liv] 87), theology ([liv] 88), and law ([lv] 89–[lvii] 98) should be available. One of Du Bois' ideas has a distinctly 'modern' touch. Those students who, after a fair trial of academic studies, show little aptitude, are to be given a vocational training ([lii] 84).

[2] Born *ca.* 1270; died 1342? The *Defensor Pacis*, in three books, was written about 1324. We are here concerned with only a small portion of the work. It has been printed separately at various times, and is also to be found in M. Goldast, *Monarchia* (Hanover, 1612), II, 154–308, and most recently C. W. Previté-Orton, *The Defensor Pacis of Marsilius of Padua*, Cambridge: University Press, 1928. Cf. Janet, *op. cit.*, I, 457–461; and Dunning, *op. cit.*, I, 238–244. Most discussions of this little book do not concern the particular phase we are interested in, but see L. Stieglitz, *Die Staatstheorie des Marsilius von Padua*, etc. (Berlin, 1914), in 'Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance,' No. 19.

[3] One of Dante's main interests is to prove that universal temporal empire is the only way to secure world peace and harmony (i, 5–10; ii, 3). It is only indirectly that he gives us

conciliar plan of government for the church, it is natural that he should limit the powers of the prince, though, after discussing the various forms of government in the manner of Aristotle, he still considers monarchy the best practical form (i, 8–9). However, a monarchy devoting itself to the common welfare and with the consent of the people is the ideal (i, 8). There should be only one prince, or, if more rulers are necessary, all but one should be definitely subordinate (i, 17). This prince (or indeed all of them, if there are more than one) should be chosen by election, because in this way there is more chance of getting the right kind of a ruler (i, 16). It would be an incentive to the previous ruler and his heir, who might be elected if he were desirable. Rulers under such conditions would take great pains to know their people (i, 16). The method of election could vary with different countries, but would be democratic in that either the people as a whole,[1] or by their duly chosen legislator (who might be an individual or a group) should participate (i, 15; cf. i, 12). Marsiglio makes it clear that the *primary legislator* is the entire community (i, 12). When the community delegates its authority, it should be to the learned few and men of mature years (i, 11–12). Cases will arise, however, which the laws do not cover, and to meet them, the prince will need wisdom and justice (i, 14); and as an example to his people, he must possess the moral virtues (i, 14).

The whole idea of checks upon the prince is interesting. Marsiglio maintains the possibility of suspending the prince from his position as a punishment for failure to maintain his high ideals (i, 18). This punishment will be adjudged against him as an individual subject to the laws, and not in his position of prince. The trial will be con-

any idea of what sort of person he thinks the prince who holds this power should be. However, the prince very definitely exists for the good of the state, and not the state for him (i, 13). Among the qualities the prince should possess is self-restraint. Since he has everything, he will be above desire (i, 11). He should be able to secure peace by uniting the wills of his subjects to some one single purpose (i, 15). For this particular ideal the model is the Divine Augustus, 'under whom a perfect monarchy existed,' and 'the world was everywhere at peace' (i, 16). In the administration of justice throughout the realm, the prince's share should be limited to the actual making of the laws (i, 11). This is very important, for peoples are best governed when they are left as free as possible (i, 12).

[1] Children, servants, women, and foreigners were to be excluded from voting (i, 12).

ducted according to the law, by the legislator or someone designated by the legislator (i, 18). However, rebellion against the duly elected prince is to be severely punished (i, 19).

Thomas Occleve [1]

In order to be successful the king must know his duties and his responsibilities — no archer can hit his target unless he sees it. So it is with a prince; he cannot accomplish his end unless he understands it (174).[2] Let us see then, what Occleve enjoins upon the prince:

> First and forwarde the dignitee of a Kyng
> Impressed be in the botme of your mynde;
> Considerynge how a changeable a thyng
> That office is, for so shalle ye it fynde. (78)

The exalted position of a ruler shows the real character of the prince, and the *good* in him is extolled (103). The king should be chary of his speech, with the result that his people will be eager and heedful when he does address them (87–88). The prince should remember that his burdens are not light, for he is one of the chosen few, and of them God said, '*Quem deligo, castigo.*' He should always be true to his oath, and his word alone should be worth more than the sworn oath of the common man (85). Above all he is to obey the laws:

> Prince excellent, have your lawes in chere,
> Observe hem and offende hem by no wey;

[1] Born 1370?; died 1450? The poem, *De Regimine Principis*, which contains 5460 lines of English verse, was written in the years 1411–12 and dedicated to Henry V (then Prince of Wales). The first edition is by Thomas Wright in 1860. Occleve himself tells us (Wright's edit., pp. 74–76) that his work is based on three main sources (in addition to the Bible): the *Secreta Secretorum*, a work purporting to be a letter from Aristotle to his pupil, Alexander the Great; the *De Regimine Principum* of Aegidius Romanus; and *The Game of Chess Moralized* by Jaques de Cessoles. Lines 1–2016 filling pages 1–73, are purely introductory. The poem apparently enjoyed great contemporary popularity, if we may judge by the extant MSS; but its day seems soon to have waned. Cf. H. F. Aster, *Verhältniss des altenglischen Gedichtes 'De Regimine Principum' . . . zu seinen Quellen* . . . diss., Leipzig, 1888; and A. H. Gilbert, 'Notes on the Influence of the *Secretum Secretorum*,' in *Speculum* III (1928), 84–98, espec. 93–98.

[2] The lines are not numbered and the references are therefore given to the pages of Wright's edition; each page contains four stanzas of seven lines each; except the first page, which contains only three stanzas.

By othe to kepe it bounden is the powere
Of Kyng, and by it is Kynges nobley
Sustened; lawe is bothe lokke and key
Of seurté; while lawe is kept in londe,
A prynce in his estate may syker stonde. (100)

In dealing with his people the prince should be patient (129), remembering that

Prudence and temperance, strengthe and ryght,
The foure ben vertues principalle. (171)

He should be of unquestioned morals, and surpass his people in virtue (130);[1] he should be continent, temperate, self-restrained (138), and magnanimous (140); he should be honorable in his administration, for

Love without a goode governaile
A Kyng hathe none . . . (173);

realizing that the avoidance of flatterers and dissuaders is essential to that end (79; cf. 109–111; 174); merciful in dealing with the less powerful (119–124), for power without mercy is tyranny (123). He should not be avaricious (161), for if he sets his aim at worldly wealth, his people will suffer in proportion (144). He should not forget, however, that although avarice is worse than prodigality (165), prodigality is likewise a great evil (158; 167). Largesses should be tempered with common sense (147–157):

Largesse mesurable unto you tye,
And foole largesse voidethe from you clene;
For free largesse is a vertuous mene. (170)

If the prince can accomplish all this, his people will have rest, peace, wealth, joy, and happiness (174).

Occleve also has something to say on justice and the laws. In the first place everyone should make it a point to try to keep his fellow man from going astray (90). Justice, he says, is of the nature of God, and is something which restrains bloodshed, punishes guilt, defends possessions, and keeps the people safe from oppression (90).

[1] Pages 130–140 are occupied with examples of the ancients, both Biblical and pagan, who have been model characters in this respect.

We have already shown that the prince should obey the laws (100). As the soul is the motivating power behind the body, so with justice in the state — when it flourishes, all is peace and quiet (98). Those who pass judgment should be careful not to be swayed by anger or hatred or love, and above all, bribery (97–98); for it is a grievous situation that permits the great to break the laws while the weak are apprehended (101).[1] From this unequal regulation of the law, the common folk are stirred to uprisings (102). In the execution of justice the death penalty should only be used as a means of saving the innocent lives of others (114).

In all his official capacities a prince should not act without counsel, and that from great and low alike (174); bearing always in mind that a man's advice may be sound, even though it opposes his preconceived opinions (176). Especially should a prince be on guard, because evils done by his ministers, although unknown to him, are laid to his door and there is no excuse which he can make (91–92):

> Counceil may wele be likenede to a bridelle,
> Which that an hors kepethe up from fallyng. (177)

If that be its purpose, then old men with years of experience should be selected as advisers (177). The young men may be just as sincere, but they are too bold; they are the ones to execute the actions (178).

The poem closes with a plea for peace. War, Occleve tells us, springs from ambition and covetousness, as the example of the

[1]
> Smalle tendernesse is hade nowe of our lawes;
> For yf so be that one of the grete wattes
> A dede do, which that ageyn the lawe is,
> Not at alle he pynysshede for that is.
> Right as lop-webbes flyes smale and gnattes
> Taken, and suffren grete flyes go,
> For alle this world lawe is reulede so.

Salisbury (vii, 20) attributes this figure to Anacarsis Cithica; de Cessoles (ii, 3) refers it to a Machanius. Valerius Maximus (vii, 2, 14) reports it as follows: '*Quam porro subtiliter Anacharsis leges araneorum telis comparabat, nam ut illas infirmiora animalia retinere, ualentiora transmittere, ita his humiles et pauperes constringi, diuites et praepotentes non alligari.*' In Occleve opposite the stanza quoted is the Latin gloss: *Unde Solon unus de vij sapientibus.* Erasmus who used the same figure in his *Institutio Principis Christiani* (Opera Omnia, ed., 1540, V, 464), gives it with the comment: '*ut quod egregie Graecus ille sapiens dixit.*' This would seem to refer to Solon. At all events the figure is very old, and has become a commonplace in the mediaeval writers.

Roman empire shows (187). The only justification for war is to bring unbelievers into the faith of Christ (195); and terms of victory should not be severe (116–117). The prince 'is sette in his reame for his peples ese and releef' (166). Accordingly peace is his goal. This is attained through three general lines: conforming to the will of God; humility of being; tranquility of thought. This last is especially important, because there can be no peace if one is filled with grievous and angry thoughts (180; cf. 180–end).

> By concorde, smale thynges multiplien;
> And by discorde, hate, ire, and rancour,
> Perisshen thynges grete, and waste, and dyen.
> Pees hathe the fruyte, ese in his favour;
> To gete pees holsom is the labour.
> And kepe it wele, whan that a man hath it caught,
> That ire ne discorde banysshe it nought. (186)

The very last lines of the poem are addressed to the Kings of France and England, the mirrors of the world, from whose peaceful unity so much good could and should come (191).

Conclusion

All the treatises analyzed above fall into two main groups — the pre-Aristotelian, and the Aristotelian. 'The earlier scholastics from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, were obliged, in the absence of fuller sources, to follow in their systems the scanty outlines of Stoic and Platonic doctrine that had been transmitted through the Dark Ages in more or less accurate Compends. Of Aristotle but few works were known, and these, as Symonds says, through "Latin translations made by Jews from Arabic commentaries on Greek texts."' [1] By the middle of the thirteenth century the great work of Aristotle was available to all Europe.

In the earlier group is John of Salisbury, who was followed by Gilbert of Tournai, and Jacques de Cessoles. Giraldus Cambrensis also comes in this period. In the later group we find Thomas Aquinas, William Perrault, and Aegidius Romanus. The main impetus, of course, came from Aristotle, but Aquinas contributed much that was

[1] Dunning, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–190.

Christian, a good deal that was Roman,[1] and the influence of mediaeval theology. Aegidius, writing some twenty years after his teacher, presents a combination of ethics, economics, and politics, in his theories for the prince. The *Liber de Informatione Principum* and the *Speculum Dominarum* seem to have drawn from Aristotle. Thomas Occleve followed de Cessoles and Aegidius, and is therefore a product of both influences. Pierre du Bois, although a pupil of Aquinas, is really a free thinker. Marsiglio of Padua is indebted to Aristotle for much of his thought, but, coming as he does in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, is really on the brink of a new era.[2]

Just how far the later writers directly followed their predecessors (except when they acknowledge their indebtedness), or how much they depended upon the Greek philosopher at first hand it is not possible to say here. But both forms of indebtedness certainly were present. In addition to Aristotle, most of the great Roman writers were drawn upon for moral precept, philosophy, example, and also corroborating evidence of evils to be avoided. This combination of Greek thought and Roman vigor, joined with mediaeval theology, resulted in a mixture of idealism and practicability.

Certain strong and consistent lines of thought may be traced throughout this two-century period in the tradition of political theory. Beginning with John of Salisbury, we find the 'organic analogy' (either expressly stated or implied) which symbolized the mutual interdependence of mankind. Equally prominent is the idea of peace, harmony, and unity, a commonplace that is maintained from St Augustine to Dante, which brings with it the corollary that war is to be engaged in only after careful consideration. But perhaps

[1] E.g., the prominent position and consideration that was given the *wife* of the prince. This idea also appears in Perrault, Aegidius, de Cessoles, and Du Bois.

[2] Perhaps it may be of interest to summarize a few of the ideas found in Aristotle: He was opposed to aggressive conquest, but favored preparedness. He did not believe in the elevation of the common people, but recognized them as necessary. He believed in monarchy as the best *ideal* form of government, but was opposed to hereditary succession. He believed that there was a law above any personal sovereignty; that despotism was ignoble; and that tyranny, which is the worst form of government, was doomed to a certain fall. He considered man to be a social and political animal, and that states were essential. Education was needed to create the ideal state. He was opposed to commerce for gain only, and likewise to usury. In his ideas on the choice of advisers, the clemency of punishments, the distribution of benefices, etc., he furnished precedent for the mediaeval theorists.

the most striking and prominent thought that we find is the personal attitude toward rulership and rulers. This is particularly pointed if we recall that nearly all the treatises discussed were either dedicated to, or written at the request of some reigning prince. Every one of the writers lays great stress upon the personal moral virtues of the prince. It is from him alone that good or evil, as he wills it, is visited upon the land. Christian goodness is the one great remedy suggested for the surcease of human woes. Consistent with this, and consequent upon it, is the emphasis upon counsel which is so regularly enjoined upon the ruling prince. With the exception of some attention devoted to education, and some suggestions of economic development, the prince's functions are mainly divided between the military and the judicial. This last is particularly stressed, and again emphasises the personal element of the whole theory. As a whole, the various writers insist that the prince is 'under the law'; and is responsible for his acts. Just what this 'law' is, they do not state. But this, at least, is clear: the prince must assuredly answer for his conduct before the law of God.

In summary we may say that the perfect prince of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries must be wise, self-restrained, just; devoted to the welfare of his people; a pattern in virtues for his subjects; interested in economic developments, an educational program, and the true religion of God; surrounded by efficient ministers and able advisers; opposed to aggressive war; and, in the realization that even he is subject to law, and through the mutual need of the prince and his subjects, zealous for the attainment of peace and unity.

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BYRHTFERTH'S *PREFACE*

By GEORGE FRANK FORSEY

Introduction

THE forthcoming publication of Byrhtferth's *Manual*[1] by Mr S. J. Crawford will for the first time give a sound basis of criticism for many problems connected with that writer. In the course of his researches on the work of Byrhtferth Mr Crawford came across the *Preface* printed herewith, and very kindly suggested that I should publish it with a few comments.[2]

Mr Crawford's edition of the *Manual* will, among other points, give us for the first time, in the Latin sections of the work, an adequate basis for the study of Byrhtferth's Latinity. Although as an Anglo-Saxon writer Byrhtferth will doubtless remain a not unimportant figure, one of his claims to fame, namely, that he is the author of the existing commentaries on certain of the works of Bede, is little likely to survive a critical examination of his authenticated works in Latin. The commentaries to which I refer are affixed to the *De Natura Rerum* and the *De Temporum Ratione* and appear in Migne, where they are described as '*Brid. Ram(es). Glossae*';[3] Byrhtferth's authorship has already been challenged by Classen (*v. infra*). As an introduction to the *Preface* of Byrhtferth I propose to give a brief summary of our knowledge of him with some indication of the problems to which this gives rise. If we turn to the standard works of reference, such as the *Dictionary of National Biography* (under 'Byrhtferth') or Max Manitius' *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, II, 699–706, we find it stated that Byrhtferth flourished about 950–1000 A.D., was probably originally of Thorney, and migrated about 970 to the newly founded Abbey of Ramsey, where he became a pupil of Abbo of Fleury, and

[1] *Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. S. J. Crawford, Early English Text Soc.

[2] I wish to acknowledge here the assistance graciously given me by my friend and colleague, Mr S. J. Crawford, in the preparation of the present study.

[3] *Patr. Lat.* XC, 297, 298 ff.

that he was later the author of various mathematical works. The works usually ascribed to him are:

a Commentary on Bede's *De Natura Rerum*,
a Commentary on Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*,
the *Manual* (or *Enchiridion* or *Handbook*, sometimes known as the *Computus*),
the *Life of St Dunstan*, signed 'B.'

The last-named is doubtfully ascribed to him, and the ascription was early challenged by Bishop Stubbs.[1] In addition to these writings certain lost works are mentioned, including one, *De Institutione Monachorum* (*D.N.B., loc. cit.*).[2]

The life and writings of Byrhtferth have been treated at length in K. M. Classen's dissertation, *Ueber das Leben und die Schriften Byrhtferths* (Dresden, 1896); Classen's work is based on Kluge's transcript of the Old-English text of the *Manual*.[3] Classen examines the references to the work of Byrhtferth and early in his dissertation (p. 7) expresses a doubt as to his authorship of the commentaries on Bede. A knowledge of the Latin text of the *Manual*, shortly to be published by Mr Crawford, and of the contents of St John's College, Oxford, *MS. 17*, enables us to revise some of Classen's work on Byrhtferth, but is likely to confirm his conclusion as to the commentaries. St John's *MS. 17* has been described by H. O. Coxe,[4] who assigns it, from the calculations on fol. 3v, to the year 1110. A large part of the contents of the MS. is closely allied to the topics treated by the author's *Manual*, namely, the scientific works of Bede and others on the calendar, on astronomy, prosody, arithmetic, and medi-

[1] *Memorials of Saint Dunstan* (Rolls Ser., No. 63, London, 1874), pp. xi ff. For further information on 'B presbyter' see G. H. Gerould, 'The Transmission and Date of *Genesis B*,' *Modern Language Notes* XXV (1911), 129–133, and R. Priebsch, *The Heliand Manuscript, Cotton Caligula A. VII in the British Museum* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 42 ff.

[2] The *Cambridge History of English Literature* (I, 131, n. 5, ed. 1908) is equally dogmatic: 'Besides these English treatises Byrhtferth was also responsible for Latin commentaries on Bede's *De Temporum Ratione* and *De Natura Rerum* and two essays entitled *De Principiis Mathematicis* and *De Institutione Monachorum;* a *Vita Dunstani* has also been attributed to him.

[3] 'Angelsächsische Excerpte aus Byrhtferth's Handboc oder Enchiridion,' *Anglia*, VIII (1885), 298–337.

[4] *Catalogus Codd. MSS qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie asservantur* (Oxford, 1852); Pt II: *Collegii S. Johannis Baptistae XVII*).

cine. The *Preface* by Byrhtferth is on fol. 12v (Coxe, no. 17) and on fol. 7v (Coxe no. 15) is: *Tabula exhibens concordiam mensium atque elementorum a Bryhtferd siue Bryhtfertho, monacho Ramesiensi edita.* I quote Coxe's description. The title in the MS. runs: *Hanc figuram edidit Brihtferd, Monachus Ramesiensis coenobii, de concordia mensium atque elementorum.*[1] On fol. 35r (Coxe, no. 29) is found *Figura numerum exhibens infinitum, cum Abbonis ratione super eandem.* The refernce to Abbo points to Byrhtferth, and some of the astronomical notes and diagrams in this MS. are probably by him. Coxe is inclined to follow Leland in ascribing to him the work on fol. 16r (Coxe, no. 26), '*Kalendarium cum expositione de mensium nominibus . . . necnon diebus festis per singulos menses carmine notatis.*' We may note, too, the presence on fol. 3r (Coxe, no. 5) of acrostic verses in praise of Dunstan: '*Versus acrostichides,*' as Coxe describes them, '*quorum acrostichis,*

> Summe sacer, te summa salus tueatur amicis,
> Gloria Dunstani, deuoto necne benigno.

If we turn to the tradition with regard to Byrhtferth and his work, we find that the first reference to him appears to be in the *Catalogue* of Boston of Bury, who in the early fifteenth century travelled over England and parts of Scotland and made a catalogue of the ecclesiastical authors in no less than one hundred and ninety-five religious houses.[2] The work of Boston was partially published in David Wilkin's edition of Thomas Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748), where the following is quoted from it (preface, p. xxx):

Birdferthus monachus Ramesiae floruit A. C. . . . et scripsit super librum Bedae de temporibus, lib. 1 Pr. Spiraculo. 82.[3]

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[1] See C. and D. Singer, 'Byrhtferð's Diagram,' *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, II (1917), No. 14.

[2] See M. R. James, *On the Abbey of S. Edmund at Bury* (Cambridge, Cambridge Antiquarian Soc., 1895), p. 34.

[3] Since writing this paper I have had the opportunity of examining an eighteenth-century transcript of Boston's *Catalogue* (Cambridge Univ. Library *MS. 3470*). I owe my knowledge of its whereabouts to the courtesy of Dr M. R. James. Tanner's copy of this reference is complete. I have also examined the fragment of Boston's work in Brit. Mus. *Addit. MS. 4787*, fol. 133–135; this comprises only three and one half sheets, consisting mainly of the list of monasteries visited, with their numbers, from the beginning of the *Catalogue*.

There is a further brief reference to Byrhtferth in a work of Boston, entitled *Speculum Coenobitarum;*[1] the passage is:

Brithferthus, Monachus de Ramesia, scripsit super Bedam de temporibus libros iv.

The next reference to Byrhtferth is by John Leland in his Collectanea[2] where he is describing a MS. whose contents were very similar to those of St John's *MS. 17.* Difficulties in the way of identifying the two MSS have been pointed out by Dr Singer,[3] but the relations between them are very close indeed. Practically all the items mentioned by Leland can be identified in St John's *MS. 17.* Leland introduces his description with the words:

Ex libro ueteri quem mutuo sumpsi a Taliboto: Carmina Abbonis Monachi, natione Itali, numero septuaginta, dedicata uero D. Dunstano, Episcopo Anglo. Scripta erant maiusculis literis Romanis, primis, mediis et ultimis minio coloratis. Ita ut in unoquoque carmine eadem litera et principium et medium et finem obtineret. Mihi certe uidebantur eius rei speciem referre quam nos uulgo compotum manualem appellamus.

Of Byrhtferth's work in the MS. Leland says:

Ibidem

Doctissima figura edita a Bryghteferdo monacho Ramesiensis coenobii de concordia mensium et elementorum. Eiusdem proemium et commentariolus in librum Bedae de temporibus. In hoc commentario doctas excogitauit figuras. *Ibidem.* Calendarium in quo festi dies per singulos menses carminibus notantur. Videtur (quamuis pro certo affirmare non ausim) hoc

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[1] Published by Anthony Hall at the end of his *Nicolai Triveti Annalium Continuatio* (Oxford, 1722), p. 189.

[2] *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* (1st ed., Thomas Hearne, Oxford, 1715), IV, 97 (= III, 113, in Leland's numeration).

[3] C. and D. Singer, *loc. cit.*, p. 51. Commenting on this passage of Leland he says: 'His [Leland's] description of the volume would in many respects apply to the St John's College MS. 17, but the two MSS cannot be regarded as identical.

The first item of Leland corresponds with folio 3 recto of the St John's College MS., and it has been suggested that folio 3 recto was originally the first in the volume (C. Singer, 'A Review of the Medical History of the Dark Ages with a New Text of about 1110,' reproduced from *Proceedings of Roy. Soc. Med.*, Historical Section, London, 1917, pp. 107–160). Leland's second item is a *libellulus cui titutus erat, Coena Cypriani episcopi,*' presumably the Scena Cypriani episcopi on fol. 4 v. of the St John's College MS. The third item cited by Leland we have not identified in the St John's College MS., but his description continues as follows:

calendarium a Brightferdo fuisse scriptum, ita enim illius commentario in librum Bedae de natura rerum adhaeret, sed sine autoris nomine. Quisquis scripsit non indocte scripsit . . . Post haec multa sequuntur de circulo Pascali, et de abaco, insuper de asse et de eius partibus.

This passage causes Classen great difficulty in his attempts to relate it either to the commentaries on Bede or to the *Manual* of Byrhtferth, with neither of which is it in any way concerned. He remarks (page 5):

Aber alle diese Beziehungen sind doch so allgemeiner Art und auch die weiteren Angaben Lelands so dürftig, dass wir daraus auf keinen Fall einen giltigen Schluss ziehen können.

But when compared with St John's *MS. 17* Leland's description is found to show a fairly close correspondence.

Leland speaks in another place[1] in his *Collectanea* of Byrhtferth, where he says:

Gulielmus, monachus Ramesiensis scripsit libros quattuor de temporibus et naturis, deflorans Isodorum et Bedam, uel potius in eorum libros commentaria scribens. De hoc Gulielmo eruditus sic annotauit in margine libri: 'Unde in quadam tabula in ecclesia metropolitana Saluatoris Cantuar: quam fecerat quidam doctor Theologiae, monachus eiusdem loci, nomine Gulielmus Gyllingham, de uiris illustribus, uidelicet de sanctis et egregiis doctoribus, qui hactenus fuerunt in ordine monachorum, inter ceteros nigrorum monachorum doctores nouissime de praedicto Gulielmo sic loquitur: 'Gulielmus, Ramesiensis monachus, scripsit super Bedam de temporibus libros quattuor.' Hactenus ille. Ego certe coniecturam facio, hos esse commentarios, quos nuper legi in antiquo exemplari, quod Talbotus ad me misit. Continebat enim praeter alia de temporibus et de naturis rerum. Sed commentarii et circuli rerum astronomicarum ad miraculum docte picti praeferebant Brightferti, monachi Ramesiensis, nomen. Potuit tamen Gulielmus hominis praenomen fuisse.

'*Ibidem Doctissima figura . . . excoptasit*' figures (as above in the text). Here we have clearly the same material as in the St John's College MS., fol. 7v. and folios 12v and 13r. Leland next describes a calendar which he reproduces, and the reproduction corresponds to a key attached to each month of the Calendar on fols. 16r. to 21v. of the St John's College MS., where, however, the key has been omitted from December. Leland adds 'Post haec multa, etc. . . . ' and this would apply well to our St John's College MS. It thus seems not unlikely that the two MSS. may have, at least in part, a common source.

[1] *Op. cit.*, IV, 23; Leland's reckoning, III, 20.

In the margin is the note: *Talbotus adfirmat Brightfertum monachum fuisse Thorneiensem.* The passage is somewhat obscure, but there seems to be little in favor of Leland's identification of Byrhtferth with the Gulielmus here mentioned. It is not impossible that we have in this passage a fleeting glimpse of the author of the *glossae* that bear Byrhtferth's name.[1] The chief importance of the passage for our present purpose is that in it we find Leland conjecturally identifying Byrhtferth as the writer of four books of commentaries on Bede's *De Temporibus* (i.e. the *De Natura Rerum* and the *De Temporum Ratione*) largely on the strength apparently of the *Preface* and astronomical figures which appear in St John's *MS. 17.* It does not seem likely that the word *commentariolus* in the passage quoted above could refer to the large body of glossae which now bear Byrhtferth's name. It looks much as though this confusion between the contents of St John's *MS. 17* and the commentaries on Bede is the final source of the ascription of the latter to Byrhtferth.

There is a further reference by Leland to Byrhtferth in his *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*,[2] where he says:

> Brightefertus, monachus Rameseganus, uel ut quidam uolunt Thorneganus, secutus religiose suae aetatis studia ad mathesin, acerrimorum ingeniorum excitatricem, animum applicauit, in quo eruditionis genere sic postea enituit, ut artem per se claram, depictis graphice organis, et additis commentariis tum doctissimis tum lucidissimis, clariorem redderet. Illustrauit praeterea scholiis, non de triuio petitis, Bedae Girovicensis libellum de natura rerum: in quo dum tempora supputat, facile ostendit quantum in expedita numerorum ratione ualeret. Multa ibi de circulo Pascali, de abaco, de asse et eius partibus. Hunc ego aliquando a candido Talboto, homine mei loci atque ordinis, librum mutuo accepi, et acceptum ueluti avidus helluo, totum profecto deuoraui.

The book referred to is evidently the MS. so akin to St John's *MS. 17*, and it is highly probable that of the '*commentarii*' which he ascribes to Byrhtferth little more can be with certainty identified

[1] It is at any rate worth noting that in Boston's *Speculum Coenobitarum* referred to above, immediately preceding the sentence that informs us that Byrhtferth wrote four books of commentaries on Bede's *De Temporibus*, are the words: *Willielmus, monachus de Rameseya scripsit super Cantica Canticorum Homilias XXX.*

[2] Ed. by A. Hall, Oxford, 1709, chap. 136.

as his than the Prologue and the figure which we possess in St John's *MS. 17*.

To return for a moment to Boston of Bury: we have seen that he quotes as the first word of the work of Byrhtferth '*spiraculo*,' from which it would appear that he too was speaking of the *Preface*. There is, however, a discrepancy in the opening words as quoted by Tanner in the *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hispanica* referred to above. Under 'Brightefertus' (page 125), after speaking of Leland, the Basel edition of Bede of 1563, and *MS. Ashmol. 328*, which contains the *Manual*, he says:

> Scripsit etiam commentaria in Bedam de temporibus lib. 1. 'Spiraculo uitae humanum genus' olim in bibl. Buriensi ut Bostonus habet. Extant prooemium et comm. in Bedam de temporibus.

The additional words '*uitae humanum genus*,' if they are a correct quotation, rule out a reference to the *Preface*. The words are probably from Boston, since we find them in Bale in the sixteenth century, and his sources for Byrhtferth appear to be Boston and Leland. He mentions Boston as a source in the title of his work, and Leland in the article on Byrhtferth.

John Bale's references to Byrhtferth are in his *Catalogue*, published at Basel (*Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam uocant Catalogus*, Basel, 1557–1559). The *Catalogue* is arranged in chronological order, and under '*Centuria Secunda*' (cap. xxxv) is a notice on Byrhtferth on which the writer quotes the passage from Leland's *De Scriptoribus Britannicis* (chap. 136) given above, with some slight expansions, and gives the following list of his works:

De Principiis Mathematicis.	lib. 1
In Bedam de Temporibus	lib. 1
In Eundem de Natura Rerum	lib. 1
De Institutione Monachorum	lib. 1

et alia nonnulla.

In addition to this printed *Catalogue* of Bale there exist certain notebooks of his, which, unlike the *Catalogue*, are not arranged in chronological order. They contain valuable additional information

as to the sources of his knowledge. These notes have been published in recent times (*John Bale: Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, edited by Lane-Poole and Bateson, 1902, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series, 9*). On page 50 of this edition appear two further references to Byrhtferth:

(fol. 13v).

Bridferthus, Monachus Ramesiae, inter cetera scripsit,
Super opus Bede de temporibus atque alia quaedam; li. 1 'Spiraculo.' Opus est Burie in monasterio. *Ex Bostoni Buriensis catalogo.*

(fol. 13v).

Brithferthus Ramesiensis, monachus et doctor nonnulla scripsit opuscula. Tempore Abbonis Floriacensis.
Ex Institutione Monachorum

The sources of Bale's information are therefore two, the *Catalogue* of Boston and Boston's work '*De Institutione Monachorum.*' So, it seems to me, the words must be read, since on page 49 (*op. cit.*) this work of Boston is referred to in a list of his writings thus:

De prima monachorum institutione lib. 1. 'primus institor monachorum.' Nam operis collector Coenobita Buriensis fuit
Ex Collegio Magdalene, Oxon.

According to Lane-Poole and Bateson the manuscript no longer exists. This work of Boston, *De Prima Monachorum Institutione*, suggests at once the *Speculum Coenobitarum*, which opens with a discussion of the beginnings of monastic life, and contains lists of religious writers and their works. It is just such a work as would serve as a source to Bale for his *Catalogue*. The words quoted as the opening '*primus institor monachorum*' do not correspond, however, to the opening of the *Speculum Coenobitarum*. I do not know whether the manuscript from which Hall printed the *Speculum* still exists. It is perhaps worth noting that there is a traditional ascription to Byrhtferth himself of a work *De Institutione Monachorum*. Perhaps here there is some confusion of references.

The next reference to Byrhtferth is in the literary history of John Pits, published in the early seventeenth century (*Johannis Pitsei Angli . . . Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis tomus primus*, Paris, 1619). His account is unimportant, being based on

Leland and Bale with embellishments. His ascription of the commentaries on Bede to Byrhtferth rests on the Basel edition of 1563, to which he refers in the words, '*extant pleraque cum operibus Bedae, Basiliae, anno 1563.*' Classen is not precisely accurate when he says:

> Pits ist dennoch der erste, der mit Bestimmtheit dem bekannten angelsächsischen Schriftsteller und Gelehrten Byrhtferth gerade diejenigen lateinischen Kommentare zuschreibt, die wir im Auge haben.

The problem is rather upon what authority the name of Byrhtferth was attached to those commentaries in the 1563 edition of Bede.

If we reject the authorship of Byrhtferth the possibilities appear to be somewhat as follows:

(1) The commentaries have been ascribed to Byrhtferth solely through confusion with the *Preface*. This hypothesis leaves unexplained '*uitae humanum genus*' in the words quoted as the opening of his commentary.

(2) Byrhtferth wrote a commentary now lost, which began with the words '*spiraculo uitae humanum genus,*' and this work became confused with the commentaries now ascribed to him in our texts. The appearance of the word '*spiraculo*' at the beginning of both commentary and *Preface* would then be merely coincidence. This I think, is the most probable view.

On the other hand, the difficulties in accepting the traditional ascription of the commentaries to Byrhtferth are very great. In the first place, there are serious weaknesses in the external evidence, in that the words quoted as the beginning of Byrhtferth's commentary '*spiraculo uitae humanum genus*' do not correspond to the beginning of the existing commentary. Moreover, the MS. authority for the *glossae* to Byrhtferth in the Basel edition, if any existed, has not been traced. Secondly, internal evidence (namely, considerations of language and style) is, I think, decisive against the authorship of Byrhtferth, if we compare his known work in the *Preface* and the Latin portions of the *Manual* with the commentaries.

Here we are concerned only with the *Preface*, but, small as it is in amount, it may, in my opinion, be safely asserted that the writer

of it was incapable of being the author of the comparatively stylish commentaries. The contrast may be most plainly seen, not only in the rhythm and the easy run of sentences in the *Commentary*, compared with the crabbed style of Byrhtferth, but in vocabulary and language. Mr Crawford has pointed out to me the close similarity between the vocabulary of Aldhelm and that of the *Preface*, and an examination of this resemblance makes the lack of such affinity in the commentaries the more striking. As a writer of Latin Byrhtferth is incomparably inferior to the author of the Commentaries.

Brief as the *Preface* is, it is full of characteristic usages. The following list of parallels, which is not exhaustive, is drawn from the prose version of *De Virginitate*. (The numbers refer to the chapters of Aldhelm's work and the words underlined occur in the *Preface:*)

desudans. 2.
unus tamen accipit *brauium*. 2. cf. 43, inuictum Christi tropheum et ineluctabile *brauium*.
phalerato uectus cornipede 2. cf. 9, *phalerata* saeculi ornamenta. cf. also 35 and 58.
caelesti afflatus *spiraculo*. 3.
solerter *indagando*. 4. cf. 18. qualitatemque propriae uirtutis *indagantes*. cf. 21. *indagando*. The *Preface* has the substantive, subtili *indagatione*.
ortograforum disciplines. 4.
coelestis medicinae antidotem vitaliter *propinauit*. 7 cf. 17. *propinantes*.
raptus in *oramate* extaseos. 7. cf. 27.
tyrunculis ecclesiae. 11.
coenobialis militiae. 11.
protoplastus recentis *Paradisi colonus*. 11. cf. 22 and 24 *florentis Paradisi*.
ut nullus in *practicae* conuersationis studio. 14. cf. 29.
in propatulo. 20 and *passim*.
mysticis sacramentorum operculis. 21.
flexis *literarum apicibus*. 21. cf. 25 (*bis*). 43.
geminae laudis *praeconio*. 25 and *passim*.
a *primaeuo pubertatis tyrocinio*. 28. and *tyrocinium* elsewhere, e.g., 53.
fine tenus. 43.

synagogae *typum* obumbrans. 57.
per allegoriam *luce clarius elimavit.* 13.
specialiter. 58.

The bee affords a metaphor in the *Preface* (p. 516, below), likewise in the following passage in chapter 4 of Aldhelm's treatise:

ast tamen solertissimae apis industriam praedictis exemplorum formulis coaptari posse uberrima rerum experimenta liquido declarant, quae roscido facessente crepusculo et exorto limpidissimi solis iubare densos extemplo tripudantium turmarum exercitus per patentes campos gregatim diffundunt, modo melligeris caltarum frondibus seu purpureis maluarum floribus incubantes mulsa nectaris stillicidia guttatim rostro decerpunt et uelut lento careni defruto, quod regalibus ferculis conficitur, auida uiscerum receptacula certatim implere contendunt, modo flauescentes saliculas et crocata genestarum cacumina circumuallantes fertilem praedam numerosis crurum et coxarum oneribus aduehunt, quibus cerea castra conficiunt. . . .[1]

Although the bee serves commonly to provide a metaphor in mediaeval literature,[2] we may note that the names of the plants in the *Preface* recur here, *maluae*, *saliculae*, *genistae*, and that we find the same phrase '*rostro decerpunt.*'

These parallels from so short a passage as the *Preface* are sufficiently striking. If we turn to the commentaries on Bede, not only do we find Latin of an entirely different type, exhibiting little trace of these peculiarities of vocabulary and much nearer to the classical model, but also a range of ideas and subject matter quite alien to the pedestrian Byrhtferth.

Any attempt to analyze the sources and characteristics of the commentaries would require a separate paper, and here I will merely refer to the analysis of Manitius (*op. cit.*, II, 700–705). We may note, however, that the commentaries are a work put together from the usual sources of knowledge of the Middle Ages, Pliny, Macrobius, Martianus Capella with Remigius' commentary, Isidore, and others. Little inference can be drawn from the use of Greek words or from the fact that classical authors are occasionally quoted (e.g., Pers., ii, 1, on *De Temp. Rat.*, cap. iii; Luc., x, 199, 200, on cap. xxii of

[1] Ed. R. Ehwald, *M.G.H., Auct. Antiq.* XV (1919), 231, 232.

[2] On the possible borrowing from this very passage in Aldhelm by Asser in his *Life of King Alfred*, see A. S. Cook, SPECULUM, II (1927), 202.

the same work; Juv., ii, 161, on cap. 10 of the *De Natura Rerum*). Nevertheless, by whatever channels it is derived — and they are doubtless mainly indirect ones — the commentaries contain a good deal of classical lore.

Text

Proemium Brihtferthi, Ramesiensis cenobii monachi, super Bedam de Temporibus

Spiraculo ineffabili dum forent large afflati ter quaterni[1] luculentissimi proceres superni gaudii, clarissimi dehinc extitere secutores, facundia circumsepti non solum aecclesiastici dogmatis, uerum sacra sophia etiam opulentissime inlustrium chronograforum ortographorumque instructi, qui sicuti catissima apis, quę sacre aecclesie typum portendit, quę aluearia non tantum de purpureis arborum maluarumque floribus replere contendit, sed et salicularum genestarumque nec non caltarum solertissime[2] flores suaui rostro decerpit, quatinus queat melliferum sucum qui exuperat omnem dulcedinem recondere, sic simillima comparatione, quod cum pie deuotionis reuerentia dico, florulentis coloni paradisi patrarunt, Ieronimus, Augustinus, Gregorius,[3] quos specialiter nomino: qui quod in bis quinis praeceptis, siue in ceteris mysticis institutis sollicita intentione perspexerunt, disserti elogii claue mortalibus patefecere, et ad laudem beatę aeclesię matris, alii centesimum, quidam sexagesimum, nonnulli tricesimum fructum ubertim attulerunt. Post quos opinatissimus nostratis extitit quidam nomine dictus Beda, a primeuo pubertatis tyrocinio deditus summe trinitati. Qui, abdicatis practicę huius uitę discriminibus,[4] uenustam exercuit uitam, desudans in diuina lege diebus ac noctibus. Is, ut delectet lętabundis faucibus dulcibusque praeconiis carptim glorificari dindima priscę[5] legis, mysteria eleganter aeque rudis,[6] suaui meditatione intellexit, eaque subtili inda-

[1] Glossed, xii. *ss.* [2] issimę, *cod.*

[3] Gregoriu(m), *cod.* Possibly an older copy had the *s*-symbol with *u* for *-us;* see Speculum, I (1926), 443, 444.

[4] Discrimina *cod.* Possibly *discrimina* should be retained and *abdicatus* read as a deponent, since Byrhtferth has some curious usages. [5] prisci, *cod.*

[6] Possibly *aeque ⟨atque⟩ rudis* should be read and *mysteria* bracketed as a gloss on *dindima.* Or read *aeque et* and consider *dindima* as an adjective, removing the comma after *legis. Carptim* is to be construed with *glorificari* (read *glorificare ?*). See the translation, p. 520.

PROEMIU BRIHTFERTHI RAMESIEN
SIS CENOBII MONACHI SUP BEDÆ
DE TEMPORIBUS :.

SPIRACULO INEFFABILI DUM FOREM large afflata cer quiẽm luculentas simpecres supnu gaudii : clarissimu deinne exactre secutores facundia curẽ sepa ñ solũ aecclastica dogmatis. uerum sacra sophia eaã opulentissime inlustrũ chronographoz orthographoz: instruxti. q sicuti carissima apis. quę sacre aecclę typũ porcendit : quę alueariq ñ tantum depur puras arboz maluarũq: floribus replere contendit : s; & salicularũ gene stariq: nec ñ calcariq sollertissime flores suaui rostro decerpit : quatinus queat melliferũ sucũ qui exupat omnẽ dulcedinem recondere. sic simillima cõparatione. quod cũ pie deuotionis reuerentia dico floruleatis colom paradisi patriarus. reorum. augustin. gregoriũ quos specialiẽ nomino : qui quod in bis quinis precepas siue mecẽs mysticas instituis sollicita intentione pspexer : dissertu elogu claue mortalib paresecere. & ad laudem beate aecclę magis. aluq certissimũ. qdã. Lx. ñ nulli xxx. fructũ ubertim acculerun-t.

Postquos opulentissim magis exactr quidã nomine dict beda. a primeuo pubertatis tyrocinio dedit sume eruditati. Qui abdicatis practice huic uitę discrimina : uenustam excerunt uitã. desudans in diuina lege diebq ac noctib. Ist ut delectet lectabilibus fauctb dulcibq: pconuit capti gloriscari. diuina prisa legis mysteria elegantter aeq: rudis suaui meditatione intelle xte. eaq: subtili indagatione eruta aecclę limpidissim cenobiat militię comitę plator ppinauit. Edidit idem quã plurimos sacros apices libroz eluminatq: luce clari bis binoz dicta euangelistarũ ñ nulla. Cõposuit hunc pspicuũ nobili industria. cuiq: censuit fore uocatandũ de temporib. In hoc obseruatione hebreoz duodenarium greco men sium terminationem : cõpletionem aeqz proz dierũ. romanoz latinoz: similit qui insus annis. ccclxv. dies & vi. horas habent. definitionẽ demonstrauit p lucenti sermone. Anglis ũ suis deputis sectandã gtẽ sptis magis uiã. p quã gradientes capę ualent bra-

uum

supnę hereditatis. Stipendũ ẽe. non autumo quod tale celebrum dnum segetis sator disturare tanta pualuisse. qua si libet ei ppas sermocinationes nipptulo pandere. non uidẽ murmurũ. qm mqd idem ipse ñ pterunt bona. pq mdepte gnap sperantis assecut sũ. quo lectrando. t docendo. meditando. ñ m t alus pfu. Idem itẽ nec salicet scli dies aduenit. q ñ scribendi salubrima dicta certi mysterii. aut meditatr gram di m mi. Sapientie libri uerbo rue mellẽ. deq scripsit. Concupiscentia sapientie deducet ad regnũ ppetuum. Sine fictione dicit eã. & sine inuidia communico. & honestatẽ ei ñ abscondo. Infinit chelaur ei bonitb qq usi sit paraciper facta sit amicie di. Mich autem dedit dns dicere exsentencia. & psumere hoz que in dant. qm ipse dux & sapientie emendator. Sequunt modẽ loco uba. que ñ incongrue exponi hui ẽe. possit placere. Ipse dedit m ut sciã dispositionẽ orbis terrarum. & uirtutes elementoz mutuum & consummationẽ. & medietatẽ temporũ. Lr insta. Annu curssũ & stellarũ dispositiones. Prudens scriptor hec omnia mediocritatib exponi potest. Preterea potime multa dicenda de eodem doctore siue de ei institutionib. si corporis subpedtarer labris sermo sophisticus. Subtegmine ñ libet delitescere. qlẽ idem bis binis segregauit tempora dicens. In prima sol stricta. & maegnotha. Primũ aestuale solstitiu a. xii. k iulii. usq: m. xii. k iunii. qd nuncupat brumale. Secdm brumale q. xii. k ianr. usq: m. xii. k aug. Inq. sol stricta fiunt dies. cccLxv. & vi. horę. Qua bis. clxxxii. fiunt dies sic ha ptacta sum. Aquinoctiũ uernale. a. xii. k apr. usq: m. xii. k octob erit. qd habet dies clxxxii. Aquinoctiũ autumnale qd. xii. k octobr. habet dies totidem anctoz. q manu congloba. fiunt dies solares. ccclxv. & quadrans. Ter denis sententie uerba legat. sigs ista ignorat. aut contradicat. & ita se habe re uera memet. Exordiũ anni nri qd in martio. ordinũ. pleriq: in marcio: ita de hac ambiguitate siue seductione minutissima sententia ista pnuntiat. Verũ alus apa & nullo expedita iudet. ut omnis coputatio quiu ñ necessitas rationis obstat. a principio

gatione tyrunculis aecclesie, ceu[1] limpidissimus cenobialis militię contemplator, propinauit. Edidit idem quam plurimos sacros apices librorum, elimauitque luce clarius bis binorum dicta euangelistarum nonnulla. Composuit hunc[2] perspicuum nobili industria, eumque censuit fore uocitandum *de Temporibus*.

In hoc obseruationem Hebreorum, duodenarium[3] Grecorum mensium terminationem, completionem Aegyptiorum dierum, Romanorum Latinorumque similiter, qui in suis annis CCCLXV dies et VI horas habent, definitionem demonstrauit praelucenti sermone. Anglis uero suis depromsit sectandam glorię sempiternitatis uiam, per quam gradientes capere ualent brauium supernę hereditatis. Stupendum esse non autimo quod talis celeberrimus diuinę[4] segetis sator dictitare tanta praualuisset, quia si libet eius proprias sermocinationes in propatulo pandere, non uidetur mirandum, quoniam inquid idem ipse: 'non praeteriuit hora postquam indepte . . . gratia prosperitatis assecutus sum, qua[5] lectitando, uel docendo, meditando non mihi uel aliis profui.' Idem item; 'nec scilicet seculi dies aduenit, quo non scriberem saluberrima dicta certi mysterii, aut meditarer gratiam dei inmensi.' Sapientię libri uerba[6] rite intellexit de quibus scriptum est: 'Concupiscentia sapientię deducet ad regnum perpetuum.'[7] 'Sine fictione didici eam et sine inuidia communico, et honestatem eius non abscondo. Infinitus est thesaurus eius hominibus, quo qui usi sunt participes facti sunt amicitię dei.' 'Michi autem dedit dominus dicere ex sententia et praesumere ⟨digna⟩ horum quae mihi dantur, quoniam ipse dux est et sapientię emendator.'[8]

[1] *ceu* is written above the line as a gloss and may profitably be omitted.

[2] Possibly ⟨*librum*⟩ should be inserted.

[3] *duodenarium:* the form is odd; *duodenarum* should possibly be read, in spite of the Classical gender.

[4] divini, *cod.*

[5] qui, *cod.* The passage is similar to the following:

'Quo natus in territorio eiusdem monasterii . . . cunctumque ex eo tempus uitae in eiusdem monasterii habitatione peragens, omnem meditandis scripturis operam dedi; atque inter obseruantiam disciplinae regularis, et cotidianam cantandi in ecclesia curam, semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere dulce habui' (*Hist. Eccl.* v, 24, ed. C. Plummer, I, 357).

Apparently Bede said something similar elsewhere. Can it be found?

[6] uerbo, *cod.*

[7] *Sapientia*, vi, 21.

[8] *Ibid.*, vii, 13–15 (adapted). The original form, 'quoniam ipse sapientiae dux est et sapientium emendator,' should doubtless be restored.

Sequuntur in eodem loco uerba quę non incongrue ex persona huius esse possunt prolata.[1] 'Ipse dedit mihi ut sciam dispositionem orbis terrarum et uirtutes elementorum, initium et consumationem et medietatem temporum.'[2] Et infra: 'Anni cursum et stellarum dispositiones.'[3] Prudens scrutator hęc omnia in compositionibus experiri potest. Preterea poterant multa dici de eodem doctore siue de eius institutionibus, si corporis subpeditaret labris sermo sophisticus. Sub tegmine non libet delitescere qualiter idem[4] bis bina segregauit tempora direpta[5] in bina solstitia et in aequinoctia. Primum aestiuale solstitium a XII K. iulii usque in XII K. ianuari(as),[6] quod nuncupatur brumale. Secundum brumale, quod[7] est XII K. ianuar(ias) usque in XII K. iul(ias), in quibus duobus solstitiis fiunt dies CCCLXV et VI horę, quia bis CLXXXII fiunt dies sicut iam praefati sumus. Aequinoctium uernale a XII K. april(es) usque in XII K. octobr(es) erit, quod habet dies CLXXXII. Aequinoctium autumnale, quod est <a>[8] XII K.
octobr(es), habet dies uelut anterior, qui in unum conglobati fiunt dies solares CCCLXV et quadrans.

Ter denis[9] sententię uerba legat si quis ista ignorat aut contradicat, et ita se habere reuera inueniet. Exordium anni nostri, quod in ianuario ordimur, plerique in martio; ita de hac ambiguitate siue seditione in uicesima sententia ista pronuntiat. 'Uerum aliis aptius et multo expeditius uidetur ut omnis computatio quantum non necessitas rationis obstat a principio <anni>[10] sui etiam apud Romanos incipiat[11] et usque ad terminum anni rato atque intemerato ordine percurrat.'

[1] prolatę, *cod.* [2] *Sapientia*, vii, 17, 18. [3] *Ibid.*, vii, 19.

[4] *isdem*, *cod.*, but for *isdem* for *idem* see Bonnet, *Le Latin de Gregoire de Tours* (Paris: Hachette, 1890), p. 384. *isdem* is glossed with *.s.beda.* (above *bis bina*).

[5] direptas, *cod:* glossed above with *s. ipsa tempora.*

[6] In view of *iulii*, these names of the months should possibly be expanded as genitives rather than in the Classical adjectival form as I have done.

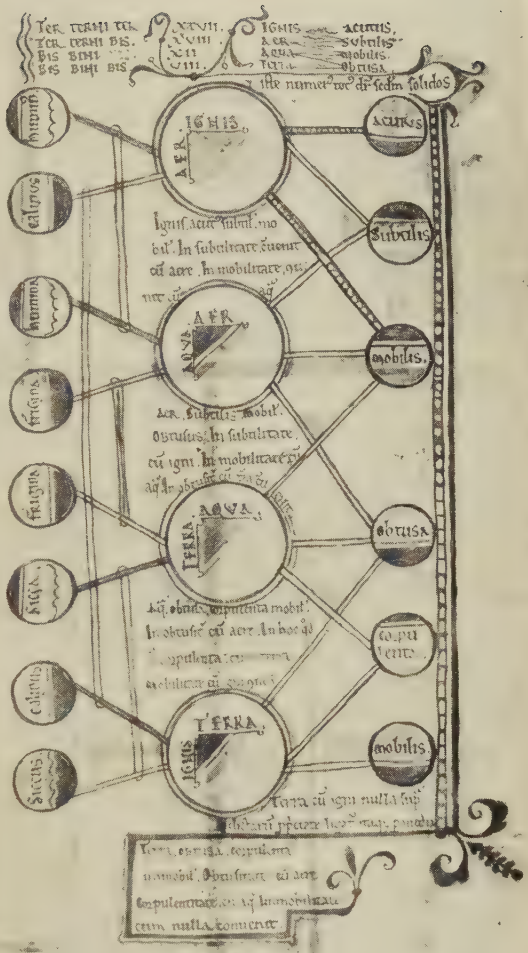
[7] quo, *cod.* [8] I have added <*a*> which seems to be necessary.

[9] *Ter denis:* the equivalent of *tricesimae*, the thirtieth chapter of the *De Temporum Ratione* being '*De aequinoctiis et solstitiis.*'

[10] I have added <*anni*> from Migne's text.

[11] *incipiat:* MS. *incipiant* and *percurrant.* This passage appears in *Patr. Lat.* XC, 397, as follows:

Verum aliis aptius multo et expeditius uidetur ut computatio omnis, quantum non neces-



sin ecq̃ apud romanos mapiant. & usq: ad
tñnũ annu rato acq: mtraneato ordine
pcurrant. Que uerba mtelligenda sẽ. ut
annu nr̃i pncipia uelut romani sumant
a k. ianr̃. exqb̃ duma sup̃sum̃ sacramẽ-
ta: & tñnem̃ in. u. k. ianr̃. q̃ ultim̃
illoz dies. Hoc faleratis uerb̃ sẽ. plata
a nob̃. si pa affectu dicta. q̃ qd potuit
ecclẽ dẽ ad honoran conculit. Credẽ-
dũ ẽ ut hꝰ q̃ circũuallat̃ fuerat oppsi-
one corpori. dñq: mussibilẽ pspicere
meruit moromate spẽ. multomagis
iam gloriate mentes lucris meritis
gratulabund̃ cernere dñ deoz mstȝon.
que mystica mẽpratione speculatõ dr̃.
Enim uero gratuitã di gram flagitem
ñ enerunt. ut quitos cum ineffabilib̃
domꝰ dicauit. nob̃ saltim mualle hui
patrię degentib̃. ppeat celestis delicii
dulcedinem. ut fontem ueri luminis
qui dꝰ ẽ finetenꝰ pudica tuitione cer-
nere ualeam.

Post hui denq: epilogi descriptionẽ
libet articulum flectere ad totꝰ
libri recapitulationẽ: quia p̃ hui ter
minationem constant abbonis sophi-
ste dicto alumpni benedicti patris. p
cui benuolentiam. pcepim hui rei
mtelligentiã. nec non aliarũ rerum
priam. Disseratissimi uiri traq: heri
rici expositiones. ultima pars huius
codicis concludit honestissime.

St John's College (Oxford), *MS. 17*, fol. 13r

Que uerba intellegenda sunt ut anni nostri principia ueluti Romani sumamus a K. ianuar(iis), ex quibus diuina sumpsimus sacramenta, et terminemus in II K. ianuar(ias), qui est ultimus illorum dies. Hęc faleratis verbis sunt prolata a nobis, sed pro eius affectu dicta, qui quod potuit aeclesię dei ad honorem contulit. Credendum est ut his[1] qui circumuallatus fuerat oppressione corporis[2] deumque inuisibilem perspicere meruit in oromate spiritus, multo magis iam, glomeratus meritorum lucris, mereatur gratulabundus cernere deum deorum in Syon, quę mystica interpretatione speculatio dicitur. Enim uero gratuitam[3] dei gratiam flagitemus non eneruiter, ut, qui tot eum ineffabilibus donis ditauit, nobis saltim in ualle huius patrię degentibus praebeat cęlestis desiderii dulcedinem, ut fontem ueri luminis, qui deus est, fine tenus pudica tuitione cernere ualeamus.

Post huius denique epilogii descriptionem libet articulum flectere ad totius libri recapitulationem, quia post huius terminationem constant Abbonis sophistę dicta,[4] alumpni Benedicti patris, per cuius beneuolentiam percepimus huius rei intelligentiam nec non aliarum rerum peritiam. Dissertissimi uiri itaque Herici expositiones ultima pars huius codicis concludit honestissime.

Translation

The Preface of Brihtferth, a monk of Ramsey, to Bede's treatise on the Seasons

Whilst the thrice four noble leaders were liberally inspired by the wondrous spirit of heavenly joy, there arose thereafter famous successors, not only fortified by the eloquence of the teaching of the Church, but also richly schooled in the holy wisdom of illustrious historians and grammarians. They, like the wise bee, the type of Holy Church, that not only

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sitas rationis obsistat, a principio anni sui etiam apud Romanos incipiat, et usque ad terminum anni *ratio* atque intemerato ordine procurrat.

Of the variants which occur here, Migne's *Multo et* is doubtless the correct order, *obstat* of the *Preface* should probably be replaced by *obsistat* of Migne's text, and *anni* should clearly be supplied in the *Preface*. Migne's *ratio*, however, is a plain error and should give place to *rato* from the *Preface*. I suspect that we should also read <*ut*> *etiam apud Romanos. Ut* would easily fall out before the *et* of *etiam*. *Procurrat* should probably be read with Migne.

[1] The form *his* = *is*, should probably be retained; cf. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

[2] corpori, *cod.* [3] gratuitu(m), *cod.* [4] dicto, *cod.*

hastens to fill the hive from the bright blossoms of trees and mallows, but also skilfully sips with sweet lip the flowers of willow and broom and marigold, so that it may store the honeybearing juice that surpasses all sweetness, achieved a like task, dwellers, as I may call them in similar comparison with all devoutness and reverence, in a flowering paradise. Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, I especially name, who opened to men with the key of eloquent discourse what they by careful study perceived in the ten commandments, or in the other mystic ordinances; and some bore fruit richly one hundredfold, some sixtyfold, some thirtyfold to the glory of Blessed Mother Church. After these there arose a most celebrated countryman of ours named Bede, given up from the early training of youth to the service of the highest Trinity. He, renouncing the perils of this life of action, practised a life of beauty, toiling day and night in the divine law. He, that he might give delight by his joyous eloquence and sweet preaching, understood how by sweet meditation to glorify, bit by bit, the mystic secrets of the ancient law and the new as well, and, as a very clear-sighted spectator of the warfare which the monks wage, offered these results of his careful investigation to the young recruits of the Church. He also published many sacred books and polished clearer than light some of the sayings of the four evangelists. This lucid book he composed with noble industry and judged that it should be given the title *De Temporibus*.

In this he showed in radiant language the observance of the Hebrews, the limit of twelve months of the Greeks, the total of the days of the Egyptians and similarly the way the days are limited by the Romans and Latins, who have three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours. But he revealed to his English fellow-countrymen the path of eternal glory for them to follow, by which if they tread it, they are able to win the prize of heavenly inheritance. I do not think that it is remarkable that such a celebrated sower of the divine field should have had the power to utter such great themes, since, if we choose to reveal his own words, it does not seem astonishing, for he says himself: 'No hour has passed since . . . in which I have not by reading, teaching, and studying profited both myself and others.' He likewise says: 'Nor has there come a day of my life on which I did not write down the health-giving sayings of the sure revelation, or meditate the Grace of God immeasurable.' Rightly did he understand the words of the book of Wisdom, of which it is written: 'The desire of wisdom bringeth to the everlasting kingdom.' 'Without deceit I learnt that wisdom and ungrudgingly I share it, and I do not hide its fair aspect. Infinite is its treasure to men, and those who have made use of that treasure have had a share in the friendship of God.' 'To me, however, God has granted to speak from my heart and to have trust in these things which are given to me, because He himself is the guide and director of wisdom.'

There follow in the same place words which can be suitably put forward as in keeping with his character: 'He himself has granted me knowledge of the disposition of the world and the virtues of the elements, of the beginning, and ending, and midst of the times'; and below, 'of the revolutions of the year, and the disposition of the stars.' The wise enquirer can make trial of all these things in his writings. Moreover many things might have been said of this same teacher or his precepts, if my bodily lips possessed sufficient wisdom of speech. It is not my desire that it should lie hidden how that same Bede separates the four seasons, dividing them into two solstices and equinoxes. The first is the summer solstice, from the twelfth day before the Kalends of July (June 21) to the twelfth day before the Kalends of January (December 21), which is called the winter solstice. The second is the winter solstice, which is from the twelfth day before the Kalends of January to the twelfth day before the Kalends of July. In these two solstices there are 365 days and 6 hours, since twice 182 make up the days as we have already said. The spring equinox will be from the twelfth day before the Kalends of April (March 21) to the twelfth day before the Kalends of October (September 20), which amounts to 182 days. The autumn equinox, which is (from) the twelfth day before the Kalends of October, has the same number of days as the former one, which added together make up 365 solar days and a quarter.

If anyone does not know this or gainsay it, let him read the words of the thirtieth chapter [of the *De Temporum Ratione*], and he will find that it is actually the case. The beginning of our year, which we commence in January, many begin in March. On this ambiguity or disagreement he pronounces as follows in the twentieth chapter: 'But to others it seems more fitting and more expedient by far, that all reckoning, in so far as it is not contrary to the demands of reason, should start from what is also among the Romans the beginning of its year, and should run on in fixed and undisturbed order to the end of the year.'

By these words we are to understand that we take the beginning of our year, as the Romans do, from the Kalends of January, from which we have taken the divine festivals, and that we end it on the second day before the Kalends of January (December 31) which is the last of their days. These things have been set forth by us in elaborate words, but expressed in a manner becoming our affection for him, who contributed to the utmost of his power to the honour of the Church of God. We must believe that the spirit which had been beset and weighed down by the body and yet earned the privilege of beholding the invisible God in a vision, much more now, when laden with the rewards of his merits, deserves joyfully to perceive the God of Gods in Zion, which is the name given to vision by mystical

interpretation. Let us indeed implore the free Grace of God unwearyingly, in order that God, who enriched him with so many ineffable gifts, may at any rate afford to us, who dwell in the vale of this fatherland, the sweetness of the desire for heaven, so that we may be strong to the end, to behold with pure eyes the fountain of pure light, which is God.

Finally, after setting forth this epilogue, I will turn to the recapitulation of the whole book, since, after the completion of this, there are the sayings of the wise Abbo, disciple of Father Benedict, by whose benevolence we have gained knowledge of this subject and skill in other things. Likewise the last part of this book makes a most fitting conclusion with the commentaries of the eloquent Hericus.

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DIE VORLÄUFER DES GOLIAS

VON BORIS I. JARCHO

Inhalt [1]

§ 1. Goliarden und Goliasdichter: a. *De gente Goliae.* b. *Seruus et poeta.* (ss. 524–531.)

§ 2. Goliardenmotive bei Sedulius Scottus: a. *Poeta pauperior omnibus poetis.* b. *Alte clamat Epicurus.* c. *De diligendo Lyaeo.* d. *Tempus adest floridum.* e. *Utar contra uicia carmine rebelli.* (f. *Rubentis oris oscula.*) (ss. 531–560.)

§ 3. Goliardenstil bei Sedulius Scottus: a. Parodie und irreverenz. b. Wortspiel (ss. 560–566).

§ 4. Goliardische gattungen zur zeit der Karolinger: a. *Verba praecantia.* b. *Potatoria.* c. *Magister Golias de quodam abbate.* d. *Voces animantium.* (ss. 566–577.)

§ 5. Ergebnisse. (ss. 577–579.)

[1] Um die mehreren angeführten autoren, bzw. ausgaben in möglichst knapper form zitieren zu können, werden folgende abkürzungen häufig benutzt:

A: *Die gedichte des Archipoeta*, hgg. M. Manitius, 'Münchener Texte,' heft 6, München, 1913.

Bas. Kl.: der sogenannte Basler Kleriker, hgg. J. Werner in *Nachrichten* der kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. kl., 1908, ss. 449 f.

Cant.: Carmina Cantabrigiensia oder *Cambridger Lieder*, hgg. K. Strecker, Berlin: Weidmann, 1926.

C.B.: Carmina Burana, hgg. J. A. Schmeller, 3te aufl., Breslau, 1894.

De Pascha, hgg. L. Traube in *P.L.A.C.* III, 232–237 (Sedulii Scotti Carmina, III).

De Rect. Christ. : *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, hgg. L. Traube in *P.L.A.C.* III, 154–166; die römischen zahlen beziehen sich auf die gedichte.

DuMéril: E. DuMéril, *Poésies populaires latines du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1847).

Eug. Vulg.: Eugenius Vulgarius, *Sylloga*, hgg. P. v. Winterfeld in *P.L.A.C.* IV, 1, 406 f.

Micon: Micon von Sankt Riquier, hgg. L. Traube, *P.L.A.C.* III, 272 f.; die römischen zahlen beziehen sich auf die gedichte.

P.L.A.C.: Mon. Germ. Hist., Poetae Latini Aeui Carolini.

Pr.: 'Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas (des Meister Hugo von Orleans),' hgg. W. Meyer, *Nachrichten* der kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. kl., 1907, ss. 75 ff.

Sed.: Sedulii Scotti Carmina II, hgg. L. Traube in *P.L.A.C.* III, 166–232; die römischen zahlen beziehen sich auf die in dieser gruppe befindlichen gedichte.

Wal.: Walahfrid Strabo, hgg. in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Leges*, II, 2.

WCh.: *Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*, hgg. v. K. Strecker, Berlin, 1928.

Wright: Thomas Wright, ed., *Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes* (Camden Soc. Publ., No. xvi), London, 1841.

1. Goliarden und Goliasdichter

a. *De gente Goliae*

Es ist jedenfalls sonderbar, dass in den so und so vielen schriften über den ursprung der goliardendichtung, die älteste erwähnung der '*gens Goliae*' niemals ernstlich verwertet worden ist. In dem scherzhaften epos des Sedulius Scottus, '*De quodam Verbece a Cane discerpto*,' heisst es nämlich von dem diebe, der den widder raubte:

> Quidam latro fuit nequam *de gente Goliae*.
> (xli, 43)

Kann sich dieser ausdruck auf den philister Goliath beziehen? Kann er überhaupt als ἅπαξ λεγόμενον einen sinn haben? Der biblische Goliath tritt nicht als lämmerdieb auf. Sedulius selbst gibt ein ganz anderes bild, wenn er von diesem Goliath sprechen will:

> Tuncque Golias obiit superbus,
> *Magna* qui *belli* fuerat *columna*.
> (*De Rect. Christ.* viii, 25 f.)

So scheint es, dass in den oben zitierten versen der '*gens Goliae*' eine andere bedeutung innewohnt. Es liegt nahe zu vermuten, dass 'Golias' bereits in zusammenhang mit '*gula*' gebracht worden ist da der dieb nach dem leckeren bienen strebt. Jedenfalls aber muss '*gens Goliae*' *schon um diese zeit* (*ca.* 848) ein allgemein verständlicher ausdruck gewesen sein, der sich auf eine bestimmte sorte von leuten bezog und komisch wirken konnte. Das vorhandensein dieser benennung um die mitte des IX. jahrhunderts unterstützt die bekannte angabe der *Statute* des Walther von Sens (*Patr. Lat.* CXXXII, 717, 718).[1]

[1] Die echtheit der *Statute* ist schon vom herausgeber bezweifelt worden (*ed. cit.*, s. 717): '*Recentiorum uero sunt temporum constitutiones Walterio ascriptae, in quibus prioratus conuentuales, canonici regulares, moniales nigrae, uocabula insolita erant saeculo nono.*' Jedoch Mr J. W. Thompson hat bewiesen (*Studies in Philology* XX, 1921, 83 f.), dass diese bedenken ungerechtfertigt sind und dass die *Statute* volkommen in den rahmen des IX.–X. jahrhunderts passen. Wenn er dann (*art. cit.*, s. 97) zugibt, dass 'the phrase "*de familia Goliae*" *may* be an interpolation inserted by some copyist later when Goliath's name had already become associated with the Goliardi,' so ist auch diese einschränkung nach dem von uns angeführten Seduliuszitat nicht mehr nötig.

Sind die *Statute* (die nur etwa fünfzig jahre jünger sein sollen, als Sedulius) echt, so ergibt sich der sinn des ausdruckes von selbst:

Statuimus, quod *clerici ribaldi*, maxime qui uulgo dicuntur de *familia Goliae*, per episcopos, decanos, archidiaconos, officiales, et decanos Christianitatis tonderi praecipiantur, uel etiam radi, ita quod eis non remaneat tonsura clericalis; ita tamen, quod sine periculo et scandalo ista fiant (cap. xiii).

So wären die goliarden schon im IX. jahrhundert mit den späteren vaganten identisch, und bei Sedulius fänden wir die *älteste erwähnung* dieser kaste.

Nun stellt es sich aber heraus, dass Sedulius Scottus nicht bloss mit den goliarden bekannt war; sondern er weist in seinen leben und schaffen eine so grosse ähnlichkeit mit den autoren der goliardenlieder auf, dass er von rechtswegen deren vorläufer genannt werden darf. Dies zu begründen, ist der zweck des vorliegenden aufsatzes. Natürlich kann hier nur von einer ähnlichkeit gesprochen werden, wie sie zwischen dem kinde und dem reifen menschen besteht, aber unverkennbar bleibt sie doch.

b. *Seruus et poeta*

Wie müssen wir uns die autoren der vaganten- oder goliardenlieder vorstellen? Man glaubt schon immer weniger daran, dass es ganz heruntergekommene landstreicher gewesen sind.[1] Ganz bestimmt waren sie scholares und litterati; höchst wahrscheinlich sind in ihrer schar die verschiedensten stufen der klerikalen hierarchie vertreten. Am richtigsten hat wohl Lehmann (s. 37) die wirkliche sachlage geschildert:

Die sogenannte vagantendichtungen sind durchaus nicht nur von vagierenden klerikern verfasst, sondern nicht selten bloss in stil und laune der fahrenden schüler gehalten . . . So hat gar oft ein braver klostermann, ein kirchentreuer pfarrer, ein wohlbestallter domherr, ein strenger und gelahrter professor im zorne oder in froher stunde . . . poeme verfasst, die man getrost zur vagantenpoesie zählen kann.

[1] Vgl. Henning Brinkmann, *Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1925), ss. 31, 32.

Aus dieser bunten gesellschaft heben sich aber diejenigen hauptfiguren heraus, deren autorschaft sicher bezeugt ist und an deren gedichte der name Golias mit vorliebe geknüpft wird, so dass J. H. Hanford (SPECULUM I, 1926, 38–58) sie in diesem sinne mit einem gewissen recht die 'progenitors of Golias' nennt: der Primas und der Archipoeta. Der lebenslauf und die soziale lage dieser männer lassen sich kurz durch folgende merkmale charakterisieren:

1. Sie sind litterati und poetae. 2. Sie wechseln ihren wohnsitz, verweilen aber längere zeit an einem ort. 3. Sie verdienen ihr brot an den höfen geistlicher fürsten, ohne dabei ein amt zu bekleiden, lediglich durch schriftstellertum.

1. So ein intellektueller von freiem beruf ist auch Sedulius gewesen; alle obengenannten merkmale passen auf ihn. Er nennt sich häufig '*sophus*' und '*sophista*,' gelegentlich auch '*uates*' (vii, 17), '*poeta*' (xxxvi, 22) und 'gemahl der Muse' (vii, 75). So ist auch der Primas '*enutritus in Piero, eruditus sub Homero*' (xxiii, 82), '*uates*' (xv, 90), und der Archipoeta (Erzdichter) nennt sich '*poeta*,' '*uates*,' '*scholaris*' (A, vii, 17, 20, 22).

Was die vermählung mit der Muse betrifft, so ist besonders die stelle zu notieren, wo Sedulius sich mit dem verlassenen Orpheus, die Camoena aber mit der Euridice vergleicht:

> *Rauca* sonabat enim pastorea fistola nostra . . .
> Indoluit tam grande nefas uerbosa Camena
> Et cigneos uultus abdidit ipsa suos . . .
> Ast ego maestificus tristabar Musicus Orpheus,
> *Euridice* liquit me quoque sponsa mea.
> (vii, 5–11)

Vergleiche die *Carmina Burana*, 154, 3:

> Cantus rhytmici
> iocis refici
> Musa laetatur,
> *rauca* praecatur,
> suae reddatur
> *uates Euridici.*

Bezieht sich die '*Euridice*' auf die Muse selbst, oder auf die in strophe 2 erwähnte geliebte? Ist ersteres der fall (die Muse, welcher

der liebeskranke Orpheus untreu gewesen ist, will wieder mit ihm vereint sein), so ist die parallele vollständig. Tritt aber die Muse nur als *fürbitterin* auf, so ist das auch ein dem Sedulius bekanntes motiv:

Pro nobis nostrum, Musa, rogato patrem.
(xlix, 12)

2. So geht Sedulius, als fahrender Orpheus [1] von land zu land. Wir sehen ihn zuerst in Irland, dann in Lüttich und in Köln (vgl. L. Traube, *Abh. der Kgl. Bayer. Akad. des Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Kl., XIX, 1891, 342, 343); die spuren seiner genossen führen nach Italien, aber ob er selbst dort gewesen ist, lässt sich nicht mit sicherheit sagen (s.u. § 2e, s. 558). In den beiden genannten deutschen städten hat er sich wohl sehr lange aufgehalten, besonders in Lüttich. So finden wir auch den Primas in Beauvais, Sens, Amiens, Reims und Paris, den Archipoeta — in Köln, Vienne und Pavia; auch Walther von Châtillon, bis er es zum canonicus gebracht hat, war in Lille, Châtillon, Bologna, und Reims sesshaft. Dabei betrachtet sogar der unsteteste von den dreien, der Primas, einen zweimonatigen aufenthalt, als kurzen besuch (xvi, 87: *nec fui spacio duorum mensium*).

3. Man sieht, die bezeugten Goliasdichter *sind nicht mit dem literarischen typus des goliarden identisch*, wie er uns z. b. bei Wright (s. 86) entgegentritt, die '*non inuitati*,' aber '*prandere parati*' in den bischöflichen palast treten und nur mit widerwillen zugelassen werden, um gleich wieder abzuziehen:

Episcopus: Non ego curo uagos, qui rura, mapalia, pagos
perlustrant, tales non uult mea mensa sodales
Te non inuito, *tibi consimiles ego uito;*
me tamen inuito potieris pane petito.
Ablue, terge, sede, prande, bibe, terge, *recede.*

[1] xlix, 9: *sum Musicus alter et Orpheus.* Mit dem Orpheus vergleicht sich auch der Primas, nachdem er die Camoenen (xvi, 117) angerufen hat, und, als erste, die Calliope, der auch Sedulius huldigt:

Tu enim cantabis dulcius Sirene
Dulcius Orpheo, seu cigno sene.
(xvi, 127)

Der Primas aber wird in einem guten hospiz in Sens aufgenommen, zwei knaben bedienen ihn (xvi). Dem Sedulius und seinen genossen wird von Hartgar ein zwar schlechtes, aber doch stetiges wohnhaus angewiesen. Am besten ist seine stellung in Lüttich der des Archipoeta in Köln zu vergleichen. Die lateinisch dichtenden poeten nahmen an den höfen der bischöfe dieselbe stelle ein, wie die deutsch und provenzalisch singenden ministerialen in den burgen der ritterschaft. Sie gehörten zu 'des milten bischofes ingesinde.' So nennt sich der Archipoeta gegenüber dem erzbischof Reinald '*seruus et poeta*,' '*poeta tuus*' (A, vi, 3), so auch Sedulius gegenüber dem bischof Hartgar: '*Sedulius famulus tuus*' (ix, 26), '*Sedulius uester*' (vii, 75), '*Orpheus uester*' (vii, 79). Wichtig ist es, dass er kein kirchliches amt inne hat,[1] auch keine beamtenstellung (wie etwa Walther von Châtillon in Reims) bekleidet, ja nicht einmal magister ist. So steht er (mit seinen genossen) *abseits von allen kontinentalen karolingischen dichtern und bildet einen besonderen sozialen typus*. Er ist ein fahrender, ein kuckucksei im sprengel. Er geniesst keinen festen gehalt, sondern ist auf geschenke angewiesen, ganz wie der spätere Golias (s. 567 u.). Sein sozialer rang ist keinesfalls höher.[2] Dass er an einer königlichen gesandtschaft aus Irland teilgenommen haben soll, ist Traubes vermutung (*loc cit.*, s. 342), wird aber durch nichts bestätigt; ja es ist kaum denkbar, dass eine gesandtschaft in dem kläglichen und zerlumpten zustande in Lüttich angelangt wäre, welchen Sedulius (in iii) beschreibt. Wenn er sich öfters an gekrönte häupter mit seinen panegyrischen gedichten wendet, so ändert das nichts an der sache, sondern verstärkt vielmehr seine ähnlichkeit mit dem Archipoeta. Singt Sedulius z. b.:

Fulgide Caesar, aue, nunc mundi doxa, Lothari,
(lix, 1)

[1] Sagt er (iii, 13, 14): '*Nos . . . doctos grammaticos presbiterosque pios*,' so zeigt das nur, dass unter den iren ein oder zwei priester waren; sich rechnet er wahrscheinlich, zu den grammatici. Jedenfalls spricht er nirgends mehr von seinem priesteramt; er steht zu keiner kirche in engerer beziehung. Ob er die weihe empfangen hat, ist unsicher.

[2] Der Archipoeta war z.b., '*ortus ex militibus*.' Zu derselben gruppe gehört auch der Basler Kleriker; er ist pfründenlos, arm (*Bas. Kl.* iv, xxvii, xlv) und ernährt sich von den gaben des bischofs und seiner angestellten (vii, viii, xiv, xlii), denen er dafür lobeslieder spendet.

so dichtet auch der Archipoeta für Friedrich Barbarossa:

Salue, mundi domine, Cesar noster aue.
(vii, 1)

Beide tun es nämlich im auftrage ihres bischöflichen herren. Das meiste, was uns vom Archipoeta erhalten ist, sind scherzhafte lieder, deren er sich bediente, um vergebnis seiner sünden oder eine gabe zu erlangen. Aber auch ernste aufträge ergingen an ihn von seiten der erzkanzlers, wie das eben zitierte gedicht zeigt.[1] Auch Sedulius hat scherzgedichte zu demselben zwecke erzeugt, die ihm auch das gewünschte einbrachten:

Ast his *uersicolis risit pius ille* relectis,
Ac sophicis uotis prospera cuncta dedit.
(ix, 27)

Aber ihm sind solche nugae natürlich nebensache. In dieser hinsicht gleicht er eher dem Walther von Châtillon, der neben epischen gedichten und theologischen traktaten auch vagantenlieder gedichtet hat und den wir noch öfters zum vergleich mit Sedulius heranziehen werden.

Die soziale und finanzielle lage des Sedulius müssen wir jedoch viel niedriger anschlagen, als diejenige Walthers. In diesem punkte unterscheidet er sich keineswegs von den 'progenitors of Golias.' 'Gelehrtenproletariat, aber kein gaunertum': so möchten wir Spiegels formel für diese *dichterklasse* modifizieren.

Hier aber beginnt ein dilemma. '*Gens Goliae*,' '*familia Goliae*,' '*goliardi*'[2] — das sind ja, wie wir sahen '*clerici ribaldi*,' '*fures*' (IX. jahrhlundert), zudringliche, kaum geleidete parasiten (s.o.

[1] Es ist die erfüllung des im Archipoeta, vi, besprochenen befehls Reinalds:

4. Iubes angustissimo spacie dierum
me tractare seriem augustarum rerum . . .
5. Vis, ut infra circulum parue septimane
bella scribam forcia breuiter et nane.

Bella fortia hat auch Sedulius besungen (xxxix, xlv).

[2] In die kontroverse über die priorität von 'Golias' oder 'goliardus' wollen wir uns nicht einlassen; sie ist, bis auf entdeckung neuen materials, fruchtlos.— J. W. Thompsons geistreiche vermutung (*art. cit.*, s. 96: *goliardi* < *gula* + *ardeliones*) erweckt vom sprachgeschichtlichen standpunkte manchen zweifel: keine ähnlichen formen sind bezeugt. Woher der deklinationswechsel? Wie und wann ist das suffix *-el* abhanden gekommen? Wo doch '*goliard* von '*Golias*' eine ganz ungezwangene bildung ist, wie '*frocard*,' '*richard*,' '*soudard*' und drgl.

Episcopus et Goliardus — XII. jahrhundert). Die soziale lage der obengenannten dichter ist doch jedenfalls wesentlich von diesem gesindel verschieden. Wie kommt es denn, dass ihre lieder mit dem 'Golias' in verbindung erscheinen, öfters dessen namen im titel führen (vgl. Hanford, *art. cit.*, s. 39)?

Wir glauben, dass sich 'Golias' gar nicht auf den leiblichen dichter dieser gedichte bezieht. Der Golias ist vielmehr ein konvenzionelles symbol, sozusagen, der *genius tutelaris* einer literarischen richtung. In dieser figur wird der vagabund typisiert und idealisiert, als epikuräer und enfant terrible, als unerschrockener frondeur und geistreicher wahrheitsager — kurzum, ein westlicher Bekri-Mustafa. Er erlebte ungefähr dieselbe behandlung, wie heutzutage der 'apache' im music-hall, oder der 'picaro' im Spanien des XVI. – XVII. jahrhunderts. Es bildete sich in den gelehrten geistlichen kreisen eine besonder 'goliardendichtung' heraus, gerade so wie bei den rittern und bürgern (Adam de la Hale) des XII. u. XIII jahrhunderts eine schäferpoesie entstand. Der prototypus dafür, der reelle tonsurierte landstreicher, war vielleicht noch weniger kultiviert und geistreich, als die reelle schäferin. Aber der dichter stellt sich selbst als 'goliarden,' als träger der vagantenpsychologie hin.[1] Dabei ist der Primas ebensowenig identisch mit dem 'Golias' oder '*discipulus Goliae*,' wie Grimmelshausen mit seinem Simplicissimus. Bedenken wir, dass Hariri, der autor der arabischen schelmenweisheit ein solider, begüterter herr gewesen ist. Man bediente sich der grotesken figur des Golias, um komische und weltliche motive in literarisches gewand zu kleiden. Solch ein konvenzionelle vermummung war natürlich für die *dienenden poeten* schiklicher, als für hohe geistliche herrren und sogar für monachi regulares, zu denen die meisten lateinischen dichter der zeit gehörten.

Sedulius ist, wie wir sahen, ein vertreter eben dieser dienenden berufsliteraten, ganz wie die späteren Goliasdichter. Sedulius kennt schon die '*gens Goliae*' *und verwendet sie zu komischem zwecke* in

[1] Darum gebrauchen wir im folgenden die traditionellen benennungen (vaganten und goliarden) auch für die dichter, jedoch mit dem vorbehalt, dass, wenn jemand von dem 'vagantenorden' sagt '*nostra docet regula*,' '*noster ordo prohibet*,' so muss er darum ebensowenig ein gauner, wie der dichter der pastourelle ein schäfer sein. Steht doch z.b. auch im vagantenliede (*CB.*, lxii, 16): 'Sumus pastores *nos* egregii, procuratores gregis regii.'

seiner dichtung.[1] So ist es denn sicherlich kein zufall, dass wir gerade bei ihm solchen gedichten begegnen, die eine vereinigung von motiven und stilistischen kunstgriffen aufweisen, welche sich vielfach mit dem gedanken- und wortschatze der 'goliarden' decken. Aber hier verlassen wir die biographie und betreten das bereich der dichtkunst.

2. Goliardenmotive bei Sedulius Scottus

a. *Poeta pauperior omnibus poetis*

'*Sepe de miseria mee paupertatis / conqueror in carmine uiris litteratis* (A, vi, 20).' Aus der feder muss Sedulius sein täglich brot gewinnen, und das ist nicht immer eine ergibige quelle. '*Quid ego miser faciam, qui nec agros colo,/ qui nec fur, nec mendicus, neuter esse uolo?* (A, vi, 19; *C.B.*, cxiv, 4).' Und, leider, sind er und seine irischen genossen den leiblichen genüssen von herzen ergeben. Darum charakterisiert sich seine dichtung, *soweit sie autobiographisch ist*, durch dieselben leitmotive, wie die der Goliasdichter: *armut* und *weltliche freuden*. Sich und die seinen nennt Sedulius '*Scottigenae egeni*' (i, 39):

Nec nos oblectat praediues copia rerum,
Sed nos excruciat horrida *pauperies*.
(ix, 3)

paupertatem meam non taceo.
(A, ii, 36)

Pauperie mea conteste,
patet manifeste . . .
(*C.B.*, cxcvii, 3)

Paupertatis pondus fero.
(Pr., xxiii, 70)

Pauper et absque cibo nates operire nequibo.
(Bas. Kl., xlv)

Ja dasselbe schimpfwort '*pestis*' gebraucht der Archipoeta in bezug darauf (A, viii, 77: *Paupertatis premor* peste) wie Sedulius für

[1] Er ist möglicherweise sehr oft mit ihnen zusammengekommen, da doch ein grosser teil dieser '*deceptores, gyrouagi et cursores*' (zit. bei J. W. Thompson, *art. cit.*, s. 90) aus seinen landsleuten, den iren, rekrutiert wurde. Die worte Walahfrids (*Vita S. Galli*, II, 47, zit. ebd.): '*de natione Scottorum quibus consuetudo peregrinandi iam paene in naturam conuersa*,' sind für uns besonders wertvoll, weil sie von einem *zeitgenossen des Sedulius* geschrieben worden sind.

seine hungersnot, und gleicherweise flehen beide den bischof um heilung an:

Hanc igitur *pestem* uincat clementia uestri . . .
(Sed., xxxvi, 10)

Ecce Ionas tuus plorat . . .
ut a *peste*, qua laborat,
soluas eum . . .
(A, viii, 45 f.)

Wem soll er seine not klagen? Natürlich nur den geistlichen herren, denn nur diese verstehen seine kunst zu würdigen (*laici non capiunt illa quae sunt uatis*). '*Ubi uero uictum quaero, nisi clero? . . . Onerosus et quo ibo? Ad laicos non transibo. Parum edo, parum bibo*' (Primas, xxiii). So sehen wir auch Sedulius, sich mit seinen bettelliedern an bischof Hartgarius und an einen Rotbertus wenden, den er auch '*celsę pater*' nennt (xxxvi, 5). Auf diese '*largi praesules*' (A, vi, 25) [1] stützt er seine hoffnung (ob Wulfengus ein laie war, ist unsicher):

O decus eximium, nostrae *spes* aurea Musae (*sc.* Rotbertus).
(Sed., xxxvi, 1)
Archicancellarie, *spes* et uita mea.
(A, vi, 33)
Archicancellarie, *spes* et mea solus.
(*ib.*, 29)

Von dem herren erwartet er trost und obdach:

Per te Scotigenis requies praestatur *egenis*.
(Sed., i, 39)
Rot- bone, sint nobis per te *solacia*, -berte.
(Sed., xxxvi, 3)
Mihi uero *egenti* / *solamen* impendatis.
(*C.B.*, cxcviii, 4)

Denn er ist an die äussersten grenzen der not angelangt:

Nos *sitis* atque *fames* conturbat, bestia duplex.
(Sed., ix, 1)
quod tam *siti* quam *fame* pereo.
(A, ii, 36)

[1] Sedulius nennt seinen wohltäter auch '*large praesul*'; so verstehe ich den vers ix, 25:
Large, salutiferum contra uulnuscula, *praesul*,
Sedulio famulo da cataplasma tuo.

Ebenso A, xxxvi, 9: *dira fames.* Aber auch von der kälte wird der irische Goliasdichter des IX. jahrhunderts geplagt, ganz wie der französische und deutsche im XII-ten:

Nos tumidus *Boreas* uastat . . .
(Sed., iii, 13)
. . . pellantur *frigora* multa
(*ib.*, x, 11)
Pauper mantelle, macer absque pilo, sine pelle
Si potes, expelle, *Boream* rabiemque procellae
Sis mihi pro scuto, ne *frigore* pungar acuto.
(Pr., ii, 9)
Frigore siue fame tolletur spiritus a me.
(A, i, 16)
Frigoribus densis incedam more Galensis
Vel sicut Scotus nudus genitalia totus.
(Bas. Kl., xlv, 8)

Kurzgesagt: '*Nihil nobis paupertatis, sed ad diues omnia,*' wie der satiriker von Gloucester singt.[1] Der goliarde kann nicht umhin, sein elend (*uatis inopia*) mit dem wohlstand seines gönners zu vergleichen:

Unde sepe lugeo, quando uos ridetis.
(A, vi, 17)

Sedulius schreibt ein ganzes gedicht, in dem er um bessere wohnung bittet und das in form einer antithese zwischen dem palast des bischofs und dem erbärmlichen quartier der irischen 'sophoi' aufgebaut ist:

Vestri tecta nitent luce serena.
(Sed., iv, 1)
Nostri tecta nigrant perpete nocte.
(*ib.*, 11)

Hier sei aber gleich der kapitale unterschied hervorgehoben, der unseren Sedulius von den goliarden des XII. jahrhunderts trennt: der hass gegen die reichen überhaupt und die geizhälse im besonderen ist ihm gänzlich fremd. Die *auaritia*, gegen die sogar Walther von Châtillon eifrig auftritt, wird nur beiläufig im *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis* unter den übrigen lastern erwähnt. Im gegenteil, fehlt

[1] Siehe Du Méril, s. 215; W. Meyer (*Gött. Nachr.*, 1908, 412).

es nicht bei Sedulius an lobeserhebungen des gütigen spenders. Er wird '*bonus uir*' (lviii, 1), '*largus*' (ix, 25), '*pius*' (ix, 27, xxxvi, 21 u. a.) genannt (vgl. A, x: '*optime vir*,' '*pius*,' '*largus*'), wenn er die seufzer des dichters erhört. Es bedarf nur einer geringen gabe, damit der hungerleidende sich 'bereichert' fühlt:

Et nos uestiuit, triplici *ditauit* honore.
(Sed., iii, 25)
Me *ditauit* ita noster bonus archileuita.
ditauit Boso me munere tam precioso.
(Pr., xiii)
Vestra quidem bonitas uestrum *ditabit* amicum.[1]
(*ib.*, xvii, 7)

Es handelt sich, in erster linie, um speise und trank:

Fronte serenifica quos aspicis, *optime pastor* . . .
(Sed., i, 41)
Tecmine quos *uestis*, quos *pascis* et, inclite praesul:
Pascis eosque *cibo*, pascis et ingenio.
(*ib.*, 43)
Abbas *bonus pastor* est et me bene *pauit*.
(A, ix, 25)
Plus dedit ille pius, nam roscida munera Bachi:
Ter centum fialas donauerat ipse poetae.
(Sed., xxxvi, 21)
Hic michi, non aliis, uinum habundauit.
(A, ix, 25)

Auch die kleider, der typische lohn des fahrenden sängers, fehlen nicht: *Dent nobiles dona nobilia, aurum*, uestes *et his similia* (A, ii, 40).[2] Dass es schon damals 'getragene wât' waren, lässt sich vermuten, aber nicht beweisen:

Praesulis eximii clementia mentis serena . . .
. . . nos *uestiuit* . . .
(Sed., iii, 21–25)
Caesaris illustris furuum decorate *poetam*,
Tradite uersifico *dalmaticamque* uiro.
(Sed., xvi, 17, 18)

[1] A, viii, 75: *scribam tibi, si me* ditas.

[2] Die erwähnung von kleidergeschenken beim Primas sind so häufig, dass sie nicht zitiert zu werden brauchen.

Largissimus largorum omnium,
presul dedit mihi hoc pallium.
(A, ii, 39)

Einmal hat Sedulius sogar von Kaiser Lothar solch einen lohn empfangen:

Is me uestiuit praeclara *ueste poetam*
(xxvi, 9)
Poeta composuit racionem rithmicam . . .
Unde bene meruit mantellum et tunicam.
(A, iv, 11)

Bas. Kl., vii (im akro- u. mesostichon):

Cantor Dietrice, me laetitifica pie *ueste.*

Für diese güte verspricht der goliarde seinem brotgeber ihn ausgibig zu besingen:

Erraui numero: potius millena sonabo
Milleque myriades canto salutis opes.
(Sed., xxvi, 3)
Gutture sic liquido nam uos mea Musa sonabit,
Aethiopissa loquax *saturataque carmina* dicet.
(*ib.*, xxxvi, 19)
Tradite uersifico dalmaticamque uiro:
Tunc me nec uincent septeno gutture *cigni*,
Plus uos organicis tunc resonabo tropis.
(*ib.*, xvi, 18–20)

quantum sis largus, *largo michi* munere prodas.
inde poeta tuus scribam tibi *carmen* et odas.
(A, x, 40)
Poetrias inauditas / scribam tibi, si me ditas.
(*ib.*, viii, 74)

Vergleiche auch Primas:

Tu [sc. Primas] enim cantabis dulcius Sirene,
dulcius Orpheo ceu *cigno* sene . . .
. . . cum tibi dabuntur due mine plene.
(xvi, 127)

Quisquis *Homerus* amat hoc nomen dicere uersu
Laudibus egregiis . . .
(Sed., xii, 61, 62)

. . . *Omeri*
Laus tibi praeberi decet, hanc scis ipse mereri
Non parcens eri mihi, quaeso, uelis misereri.
(Bas. Kl., xiv, 5)

Das übrige wird ihm der liebe Gott heimzahlen. Die glückwünsche sind wenig bezeichnend, denn sie kommen ja sonst in episteln und panegyrischen dichtungen häufig vor. Die themata sind: langes leben, ruhm und lohn im himmel.[1] Aber wichtig für die betteldichter ist das gleichnis, das der goliarde aufstellt zwischen den ihm vom irdischen herren verehrten nahrungsmitteln und der himmlischen kost, die des wohltäters im jenseits harrt:

Qui tristibus Falerna
Largiri gaudes dona,
Poteris fonte uitae
Alma sanctorum sorte.
(Sed., lviii, 49–52)

Prestet uobis creator Eloy
caritatis lechitum olei,
spei uinum, frumentum fidei
et post mortem ad uitam prouehi.
(A, ii, 44)

[1] Der vollständigkeit halber werden auch hier parallelen aus der vagantenpoesie angeführt:

Idcirco uestrum nomen, laus fama per aeuum
Peruolat in terris, scribitur atque polis.
(Sed., i, 47)

Scandere sic ualeas caelestia templa beatus.
(*ib.*, iii, 19; ähnlich, iv 46–49).

. . . (sic sic scandatis in astra) . . .
Sic uobis magna et *tribuatur gloria* palmae.
(*ib.*, xxxvi, 5, 15)

Laudes gliscunt Roberti . . .
Longaeuum fac Robertum.
(*ib.*, lviii, 2, 4)

Presul dedit mihi hoc pallium,
magis habens in celis premium,
quam Martinus, qui dedit medium.
(A, ii, 39)

Christus tibi *tribuat* annos et trophea
et nobis facundiam, ut scribamus ea.
(A, vi, 33)

. . . . . Cui sit *gloria*,
et gratia et copia
omnium bonorum per secula seculorum.
(Pr., xvi, 155)

Nobis uero mundo fruentibus
uinum bonum sepe bibentibus,
sine uino deficientibus
nummos multos pro largis sumptibus.
(*ib.*, 45)

So haben wir der reihe nach alle peripetien des bettelliedes durchmustert. Es bleibt noch übrig einen kompositionsgriff herauszuheben, den Sedulius in iii, ix, und xxxvi, also in drei von den neun bettelliedern [1] gebraucht. Nämlich die bittschrift schliesst mit einem epilog, der von der bereits stattgefundenen erfüllung der bitte berichtet. In iii sind es sechs verse (21–26: *Praesulis eximii clementia / . . . nos uestiuit, triplici ditauit honore. / Et fecit proprias pastor amoenus oues*), in ix sind es zwei (27, 28: *Ast his uersicolis risit pius ille relectis* . . . s. o., s., 532), in xxxvi ebenfalls zwei (21, 22: *Plus dedit ille pius, nam roscida munera Bachi: / Ter centum fialas donauerat ipse poetae*). Diese verse sind, wahrscheinlich später, nach der erfüllung der bitte, hinzugedichtet worden, um dem freigibigen gönner ein denkmal zu setzen.

So singt der Primas sein xvi. lied, um hafer und stroh zu erbetteln:

Nostra Calliope, nunc michi subueni . . . (ut) munus merear auene et feni (100).

Il me fesist grant bien ad unguem, ad plenum,
S'il me volsist doner auenam et fenum
Seignors, ker li preiez propter Nazarenum
Quod ipse dignetur praestare auenam et fenum (141 f.)

Aber am ende des gedichtes stellt es sich heraus, dass er das gebetene bereits erhalten hat, da ein weitherziger herr die für die fourage verpfändeten gegenstände ausgelöst hat:

Mais mis sire Richarz, quem misit Anglia
super me commotus est misericordia . . . (147)

Dona mei une fustainne et uadimonia
insuper redemit, cui sit gloria
et gratia et copia
omnium bonorum per secula seculorum (153 f.)

[1] Sed. i, iii, iv, ix, x, xvi, xxxvi, xlix, lviii.

Auch der Archipoeta beendet ein lied mit dem bericht, wie gut es ihm gegangen ist.

> Interim me dominus iuxta psalmum Dauid
> regit et in pascue claustro collocauit.
> hic michi, non aliis, uinum habundauit;
> abbas bonus pastor est et me bene pauit.
> (A, ix, 25)

Das ist eine manier, und Sedulius ist der erste unter den karolingischen dichtern, der sie einführte, ja der erste, der das bettellied mit den wichtigsten elementen versehen hat, welche dieser gattung bei den Goliasdichtern eigen sind (s. u. § 4a, s. 566).

b. *Alte clamat Epicurus: / Venter satur est securus*
(*C.B.*, clxxxvi)

Ebenfalls ganz abgesondert von allen seinen zeitgenossen und vorläufern steht Sedulius mit dem offenen geständnis seiner vorleibe für weltliche freuden, nämlich für speise und trank. Man weiss, dass dies gerade stets als merkmal der vagantenpoesie gilt. Vielleicht ist diese freie aussage als ein privileg ihres standes anzusehen, denn Sedulius und die goliarden sind im gegensatz zu den übrigen dichtenden zeitgenossen weder priester, noch mönche, sondern '*mundo fruentes*,' wie der Archipoeta sagt, und darum durch keine hypokrisie zum schweigen gezwungen. '*Sum bos triturans, prospera quaeque uolo*' (Sed. xlix, 10). Unter den '*prospera quaeque*' versteht er aber (ebenso wie unter den '*prospera cuncta*' in ix, 28) die freuden der '*gula*.' In dieser hinsicht ist er ein wahrer sohn des 'Gulias' und steht keineswegs hinter der 'Confessio' des Archipoeten zurück. So bekennt sich Sedulius zu den Scotigenae, '*qui bene mandere scimus*' (xxxvi, 18), '*uel quos benefaciat pinguis assatura*,' wie es in dem liede von dem vagantenorden heisst (vgl. Lehmann, *Die Parodie*, s. 225). '*Vescor, poto libens*,' sagt Sedulius von sich selber, aber in einem merkwürdigen kontext, der besonders erötert werden muss. 'Der gedanke an Gott und an meine sünden verlässt mich niemals — so lautet das leitmotiv des kleinen gedichtes lxxiv, das aus drei distichen besteht. Der dichter zählt seine täglichen beschäftigungen auf. In erster linie kommt die wissenschaft, die ihn doch

nicht davon abhält den Herrn stetig anzurufen (vv. 1, 2). Darauf folgen in einem hauch: essen, trinken, dichten, schlafen:

Vescor, poto libens, rithmizans inuoco Musas,
Dormisco stertens: oro deum uigilans.
(lxxiv, 3, 4)

Ganz sonderbar klingen in dem andächtigen liede die ausdrücke '*poto libens*,' '*dormio stertens*' (letzteres in diesem zeitalter fast ausschliesslich in scherzhaften context gebraucht).[1] Sie geben uns ein bild des epikuräers, wie er im vagantenliede gezeichnet ist:

Super potum, super escam
Dormiam et requiescam.
(*C.B.*, clxxxvi, 5)

Auch nicht zufällig sind dichten und schlemmen in einem verse vereinigt (über die erwähnung des gebetes — s. u. § 3a, s. 560), denn bei dem goliarden geht das eine ohne das andere nicht. Des iren feder erlahmt, wenn er kein hammelfleisch zu essen bekommt.

Te sine, multo fleo: *scribere non ualeo*
(Sed., x, 24)

Scribere non ualeo pauper et mendicus
(A, vi, 16)

Nihil ualent penitus, que ieiunus scribo.
(A, iii, 18)

Mihi nunquam spiritus poetrie datur,
Nisi prius fuerit uenter bene *satur;*
Dum in arce cerebri Bachus dominatur,
In me Phebus irruit et miranda fatur.
(*ib.*, 19)

Auch bei Sedulius erwacht die Muse nach guter speise:

Quaesumus, ut multis multetur multo superbus
Nobis Scottigenis, hunc qui bene mandere scimus:
Gutture sic liquido nam uos mea Musa sonabit
Aethiopissa loquax *saturataque* carmina dicet.
(xxxvi, 17–20)

[1] Z. b. in Alcuins *Disputatio Albini* und in der komischen szene in Hrosvithas *Dulcitius*.

Was die speisen selbst betrifft, so unterscheidet sich hier Sedulius von seinen genossen des XII. jahrhunderts durch den leidenschaftlichen kultus des hammels,[1] den wir bei den späteren goliarden nicht finden. Die '*ingentes bachones*' (Sed., lviii, 27) kommen dort auch nicht vor. Der abt, über den Golias (Wright, s. xl ff.) herfällt, hat einen ganz anderen geschmack: — '*Abstinetne ab omni* carne?' — '*Non, sed a quadrupedibus tantum.*' Das menu hat in den dreihundert jahren eine evolution durchgemacht. Denn Sedulius verschmäht keine sorte von fleisch:

> Heu — quam multiplicis defit substantia *carnis*,
> Quam mitis tellus generat, *quam roscidus aether.*
> (xlix, 7, 8)

Im letzten punkte aber stimmt er doch mit dem obengenannten abt überein: '*Remittis itaque, domine abbas, gutturi tuo ea*, quae sursum leuantur in aera. . . . *Remittis, inquam, gurgiti tuo pauones, cignos, grues et anseres* . . .' Die speisekarte des abtes ist natürlich viel reicher als die des Sedulius; aber wir müssen nicht vergessen, dass auch in den *liedern* der vaganten dieses thema niemals detailliert wird, sondern gewöhnlich nur '*cibus*' (vgl. auch Sed. i, 44) oder '*cena*' im allgemeinen vorkommt: das material ist spärlich. So genügen die in diesem abschnitt angeführten ausdrücke, um eine leidliche brücke zwischen den '*gulosi*' der beiden zeitalter zu bauen.

c. *De diligendo Lyaeo*

Viel näher berühren sich die gedichte des Sedulius mit den vagantenliedern in den topoi des weintrinkens, denn in diesem punkte ist beiderseits die terminologie sorgfältig elaboriert. Von dem wein sagt Sedulius:

> Haec *suxi* — non negabo,
> Haec *sugam:* sicera, abi.
> (lviii, 55, 56)
>
> Tercio capitulo memoro tabernam:
> Illam nullo tempore *spreui* neque *spernam.*
> (A, iii, 11)

[1] Iuro per hos digitos, quod in hoc non mentior unquam:
Tales quod cupio, diligo, semper amo.
(Sed., xli, 15)

Man kann nicht genug betonen, dass nichts desgleichen vor Sedulius in der ganzen merovingischen und karolingischen literatur zu finden ist. Das wort '*uinum*' kommt aber bei ihm nur einmal (xxxii, 31) vor; sonst gebraucht er symbolische ausdrücke, die wir sämtlich bei den vaganten wiederfinden: 'Bacchus' wird acht mal erwähnt, 'Lyaeus' vier mal; auch der äusserst seltene 'Liber' kommt einmal vor.

Bacchus wird sonst in der karolingischen dichtung sehr oft genannt; das geschieht aber entweder beiläufig, oder denn mit abscheu und verachtung.[1] Vergleiche bei Alcuin (*P.L.A.C.*, I, 270): '*Heu male pascit eum Bacchus, reor,* impius *ille.*' Oder (*ib.*, 271): '*post* stulti *pocula Bacchi.*' *Ib.*, 250: '*Vae tibi, Bacche pater!*' (s. u., § 4b, s. 570). — Bei Hraban Maurus (*P.L.A.C.*, II, 185): '*Impia Bacchi pocula.*'

Ganz anders fallen die epitheta des Bacchus und Lyaeus bei Sedulius aus. Hier heisst er '*optimus*' (xxxii, 26) und, als wein, '*clarus,*' '*dulcis*' (*ib.* 24 und 30), '*dulcifluus*' (ix, 5), '*purus Lieus*' (lviii, 26). Anstatt '*Vae tibi, Bache pater*' steht hier (xxxii, 28) '*Liber adesto pater.*'

Bei den goliarden ist Bachus gang und gäbe. 'Lyaeus' finden wir beim Primas (xiv, 1; vgl. daselbst, anm. s. 150). Unter den vielen epitheten des weines finden wir '*optimus*' (Primas viii, 16), '*liquor optimus*' (Saufmesse: P. Lehmann, *Parodistische Texte*, 67), '*clarus*' (DuMéril, s. 204), '*dulcis*' (*ib.*), '*purus Bacchus*' (*C.B.* clxxvii, 1).[2] Die '*munera Bachi*' (Sed. xxxvi, 21) (alias '*dona Liei,*' ix, 5) erscheinen, z.b., in *Carmina Burana*, clxxviii, 12. Das ist jedoch durchaus nebensächlich, denn der Virgilianische ausdruck ist ein gemeinplatz bei den karolingischen dichtern. Dasselbe gilt von '*Falernum*' (Sed. xxxii, 29), '*dona Falerna*' (*ib.*, lviii, 49, 50), — ein ausdruck der sogar öfter bei den *poetae Carolini*, als bei den vaganten[3] vorkommt.

Die trefflichste analogie aber bietet der gebrauch des *Liber*. Das

[1] Mit ausnahme des Ermoldus (s. u., s. 543).

[2] '*Bachus pater*' fanden wir nur im späteren trinkliede (DuMéril, s. 210). Ganz anderen ursprungs ist natürlich der '*Pater Bache, qui es in cifis*'— in der Saufmesse (s.o.).

[3] Vgl. Lehmann, s. 176: '*Viuat in aeternum, qui dat nobis uinum Falernum.*'

alte, noch bei Petron und Horaz, vorkommende wortspiel '*Liber: liber*' wird von Sedulius wie von den vaganten verwendet:

Hic est *libertas*, *Liber* hic liberat omnes:
Liber ut esse queam, Liber adesto pater.
(xxxii, 27)

nam qui *Liber appellatur*
libertate gloriatur.
(*C.B.*, 179, 5)

Dieser wird niemals verflucht oder geschändet, sondern vielmehr angerufen:

Bachus sit *miti in ore.*
(Sed., lviii, 16)

Assit mihi Lieus.
(*ib.*, 18)

Bachum colo. . . . quia uolo, ut *os meum* bibat.
(*C.B.*, 177, 1)

Bacche beneuenies, / gratus et optatus.
(*ib.*, 178, 1)

Denn der wein bringt lust und freude:

Inclitus hinc fratrum coetus pia *gaudia ducit*,
Hic das *laetitiam*, clare Liee, nouam.
(Sed., xxxii, 23, 24)

. . . ne sternat forte Falernum,
Sed nos *laetificet dulce* madoris ope.
(*ib.*, 29)

Vinum bonum mihi suaue . . .
Cunctis dulcis *sapor* aue,
Mundana *laeticia.*
(DuMéril, s. 204)

Et nos cum uoce iocunda
Deducamus gaudia.
(*ib.*, 205)

Variante bei Lehmann (*Parodie*, s. 176):

Aue, color uini *clari*, . . .
Tua nos *laetificari*
Dignetur potentia.

In diesem punkte hat aber Sedulius gewissermassen einen vorläufer unter den dichtern des IX. jahrhunderts, nämlich den Ermoldus Nigellus (w. 826), der dem weine nicht so gram zu sein scheint, wie sein zeitgenosse Hraban. Er erwähnt den Bachus sehr oft, spricht mitunter von den '*praedulcia Bachi uina*' (*P.L.A.C.*, II, 7) und den '*laeta Falerna*' (*ib.*, 83), sagt sogar:

Laetificatque bonus mox pectora fortia *Bacchus.*
(*P.L.A.C.*, ii, 73)

Bacchus et exhilarans *gaudia* larga daret.
(*ib.*, 83)

Der kapitale unterschied zwischen den beiden dichtern besteht aber darin, dass Ermoldus diese ausdrücke in beschreibenden und erzählenden liedern gebraucht und *niemals auf sich selber bezieht.* Dagegen, ist es, wie gesagt, ein specificum des Goliasdichters, dass er mit seiner feuchtfröhlichkeit renommiert. So hat der Archipoeta, so der Primas, so auch unser Sedulius getan.

Neben dem wein, erscheint auf der tafel der irischen 'sophoi' noch der '*medus*' (Sed. ix, 6; xlix, 6). So auch in *Carmina Burana*, clxxxvi, 4:

Ruit uenter in agone: pugnat uinum cum *medone.*

Sonderbarerweise bedeutet die '*Ceres*,' wo sie bei Sedulius erscheint (ix, xlix) niemals das brot, sondern das *bier*, *cereuisia* (was schon Traube, *P.L.A.C.*, III, 768, eingesehen hat). Dieses widerspricht dem sprachgebrauch der geistlichen poeten des VIII. und IX. jahrhunderts, bei denen Ceres stets als ähre oder als brot figuriert. Dagegen aber in der *Apokalypse des Golias*, 369:

Resumens *poculum* tractum *a Cerere.*

Immer wieder wird Sedulius den zeitgenossen abtrünnig, um dem standesgenossen Golias die hand zu reichen.

Sein verhalten der Bier-Ceres gegenüber bleibt unklar, oder, vielmehr, schwankend. In dieser hinsicht scheint unser '*sophus*' ein anhänger der relativitätstheorie zu sein: denn, mit der abscheulichen '*tenuida*'[1] verglichen, ist das bier '*Cereris dulcida progenies*,' '*Flaui-*

[1] Nach Traube (*P.L.A.C.*, III, 177 anm.) = dünnbier.

comae Cereris gratia dulcis' (Sed., ix, 12, 8); wird dem iren aber wein angeboten, so heisst es:

Haec sugam: *sicera, abi.*
(Sed., lviii, 56)

Unter '*sicera*' ist sicher das bier gemeint, wie auch ein an Sedulius anklingender vers eines anderen iren (*ca.* 856–860) bestätigt:

Hinc, *cereuisa abeas:* uocitatus nomine prisco,
Ut tua praeualeant munera, Bache, ueni.
(*P.L.A.C.*, iii, 690)

Vergleiche auch *Neues Archiv*, XIII (1888), 361: *non habens ad manducandum et bibendum, nisi pessimum panem et minimam particulam de pessima ceruisa.* Also schon damals unterschied man zwischen biergästen und weingästen. Auch dem Golias ist dieser unterschied sehr geläufig:

Quid nos spectat paupertatis?
Habet parum, habet satis,
postquam uenit non uocatis
ad nostrum conuiuia . . .
Habet tantum de hic potus,
quod conuentus bibit totus
et cognatus et ignotus
de *aegri seruisia.*
(DuMéril, s. 216) [1]

Die '*tenuida*' ist ein ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

Was die *gefässe* betrifft, in denen der trunk aufbewahrt oder dargereicht wird, so besteht hier eine grosse diskrepanz zwischen Sedulius und den goliarden. Die den letzteren geläufige '*lagena*,' '*crater*,' '*uas*,' '*calix*' fehlen bei Sedulius; auch '*scyphus*' steht nicht im entsprechenden kontext. Hingegen haben wir die '*cacaui*' (Sed., ix, 7) und '*fialae*' (Sed., xxxvi, 22) des Sedulius vergebens bei den goliarden des XII. und XIII. jahrhunderts gesucht (vgl. u., § 4b,

[1] Vgl. P. Lehmann, s. 176, 177:
Vinum bonum et suaue
bibit abbas cum priore,
sed conuentus bibit male.
Virgo Mater, aspice.

s. 570). Gemein sind ihnen die im IX. jahrhundert [1]) sehr häufigen '*pocula*' ('*p. felicia*,' Sed., xxxii, 25), welche bei den vaganten oft erscheinen (z.b. *C.B.*, clxxvii, clxxix, clxxx, cxcv).

Aber die echte, die zweifellose brücke bildet der mit wortspiel begleitete '*modius*' in den '*Verba Comoediae*' des Sedulius, wo er das trinkgelage beschreibt:

> Nos, fratres, modicum uini modiumue bibamus,
> *Bachicus* in cunctis sit *modus* uel *modius*.
> (xxxii, 31, 32)

> Cum inter fabulas et *Bacchi pocula*
> modum et regulam suspendit crapula,
> dicunt quod dicitur fauor a fabula,
> *modus a modio*, a gula regula.
> (*Apokalypse des Golias*, 389)

Das ist der schlagendste von allen einzelnen berührungspunkten. Denn hier haben wir direkten hinweis auf eine in gewissen kreisen übliche redensart, auf einen stereotypen witz. Und nun finden wir diesen Goliaswitz bei den '*bibaces*' (Sed., xxxii, 38) des IX. jahrhunderts wieder; es sieht ganz so aus, als ob zwischen ihnen und den '*bibuli*' des XII. jahrhunderts ein ununterbrochene tradition wirkte, ja es ist fast mit sicherheit zu behaupten.

Die '*bibaces*' selbst werden bei dem gelage mit '*fratres*' angeredet:

> Nos, *fratres*, modicum *uini* modiumue *bibamus*.
> (Sed., xxxii, 31)

> Sed nos, eximii *fratres*, laetemur . . .
> (*ib.*, 43)

> ubi *uinum* . . . potant nostri *fratres*.
> (*C.B.*, 177, 4)

> Omnis ergo noster *frater*
> *bibat* semel, bis, ter, quater.
> (Lehmann, s. 179)

> . . . *fratres* potatores, ut *bibatis* . . .
> (*ib.*, Saufmesse, s. 60)

[1] Vgl. z. b. Candidus, '*Vita Aeigili*' (*P.L.A.C.*, ii, 107): '*pocula laeta*,' (Virg., *Georg*, ii, 383).

Denn der goliarde liebt es nicht allein bei tisch zu sitzen:

> Largum habens dominum nolo parcus esse,
> nolo sine socio mea frui messe.
> (A, vi, 31)

So hört man auch Sedulius in seinen bettelliedern stets für seine genossen sorgen und mit ihnen das geschenkte teilen.

Wir sehen, die meisten ingredienten des trinkliedes haben sich als vaganten-topoi herausgestellt. Was die *aduocatio Dei* betrifft, mit der Sedulius' lied xxxii endet, so wird von ihr unten (§ 3a, s. 560) die rede sein.

Wei gesagt, decken sich die '*potatoria*' des Sedulius fast vollständig mit goliardischem stoff; nicht aber umgekehrt. Das thema wird bei den vaganten viel breiter behandelt. Wir können hier unmöglich alles aufzählen, was bei Sedulius nicht vorhanden ist, aber auf den wichtigsten punkt wollen wir doch aufmerksam machen. Niemals erwähnt Sedulius die *taberna;* so fehlen bei ihm auch alle motive und bilder die damit verbunden sind, wie der wirt, das spiel, die bezahlung, u. s. w. Sedulius schmaust zu hause (oder bei dem gönner), so tut auch der Primas; aber schon der Archipoeta begnügt sich nicht immer damit: '*Mihi sapit dulcius uinum de taberna, / Quam quod aqua miscuit praesulis pincerna*' (iii, 13, 14). Ihm folgen die unbekannten autoren der *potatoria* in den *Carmina Burana,* wie auch die spiel- und saufmessen.

Hier hat wahrscheinlich eine allmähliche evolution stattgefunden, und man muss nicht vergessen, dass unser Sedulius am äussersten greifbaren anfange dieser reihe steht.

d. *Tempus adest floridum*

Zu den weltlichen genüssen gehört auch die naturfreude der vaganten. Uns interessiert aber nicht die naturschilderung an sich, sondern nur als kompositiongriff. Wir wollen hauptsächlich vom sogenannten *natureingang* sprechen, dessen primordia bereits Henning Brinkmann[1] mit dem namen des Sedulius in verbindung bringt.

[1] *Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1925), ss. 48, 49.

Sonderbar ist aber, dass der gelehrte forscher nur ein gedicht zitiert (Sed., lxiii), und zwar gerade ein solches, wo kein regelrechter natureingang vorhanden ist, sondern die naturbilder über den ganzen text verstreut sind und sich besonders am ende (*id.* 21 ff.) anhäufen. Das kommt natürlich davon, dass Brinkmann den natureingang unbedingt aus der hymnendichtung herleiten will, ohne dabei irgendeine passende parallele zu zitieren, die älter wäre als das XII. jahrhundert; diese späten hymnen sind aber für die these unbrauchbar, wo doch im XII. jahrhundert die vagantendichtung selbst in blüten stand, und es daher unsicher ist, wie wir uns das verhältnis denken müssen.

Viel richtiger hätte der forscher geurteilt, wäre er seiner bemerkung über Walahfrid Strabo (*loc. cit.*) und besonders über Sedulius nachgegangen. Es würde sich dann herausstellen, dass der natureingang der vaganten nicht in hymnen, sondern in eklogen, bettelliedern freundschafts- und begrüssungsgedichten seine erste anwendung findet.

Bei Walahfrid sehen wir zwei regelrechte natureingänge,[1] von denen einer noch ganz schüchtern auftritt, da er eine ekloge (*P.L.A.C.*, II, 370) einleitet und sich sehr nahe an die *Bucolica* anschmiegt:

> *Cur non*, dulce decus, quoniam se contulit hora,
> Et *uer floriferis laetum* se subrigit *austris*
> Magnus et ardentem gradibus legit *aethera Phoebus*,
> Iam spatiis creuere dies, dulcescit et umbra,
> In *flores partusque nouos* et *gaudia* fructus
> *Herba* recens, *arbos* datur et genus omne animantum
> Quod mare, quod *siluas*, quod rura, quod *aera* tranat,
> Quaerere me pateris, te respondere petitis?
> (Wal., xxii, 1)

> *Cur non*, Mopse, boni quoniam consueuimus ambo
> tu calamos inflare leuis, ego dicere uersus,
> hic corylis mixtos inter consedimus ulmos.
> (Virg., *Ecl.*, v, 1)

Neu ist jedenfalls das *frühlingsthema*.

Der zweite (*P.L.A.C.* II, 405) ist ganz kurz, aber viel interessanter, denn er scheint durch keine bekannte tradition bedingt zu

[1] Ueber den 'mondeingang' (*P.L.A.C.*, II, 403), s.u., s. 551.

sein. Er erscheint am anfang eines begrüssungsliedes an Kaiser Lothar (*ca.* 830–840), wo er an sich nicht notwendig ist, und also als schmuck fungiert:

> Innouatur nostra laetos terra *flores* proferens
> *uer nouum* praesentat aestas, dum datur te cernere.
> (Wal., lxiii, 1)

Hier ist auch ein wichtiges element des natureingangs vorhanden, nämlich die logische verbindung mit den gefühlen des dichters. Bei Micon von Sankt Riquier (*ca.* 825–853) fängt ein spottlied (*P.L.A.C.*, III, 362; s. u. § 4c, s. 572) mit einer naturszenerie an, die einer einzigen vers umfasst:

> Inter *florigeras* lenti dum sedimus *herbas* . . .[1]

Der vagantensatire sind solche liederanfänge fremd.

Aber zur wirklichen *manier* gedeiht der natureingang erst bei Sedulius Scottus, dessen gedichte sechs regelrechte natureingänge, von dener nur einen in der *Ekloge*, aufweisen. Das sind: Sed., vii, xix (mondeingang), xlix, lxx, lxxvii, lxxxi (*Ekloge*).

Ausgeschlossen werden die scheinbaren natureingänge im *De Rectoribus Christianis* (cap. xiv, xvii, xviii),[1] da es nur 'naturgleichnisse' sind, z. b.:

> *Quam* lux rutilo noua caelo . . .
> (xiv, 1)
> *Quam* ros sitientibus aruis . . .
> (*ib.*, 5)
> *Sic* praeueniente piaclo
> Animae fit cara medela.
> (*ib.*, 9)

Der typische natureingang beschreibt eine *realität*, eine wirkliche situation, die dem folgenden als hintergrund dient. Sed. iii passt nicht hierher, denn das *ganze* gedicht ist eine schilderung der kälte, die den dichter und seine genossen peinigt. Was die naturbeschreibungen im inneren der gedichte (z. b., vi, lxiii) angeht, so werden wir sie nur als hilfsmittel bei der besprechung der topoi ausnützen.

[1] *P.L.A.C.*, III, 161 ff. Vgl. V. Hellmann, *Sedulius Scottus* (in Traube's *Quellen u. Untersuchungen*, I, 1, München, 1906), s. 62 ff.

Das vergleichsmaterial wechselt hier beträchtlich: weder der Archipoeta, noch der Primas (die wir bis jetzt hauptsächlich ausgebeutet haben) bedienen sich des natureinganges, denn dieser ist im XII. und XIII. jahrhundert mit einer ausnahme (*C.B.*, clxxx: Kneiplied) den liebesliedern reserviert.[1] So kommen hier in erster linie Walther von Châtillon und *Carmina Burana*, der Basler Kleriker und teilweise die *Cambriger Lieder* in betracht.

Da der ersten Renaissance das liebeslied vollständig fehlt (s. u., § 2 f, s. 559), so werden bei Sedulius dem natureingang andere gefühle folgen; die konstruktion aber bleibt die gleiche: naturbild + lyrischer teil. Diese beiden teile sind nun bei den vaganten (dort, wo der eingang nicht blos eine szenerie zu pastourelle u. drgl. bildet) entweder positiv oder negativ verbunden, d. h. die im liede beschriebenen gefühle entsprechen der jahreszeit (*C.B.*, xcv: '*grando, nix et pluuia sic corda reddunt segnia*'), oder sie kontrastieren mit ihr (*C.B.*, lvi: *nunquam amans sequi / uolo uices temporum / bestiali more*). *Dieses ist ein für vaganten und troubadouren typischer kunstgriff, den wir bei Sedulius zum ersten male verwirklicht sehen.*

Sedulius kennt beide formen. *Positive bindung* finden wir im freundschaftsliede:

> Cana hienps celerat glacialibus *horrida* crustis . . .
> (lxx, 5)
>
> *Horrida* plus aspris sunt haec mihi tempora ramnis,
> Quod mihi sophistae pastor amoenus abest.
> (lxx, 11, 12)

Ebenso im begrüssungsliede lxxvii und in vii. *Negative bindung* liegt im bettelliede vor:

> Nunc mare, nunc tellus, nunc caeli sidera rident.
> Ast nos tristificis perturbat potio sucis,
> Cum medus atque Ceres, cum Bachi munera desint.
> (xlix, 4–6)
>
> Heu pro tantis gaudiis tantis inflor suspiriis.
> (*Cant.* 40)
>
> Modo frigescit quidquid est, sed solus ego caleo.
> (DuMéril, s., 236)

[1] In WCh., 30 ist nur symbolisch vom '*uer pacis*' die rede.

Eine untergattung der positiven bindung ist es, wenn der dichter die Muse im winter schweigen, im sommer singen lässt:

Floridus ecce uenit: campi, florete patentes;
Florescant siluae: floridus ecce uenit . . .
Obsecro: prome tonos, septimplex fistola Musae;
Exuperans cignos, obsecro, prome tonos.
(Sed., lxxvii, 1, 2, 5, 6)

Sed cum florigeri miscuerunt tempora ueris,
Dulcisonis cecinit Calliope modulis.
(*ib.*, vii, 13, 14)

Musa uenit carmine,
dulci modulamine:
pariter cantemus;
ecce uirent omnia,
prata, rus et nemus.
(*C.B.*, 108, 1)

Hinsichtlich des entworfenen naturbildes werden die typischen eingänge in frühlings (v) und wintereingänge (h) geteilt. Neben '*uer*' kommt auch '*aestas*' vor. Häufig (in *C.B* — 16/17 mal, bei WCh — 2 mal) erscheint eine variation des frühlingseingangs, in welcher der entweichende oder vorübergegangene winter dem blühenden lenz entgegengestellt wird; damit kann auch stimmungswechsel verbunden sein:

tempore brumali uir patiens, animo uernali — lasciuiens.

Walahfrid kennt von diesen gattungen nur den frühlingseingang; Sedulius beherrscht sie alle.

Wintereingang hat Sed. lxx (6 verse). Also — 1 h: 4v. Dieser typus ist überhaupt selten: *Cant.* kennt ihn nicht (also 0 h: 2 v), WCh. hat 2h: 7v, *C.B:* 4h: *ca.*40v. *Sommereingang* erscheint in Sedulius vii, xlix, lxxvii und lxxxi, davon einmal in der *Ekloge* (lxxxi) und einmal im *begrüssungsliede* (lxxvii); letzteres ist besonders wichtig, wegen der anlehnung an Walahfrid (s. u. die topoi, s. 562 ff.). Das gedicht xlix ist ein bettellied. Die obengenannte *variation des sommereingangs* gebraucht Sedulius in vii: 'während des winters war der dichter schweigsam und betrübt (*tristabar*, 11); aber jetzt kommt der frühling, und seine Muse singt von neuem und flösst ihm *noua gaudia* (25) ein.

Aber damit ist Sedulius' reichtum noch nicht erschöpft: auch der äusserst seltene '*mondeingang*' kommt bei ihm vor. Etwas ähnliches ist wiederum unter Walahfrids gedichten gedruckt (*P.L.A.C.*, II, 403). Das gedicht gehört aber ganz bestimmt nicht dem Strabo, wie wir unten (§ 4b, s. 571) zeigen werden, sondern ist jünger als Sedulius' lieder:

Enitet ecce polo iam nunc plenissima luna,
Gaudia plena notans enitet ecce polo.
(Sed., xix, 1)

Cum splendor *lunae* fulgescat ab *aethere* purae,
Tu sta sub diuo cernens speculamine miro,
Qualiter ex luna splendescat *lampade* pura
Et splendore suo caros amplectitur uno
Corpore diuisos, sed mentis amore ligatos . . .
(Wal., (?) lix, 1)

Hoc saltim nobis lumen sit *pignus amoris.*
(*ib.*, 7)

Dum Diane uitrea / sero *lampas* oritur . . .
dulcis aura zephyri, / spirant omnes *etheri*,
nubes tollit, / sic emollit
ui chordarum pectora,
et inmutat / cor, quod nutat
ad *amoris pignora.*
(*C.B.*, 37, 1)

Die ähnlichkeit der *Carmina Burana* mit den anonymen versen des IX. (X.?) jahrhunderts ist auffallend. Diese aber, als anfang eines freundschaftsliedes, bilden ein mittelding zwischen den liebesliedern der *Carmina Burana* und Sedulius. Bei Sedulius ist der mondeingang schon ganz regelrecht geformt: der naturvorgang ist gegenwärtig und mit dem gefühl des dichters verbunden, nähmlich mit den '*gaudia*', die so oft in den natureingang der vaganten hineingewebt sind (s. u., s. 554).

So ist der ganze rahmen des natureingangs nach demselben modell gegossen, wie bei Walther von Châtillon und in den *Carmina Burana*. Nun werden wir zeigen, das auch die ausfüllung dieses rahmens in vielen punkten zusammenfällt. Es werden im folgenden

die wörtlichen berührungen aufgezählt; mit sternchen (*)[1] bezeichnen wir die vokabeln, welche nicht aus einem eingang, sondern aus einer naturbeschreibung im inneren eines Sedulius-gedichtes geschöpft sind. Ungenaue zusammenhänge werden in eckige klammern ([ ]) eingeschlossen.[1] Walahfrid und andere karolingische dichtungen (s. u., § 4d, s. 577) werden auch berücksichtigt.

a) Elemente, meteorologische vorgaenge u. drgl.

aera Wal., xxii, 8; WCh. 24.

aestas Wal., lxiii, 2 (uer nouum praesentat aestas); *C.B.*, 31 (uer aestatem nuntiat).

aether Wal., xxii, 3; Sed., xlix, 3; Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 6; *C.B.* 54.

**agri* *Sed., vi, 32 (florigeri); Bas. Kler., xl, 24 (uirent) [vgl. seges].

*Aquilo *Sed., iii; *C.B.*, 32.

auster Wal., xxii, 2; *Carmina Scottorum*, vii, 4, 1 [*PLAC.*, iii, 690: flatibus austri]; Bas. Kler., xl, 10 (*Flauit auster*).

[*autumnus*] Sed., lxx, 4; WCh. 21 (autumnali frigore).

**Boreas* *Sed., iii, 1 (Boreae flamina); Sed., *De Rect. Christ.*, xiv, 7 (Boreae post frigora *saeua*); WCh. 21; *C.B.*, 103 (*saeuum* spirans Boreas); Bas. Kler., xxxiii, 1 (Boreali *saeuitia*).

[glacies] Sed., lxx, 5 (glaciales crustes); WCh. 18, 21; *C.B.*, 98.

**grando* **De Rect. Christ.*, xvii, 4; *C.B.*, 95, 106.

hiems Sed., vii, 2 (*cana*), lxx, 5 (cana, *horrida*); *C.B.*, 48, 54, 55 (frigus *horridum*), 57, 98, 102 (*tempus transit horridum*, frigus hiemale), 106, 107.

**imber* *Sed., lxii, 3; WCh., 24.

luna [s.o., s. 551]

Phoebus Wal., xxii, 3; *De Rect. Christ.*, iv; Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 4; *C.B.*, 31, 44, 49 u. ö.

polus Sed., xix, 1, 2, lxx, 2; Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 4; WCh., 32.

[*ros* *De Rect. Christ.*, xiv, 5; WCh., 28 (nouum), 31; *C.B.*, 54; DuMéril, 232].

sidera Sed., xlix, 4; WCh., 23; *C.B.*, 65.

tellus Sed., lxxxi, 2, 9, 34 (s. u. uernare); WCh., 24; *C.B.*, 54, 55, 88, 111 (floret), 113 (uernat).

tempus Sed., lxxvii, 3 (tempora ueris); *C.B.*, 34 (tempore uernali), 121 (ueris tempore) u. ö.; [P. Lehmann, *Parod. Texte*, s. 64: 'In uerno tempore potatores loquebantur ad nuicem'].

terra Wal., lxiii (terra innouatur); *C.B.*, 65 u. ö.; *C.B.*, 53 (tellus renouatur; *Cant.* 40).

**Titan* *Sed., iii, 11; *De Rect. Christ.*, xiv; WCh., 32.

uer Wal., xxii, 2 (laetum), lxiii, 2 (uer *nouum*); Sed., viii (*pictum*),[2] Sed. vi (*nouum*), *Sed., lxiii, 1 (Veris pulcher honos), Sed., lxxvii, 3; *Cant.* 10 (uere nouo), 40; Anhang [*Cant.*, p. 111, *saec.* X] (*pulcher* ualet uer in silua); WCh. 28, 31; *C.B.*, 55, 98, 99 u. ö.

uernare Sed., lxxxi, 2 (uernabat *tellus*); *CB.*, 113 (uernat *tellus*) u. ö.

[1] Die parallelenliste wird, wahrscheinlich, nicht erschöpfend sein. Für die bemerkten unvollkommenheiten wird dem günstigen leser im voraus gedankt.

[2] Virg. *Ecl.*, x, 74.

β) Pflanzenreich

campus *Sed., vi, 15, xlix, 1 (florent), lxxvii, 1 (florete); *C.B.*, 54(reuirescit).

florere Sed., xlix, 1, lxxvii (s. o. campus); *C.B.*, 55, 104, 111 u. ö.

flores Wal., xxii, 5 (*flores*, partusque *nouos*), lxiii, 1; *Sed., lxiii, 22; *Cant.* 40; WCh., 23, 28 (flos *nouus*), *C.B.*, 53, 55 u. ö.

florescere Sed., lxxvii, 2; (*CB.* 135).

**floridus*[1] *Sed., vi, 49 (uitis); *C.B.*, 54, 55,u.ö.

floriger Wal., xxii, 2 (floriferi), Micon, clxi, 1 (florigerae herbae); *Sed., vi, 31, 32 (campi, agri), *De Rect. Christ.*, xiv, 9 (uer); *C.B.* 43 (tempus).

rons Sed., vii, 1; *Cant.*, 40; WCh. 28; *C.B.*, 42, 103 u. ö.

germen Sed., xlix, 1; *Cant.* 10 (cum telluris *uere nouo* producuntur germina).

herba Wal., xxii, 7; Micon, clxi, 1; *C.B.*, 52; DuMéril, 232.

[**lignum* *Sed., lxxi, 19) symbolisch: flores ligno uitae); vgl. *Cant.* 40 (ligna florentia)].

nemus *Carmina Scottorum* (s. u., § 4d, s. 575); *C.B.*, 41, 53, 108, 118.

**oliua* *Sed., vi, 49; WCh., 23; *C.B.*, 52.

partus (terrae) Wal., xxii, 5; *C.B.*, 55 (tellus . . . in partum soluitur).

[peplum telluris] *Sed., lxiii, 22 (*pictum*), Sed., lxxxi, 2 (uarium); WCh. 19 (*picta tellus*); *C.B.*, 65 (*picto* terrae gremio *uario* colore), 109 (*tellus* flore *uario* uestitur), 116 (*tellus picta* flore); DuMéril, 226 (*picto* terrae corpore).

prata Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 2; *C.B.*, 107, 108, 114, 118.

seges Sed., xlix, 1 (segetes uiridant); *C.B.*, 37 (segetes maturas).

silua Wal., xxii, 8; Sed., lxxvii, 2 (*florescant* siluae); *Cant.* 23, 40); *C.B.* 55, 101, 112 (*floret* silua), 116, 135 [*Sed., iii, 9: Labuntur subito siluoso uertice crines; vgl. *C.B.*, 56: Saeuit aurae spiritus et arborum comae fluunt penitus].

[*uiridare* Sed., xlix, 1; (WCh., 26, 31, *C.B.*, 114 — uirere)]

uitis *Sed., vi, 49 (*florida*), Sed., xlix, 2; *Sed., lxii, 9; *C.B.*, 96 (*florent* uites).

umbra Wal., xxii, 4; *C.B.*, 52.

γ) Tierreich

aues Sed., lxxvii, 3 (*celebrant*); Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 5 (*aues canunt* et *dulcia*); *Cant.*, 23 (aues sic cunctae *celebrant* . . .); WCh., 25; *C.B.*, 115 (aues nunc in silua *canunt*) u. ö. (s. u. 'cantus,' 'uolucres').

cantus Sed., xlix, 3 (*permulcent aethera* cantu); *Sed., lxiii, 23 (*id.*); WCh., 23, 1 (Progne modulo *mulcet aera*), 23, 3 (*cantus*); *C.B.*, 41 (cantus auium), 100, 103 u. ö.

organula *Sed., lxiii, 24; Sed., lxxvii, 4 (uolucrum); *Cant.* 10 (dulcis philomela daret suae uocis organa).

**philomela* *Sed., *De Pascha*, ii, 21, 22 (Nunc uariae uolucres permulcent aethera cantu, / Temperat et pernox nunc philomela melos); WCh., 23; *CB.*, 34 (54), 102, 109.

uolucres Sed., xlix, 3 (pictae), *Sed., lxiii, 21 (uariae), *De Pascha*, ii, 21 (*id.*); *Cant.* 40; (WCh. 19); *C.B.* 55, 103, 104 (*dulce canunt* et uolucres), 108.

[1] Bei Sedulius oft für menschen. Auch im natureingang lxxvii, 2, bezieht sich '*floridus*' auf den fürsten (*Florescant siluae: floridus ecce uenit*).

δ) Gefuehle

gaudium Wal. xxii (g. fructus); *Sed., vii, 25 (*noua* g.); Sed., xix, 2 (plena g.); Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 2 (formosa gaudent omnia); *Cant.* 40; (WCh., 19); *C.B.* 31, 49a (p. 136: *noua* gaudia), 53, 100 (uer cum gaudio), 106, 110 (ueri dare sua gaudia), 135, 164.

**laetari* *Sed., lxiii, 4 (l. orbis); Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 3 (laetentur sonata): *C.B.* 116 (l. auis).

ridere Sed., xlix, 4 (mare . . . *tellus* . . . caeli sidera rident); Eug. Vulg., xxxi, 3 (praecordia); *C.B.* 55 (ridet terrae facies), 101 (Phoebus) 107 (prata, terrae facies), 165 (prata).

[*tristari* Sed., vii, 11 (im winter); *C.B.* 95 (uenit cum tristicia grando, nox et pluuia)]

Man sieht, es ergibt sich ein nicht zu verachtendes vocabularium; besonders wenn man bedenkt, dass mehr als drei jahrhunderte die karolingischen natureingänge (Walahfrid und Sedulius) von den vagantischen (Walther von Châtillon) trennen, so wird man gestehen müssen, dass sich recht viel hinübergerettet hat.[1] Die gleichheit der strukturformen (s. o., s. 551) und die vielen berührungen im bilderschatz zwingen uns an eine ununterbrochene tradition zu denken, von der Eugenius Vulgarius und die *Cambridger Lieder* eine ahnung geben (s. u., § 4d, s. 577).

e. *Utar contra uicia carmine rebelli*

Wenn Golias die weltlichen genüsse entbehren muss, so ist ihm eine verbitterte lebensanschauung eigen: *in hac uita misere uiuitur* (A, ii, 15). Seine oben (§ 2a, s. 531) geschilderte finanzielle lage wirkt nicht eben ermunternd. Und wie leicht geht solch ein persönlicher missmut in weltschmerz über.[2] Alles hinieden erscheint ihm als unsteter wahn (*uanitas est omne quod cernitur*). Es ist kein zufall, dass in dem grossen vagantencodex, den *Carmina Burana*, das bild der '*Rota Fortunae*'[3] obenan gesetzt ist, um als symbol des ganzen zu dienen. Auch unserem Sedulius ist dieses bild nicht fremd.

[1] Wir geben hier eine (ganz willkürliche) auswahl von ausdrücken aus Sedulius' natureingängen, die wir bei den vaganten nicht gefunden oder nicht bemerkt haben: *arua, cana* (hiems), *flamina*, Lucifer, *mare* (Sed. u. Wal.), *Nothus, nubila, susurri* (*auium* — WCh., 17: *fontium*), *turgescere.*

[2] Vgl. *C.B.*, lxxxvi, 1: *Versa est in luctum cythara Waltheri,/non quia se ductum extra gregem cleri / uel eiectum doleat . . . sed quia considerat, quod finis accelerat inprouisus orbi.*

[3] Vgl. H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), s. 164.

Ceu *rotae* cyclus celeri recursu
Voluitur, summas reprimitque ad ima,
Quas rota partes rapidum per axem,
Mobilitate:
Regna sic mundi trifidum per orbem
Gloriae celsum stabilire culmen
Nesciunt lapsum . . .
(*De Rect. Christ.* v, 1–7)

Sors inmanis / et inanis, / *rota* tu uolubilis.
(*C.B.*, i, 2)

Fortune rota *uoluitur*,
descendo minoratus,
alter in altum tollitur
nimis exaltatus;
Rex sedet in uertice,
caueat ruinam . . .
C.B., lxxvii, 3.

Darum ist Golias einerseits zum *moralisieren*, anderseits zur satire und hauptsächlich zur *diatribe* geneigt.

Sedulius ist uns hauptsächlich als moralist bekannt, als verfasser des *De Rectoribus Christianis* und zusammensteller der *Prouerbia graecorum* (Hellmann, *op. cit.*, 122). Nun sind auch bei den goliarden die moralisch-didaktischen gedichte nicht selten: vgl. A, ii; *C.B.*, ii, iia, iv, v, via, vii, viii, viiia, ix u. a.

Ein spezifischer berührungspunkt ist das aber nicht, und es würde sich kaum lohnen den Sedulius aus der ganzen masse der moralisierenden literatur herauszugreifen, um ihn allein mit den vaganten zu vergleichen. Betont aber muss werden, dass diese eigenschaft des Sedulius ihn nicht von den Goliasdichtern entfernt, und den von uns entworfenen schriftstellerischen charakter keineswegs ändert.

Was die diatribe betrifft, so ist hier bei den goliarden *persönliche* und *soziale* diatribe zu unterscheiden. Obgleich der auf uns erhaltene nachlass des Sedulius nur wenig derartiges material bietet, können wir doch sehen, dass er keiner von beiden sorten des rügeliedes fremd geblieben ist. In seiner unsicheren sozialen lage hat der Goliasdichter stets feinde und konkurrenten zu befürchten, die ihn vor dem herren verleumden. Gegen derartige '*detractores*' ist, z. b., *C.B.* clxxi a gewendet.

Auch Sedulius und seine genossen wurden von solch einer giftigen zunge angegriffen. So schreibt Sedulius an die seinen:

Taliter in nostro torquentur pectora Codro [1]
O si sint rabido uiscera rumpta uiro.
(xxxiv, 9, 10)

Marce, precor, fidei scuto meritisque beatis
Pellito uulniferas hostis, amice, minas.
Quid facies, Beuchell, flos inter bellipotentes?
Contere colla minax aspidis, oro, trucis.
(*ib.*, 19–22)

Gegen diesen oder einen anderen Codrus wehrte sich Sedulius in den gedichten lv, lvi, lvii, von denen die beiden ersten allerdings in allgemeiner form ('*Contra mendosos*' und '*Oratio contra falsidicos testes*') abgefasst sind. Jedoch wird durch den titel des dritten ('*Item de ipso falsidico teste*') der persönliche charakter der diatribe verraten. Sedulius wurde vor seinem bischof und herren angeschwärzt (lvii, 1: '*Quid mendosa tibi retulit uulpecula, pastor?*'); er wendet aber die spitze der degens gegen den feind:

Scandala sint olli, qui nobis scandala mouit,
Scandala qui loquitur, scandala quique facit.
(*ib.*, 23, 24)

Auch der Archipoeta muss einen ähnlichen angriff abwehren:

Ecce meę proditor prauitatis fui,
De qua me redarguunt seruientes tui.
Sed eorum nullus est accusator sui,
Quamuis uelint ludere saeculoque frui.
(A, iii, 20)

Nun ergeht sich Sedulius gegen die lügner und verleumder überhaupt:

Omnis *mendosus* coruos fert esse columbas . . .
(lv, 1)

[1] Lehmann, *Die parodie*, 78, anm.: 'In der satyrischen literatur des XII-XIII. Jhs. kommt Codrus gewaltig oft vor.' Wir konnten leider nur stellen auffinden, wo vom Codrus aus Juvenal *Sat.* iii, 208 (*nil habuit Codrus*) die rede ist. Wir brauchen hier aber den Codrus des Virgil (*Ecl.* vii, 26: *inuidia rumpantur ilia Codro*). Wahrscheinlich, wird er irgendwo zu finden sein.

Veraque testatur *figmina falsa* fore . . .
(*ib.*, 4)

Is, sucum *fellis* dulcida *mella* refert,[1]
Sic mites agnos scabroso denteque *rodens* . . .
(*ib.*, 6, 7)

Hic cernit uerum, condit ibique *dolum.*
Hinc *piceus* riuus per cannam gutturis exit
Eructans mendas fumigerosque globos.
Ore hians patulo blaterat *linguaque* trisulca . . .
(*ib.*, 10–13)

Sed *confundantur* mendosi daemonis arma,
Quis inopes contra sibilat aspis oues.
(lvi, 11, 12)

In der goliardendichtung fehlt es nicht an angriffen gegen '*mendaces*,' '*hypocritae*' u. drgl. von denen wir einiges vorführen. '*Homo* mendax,' nennt der Primas seinen beleidiger:

Primas sibi non prospexit neque *dolos* intellexit.
(Pr., xxiii, 22, 23)

ueritatis inimici . . . 'qui' latrando *falsa fingunt.*
(*C.B.*, xviii, 5)

tegunt *picem* animi / niueo colore.
(*C.B.*, xix, 3)

Die übliche vaganten-antithese '*mel*' und '*fel*' ist auch von Sedulius verwertet worden. Vgl. *C.B.*, lxxxvii (*mel in fel conuertitur*), *ib.*, xix (*fel supponunt melli*):

Sunt detractores inimici deteriores;
retro *radentes* (rodentes?) et coram blando loquentes . . .
Lingua susurronis est peior felle draconis.
(*C.B.*, clxxi a)

Qui nos *rodunt confundantur,*
Et cum iustis non scribantur.
(*C.B.* 175, 7)

C.B., 168, beklagt sich der vagant gegen eine '*lingua mendax et dolosa*,' die ihn vor der geliebten verleumdet.

[1] Vgl. auch im streitgedicht, '*De Phyllide et Flora*' (*C.B.*, 65, 34): '*Mel* pro *felle* deseris et pro *falsa uerum.*'

Jedoch die meisten motive der goliardischen diatriben fehlen bei dem gelehrten iren. Keine spur von der sozialen satire auf die verschiedenen stände (vgl. DuMéril, s. 128) und laster. Dagegen bleibt seine durch das thema gebotene diatribe gegen die schlechten monarchen (*De Rect. Christ.* viii) ohne vagantische parallelen.

Besonders scharf verfährt der rügende Golias gegen den reichen clerus (denn da ist es, wo ihn der schuh drückt) und gegen Rom. Sedulius hingegen scheint den hohen geistlichen nicht feind zu sein. Es wäre unhistorisch zu behaupten, dass die zeit dazu noch nicht gekommen war: besitzen wir doch ein noch älteres '*Alphabetum de malis sacerdotibus.*'

Wir verzweifelten also beinahe, in dieser hinsicht, etwas für unser thema zu gewinnen, als uns plötzlich eine stelle aus Traube's '*O Roma nobilis*' auffiel: [1]

Ich halte es für fast gewiss, dass Sedulius die handschrift geschrieben hat . . . und wenn ich richtig vermutet habe, dass er den Codex Boernerianus schrieb, so ist auch er es, der das kühne wort, freilich in irischer hülle zu schreiben wagte:

> '[1] Wandern nach Rom macht grosse mühe, bringt geringen nutzen. Den (himmlischen) könig, den du zu hause suchst (vermissest), wenn du ihn nicht mit dir trägst, nicht findest du ihn (dort). [2] Gross ist die torheit, gross die verrücktheit, gross der sinnenverlust, gross der wahnsinn: denn es ist sicher (nämlich 'wandern nach Rom') ein in den tod gehen, ein den unwillen des Sohnes der Maria auf sich ziehen.' [2]

[1] Abh. d. kgl. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. kl., XIX (1891), 348, 349.

[2] Die übersetzung Traubes ist nach H. Zimmer, *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, LIX (1887), 58. Der irische Text nach hs. *msc. Dresd. A.* bl. 145v wird von W. Stokes und J. Strachan im *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus* II (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1903), 296 mit übertragung ins Englische nachgedruckt. Hier aber gebe ich den text der ersten strophe nach R. Thurneysen, *Handbuch des altirischen* II (Heidelberg: Winter, 1909), 41; den der zweiten nach hs. British Museum, *Additional 30512*, bl. 32v wie derletzte von Stokes im *Supplement to Thesaurus Paleohibernicus* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1910), s. 78, auch mit englischer übersetzung, veröffentlicht worden ist.

1 Teicht do Róim:
mór saído, becc torbai!
in rí chon'daigi hi foss,
mani'm-bera latt, ni' fogbai.

2 Mór druiss, mór báis, mór baile,
mór coll céille, mór mire,
ol is airchenn dul d'écoib
beith fo étoil Maic Maire.

Roma caput mundi est, sed nil capit mundum (*C.B.*, xix); *Roma quasi rodens manus, per quam mundus roditur* (WCh., 12); *Vere, Roma, nimis est; eris sitibunda, uorax irreplebilis, inferis secunda* (DuMéril, s. 89), u. s. w.

Diese unschätzbaren verse setzen dem ganzen vergleich die krone auf. Also auch dieses eigenste eigentum der vaganten, die *Romsatire* müssen sie mit Sedulius teilen.

(f. *Rubentis oris osculis . . . iocundor plus quam flosculis*)

In einem punkte muss unsere forschung versagen: in der vagantenerotik. Hier stossen wir an die bekannte (und rätselhafte) 'asexualität' der karolingischen dichtung.[1] Als 'asexueller goliarde' muss unser Sedulius bezeichnet werden bis auf neue funde. Natürlich hat er, wie mehrere zeitgenossen, die üblichen *laudes dominarum* (an kaiserin Irmingard und prinzessin Berta) geschrieben. Aber zwischen diesen preisgedichten und den '*dulces ludi Veneris*' gähnt ein noch nicht überbrückter abgrund.[2]

Nur eine kleinigkeit möchten wir hervorheben. Ein einziger strich — aber doch im zusammenhange recht bezeichnend. Sedulius nennt die Calliope seine '*Musica coniunx*' (vii, 75):

Heu quam tristifico doluerunt corcula uati
Te non praesente, *sponsa uenusta mea.*
(Sed., vii, 33, 34)

Schon dieser ausdruck ist für einen karolingischen dichter äusserst frivol. Und wenn es dann noch heisst:

Syrmate purpureo glaucisque uenusta capillis,
Oscula da labiis Sedulio roseis.
(Sed., i, 5)

Von küssen wird während der karolingischen Renaissance nur dann gesprochen, wenn es *oscula pacis* oder offizielle begrüssungs-

[1] Von den sehr verschleierten und darum zweifelhaften '*paidica*' Walahfrids und Godescalks dürfen wir absehen.

[2] Es ist ein mächtiger verdienst H. Brinkmanns, dass er (*Neophilologus* IX, 1924, 50), die merovingischen und karolingischen preisgedichte mit den späteren liebesbriefen in verbindung gesetzt hat, und auch seine obenerwähnte *Geschichte der Liebesdichtung* mit der epistel beginnt. Eine detallierte forschung wird hier noch manches aufklären.

küsse sind. Aber vom 'rosenroten mund seiner schönen frau' spricht keiner der gut situirten klosterherren des VIII. und IX. jahrhunderts, nicht einmal bildlich. Nur so ein bohème-dichter, wie der irische Orpheus, durfte sich derartige schelmische schlüpfrigkeiten erlauben, die von den herren wohl mit solidem herablassendem lächeln empfangen wurden. Ja, der schalk bringt sogar ein gewisses raffinement hinein — alles, natürlich, unter dem schutz der metapher:

Lilia tunc croceae dant oscula grata sorori,
Illa sed huic *ludens* spinetis *ora momordit.*
Lilia uernigenae *ludum risere puellae,*
Ambroseo bibulum potant et lacte rosetum.
(Sed., lxxxi, 45–48)

Im vergleich mit den *iubili* der vaganten ist das eine sehr verschleierte, kaum merkbare erotik; aber im kontexte der karolingischen dichtung klingt es beinahe unanständig. So tut auch hier Sedulius einen halben schritt dem Golias entgegen.

§ 3. Goliardenstil bei Sedulius Scottus

a. Parodie und irreverenz

Ausser dem bilderschatz lässt sich noch manches rein stilistische herausheben, was die dichterische sprache des Sedulius mit der goliardendichtung vereint. Hat doch bereits Müllenhoff festgestellt, dass wir bei Sedulius zum ersten mal die form des späteren *liebesgrusses* finden.[1]

Auch hat Lehmann darauf hingewiesen, dass die bei den vaganten so beliebte *parodie* unserem iren nicht fremd war (ss. 31, 229). So hebt er das *Epitaphium Multonis* (Sed. xli) als eine parodie der grabinschrift heraus und bringt (s. 231) wertvolle parallelen aus der späteren dichtung. Einiges möchten wir in bezug auf dasselbe gedicht hinzufügen. Ein kunstgriff der parodie ist es mitunter, dass sie einen heiligen oder klassischen text an einer komischen stelle zitiert.

[1] K. Müllenhoff und W. Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher poesie und prosa aus dem VIII.—XII. jahrhundert* II (Berlin, 1892), 153. Die ganze frage sowie die dazu gehörige literatur ist kurz und bündig zusammengefasst von G. Ehrissmann, *Geschichte d. deutsch Lit. bis zum ausgang des Mittelalters* I (München: Beck, 1918), 235.

So legt Sedulius die worte der Psalmisten (*Ps.* cxvii, 16) in den mund des '*furunculus de gente Goliae*,' der eben seine haut vor den hunden gerettet hat:

Dic cum psalmista talia uerba miser:
'Dextera me domini tunc exaltauit Olimpi:
Viuam, non moriar, facta deique canam.
Me castigauit castigans alma potestas,
Tradidit haut morti me rapuitque neci.'
(Sed., xli, 128–132)

Dann beginnt das parodistische epitaph.

Auch der Archipoeta beendet seine angebliche apokalypse mit einem derartigen scherz:

Interim me dominus iuxta psalmum Dauid
regit et in pascue claustro collocauit.
(A, ix, 25)

Dominus regit me et . . . in loco pascuae ibi me collocauit (*Ps.* xx, 1).

Das komische solcher parodie besteht in der *irreverenz*, mit der ehrwürdiges mit komischem vereint wird. Derartiger irreverenz hat sich Sedulius noch einmal im selben gedichte schuldig gemacht, wenn er den folgenden vergleich anstellt:

Non mendosus erat nec inania uerba loquutus:
Báá seu béé *mystica uerba* dabat.
Agnus ut altithronus pro peccatoribus acrem
Gustauit mortem *filius ipse dei:*
Carpens mortis iter, canibus laceratus iniquis
Pro latrone malo sic, pie *multo*, peris.
(Sed., xli, 115–120)

Wir geben den komischen kontext (vv. 115, 116), in dem der gotteslästerliche vergleich steht, damit man nicht etwa an eine '*significatio*' im stile des *Physiologus* denke. Im epitaph selbst ist auch spassiger umgang mit heiligen dingen zu verzeichnen:

Forsan, amice, tibi fieret calidumque lauacrum —
Non alia causa, *iure sed hospitii;*
Ipse ministrassem deuoto pectore limphas
Cornigero capiti, *calcibus* atque tuis.
(Sed., xli, 135–138)

Das ist eine anspielung auf die frommen und heiligen prelaten der Christenheit, die dem gast oder wanderer eigenhändig die füsse wuschen. Derselbe geist spricht aus seinen versen, wenn er mitten im trinkliede (xxxii, 33, 34: '*Verba Comediae*') ausruft:

Laudibus eximiis *modius* laudabilis extat,
Talem mensuram nam *deus instituit.*

Sich auf autoritäten bei trinken und schlemmen zu berufen, ist auch ein kunstmittel, dass aus derselben irreverenten geistesverfassung fliesst (vgl. Lehmann, s. 207).

Endlich ist der schluss des trinkliedes eine '*inuocatio dei:*'

Ast s i m p l i fratres potent sextaria d u p l a ,
Unusquisque bibax iambica metra sonet.
(Sed., xxxii, 37, 38)
Sed nos, eximii fratres, *laetemur* in unum,
In dominoque deo *gaudia nostra cluant.*
(*ib.*, 43, 44)

Diese manier, ein bacchisches lied zu beschliessen, finden wir auch beim Golias (vgl. Lehmann, *s.* 187):

Ergo, fratres carissimi, intelligite
et ad ora pocula porrigite . . .
Conuentus iste nobilis
letetur in conuiuiis,
et mera mente gaudeat
et dignas laudes referat
summo patris filio.
(*C.B.*, 195, 2, 4)
Cum nobis sit copia,
Vinum dum clamamus:
'Qui uiuis in gloria,
Te deum laudamus,' [1]
(Wright, s. xlv.)

b. Wortspiel

Unter wortspiel versteht man einen kollektiven begriff, der mehrere redefiguren umfasst. Das eigentliche wortspiel, die *aequiuocatio* ist ein tropus, bei dem ein gleich oder ähnlich lautendes wort für ein

[1] Vgl. auch den lat.-deutschen '*Iubilus bibulorum,*' hgg. v. J. Werner, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 365–367.

anderes eingesetzt wird, so dass das letztere im text nicht vorhanden ist und nur hinzugedacht wird, z. b.: '*Euangelium secundum marcam* (anst. *Marcum*).' Diese den vaganten geläufige form ist uns bei Sedulius nicht aufgefallen.

Die *paronomasia* ist dagegen sehr entwickelt.[1] Hierher gehören *multis : multetur : multo* (Sed., xxxvi, 17 u. ö.); *modus : modius; tonant: tonnae* (lviii, 25). Ueber den vers lvix, 10 (*Excipe nunc*, Maie, maior *honore cluit*) lohnt es sich einige worte zu verlieren. Bei Ovid (*Fast.*, v, 427) heisst es: '*Mensis erat Maius maiorum nomine dictus.*' Bei Isidor (*Etym.*, v. 33, 8): '*Maius dictus a Maia, matre Mercurii, uel a maioribus natu, qui erant principes rei publicae.*' Bei Wandalbert von Prüm (*De mensium xii nominibus*, *P.L.A.C.*, II, 608), 104, 105: '*Maium cognomine Maia insignit uel maiorum de nomine patrum.* Im '*Ydioma mensium singulorum*' (IX. jh., *P.L.A.C.*, II, 644, 17): '*Maius iamque fuit a Maia nomine dictus; post hoc maiorum ipse sacratus erat.*' Wir sehen also bei allen vorgängern *etymologische parechese* (verbindung nach dem sinne der wurzel), bei Sedulius aber *paronomasia* (ähnlicher laut verschiedener wurzeln).[2] Die erste form finden wir im XII. jahrhundert wieder, und zwar bei Walther von Châtillon, dem meister des wortspiels; aber ausser der tradizionellen etymologie '*Maius a maioribus*' sehen wir hier auch '*Maius : maior*':

Dictus a maioribus
non natu sed ordine
Maius, maior omnibus
in anni uolumine
a maiorum nomine
sic denominatur.

(WCh. 24, 2)

Paronomasia ist den bei vaganten sehr beliebt. Vgl. WCh. (s. 37 anm.): *muniunt : munera, Veneris : uenia.* Lehmann, *op. cit.*, s, 60: '*Sic lucrum Lucam superat, Marco marcam praeponderat, et librae librum subicit.*' Die beispiele können um vieles vermehrt werden (auch '*mel: fel*' gehört hierher).

[1] Vgl. M. B. Ogle, 'Some Aspects of Mediaeval Latin Style,' Speculum I (1926), 171, § 3.

[2] Derselbe unterschied besteht zwischen dem sedulischen '*modus uel modius*' und dem goliardischen '*modus a modio.*'

Wahrscheinliche *etymologisierung* liegt vor in '*Liber hic liberat*' u. s. w. (Sed., xxxii, 27, 28; vgl. o. § 2c, s. 540), auch wohl in xxxiv, 23, 24 (*Blande . . . blanda columba dei*).

Auch *paregmenon* (vereinigung verschiedener formen einer wurzel) [1] gehört teilweise hierher: *Graecula graecizans* (Sed., vii, 16), *Codro codrior* (*C.B.*, ii, 5), *uide uidens omnia* (*C.B.*, xiii, 3).

Das *polyptoton* erscheint bei Sedulius (lviii) als bewusstes *grammatisches wortspiel*, das auch die scholares des XII. / XIII. jahrhunderts stark kultivieren: [2]

'Bonus uir est Robertus,
Laudes gliscunt Roberti,
Christe, faue Roberto,
Longaeuum fac Robertum,
Amen salue, Roberte,
Christus sit cum Roberto' —
Sex casibus percurrit
Vestri praeclarum nomen.
(lviii, 1–9)

Vergleiche P. Lehmann, *Die Parodie*, s. 76:

Sex statuit *casus* Donatus in arte tenendos
4 expulsis Roma duobus eget
Accusatiuus Romam regit atque datiuus.

Si te forte traxerit / Romam Vocatiuus
et si te deponere / uult Accusatiuus
qui te restituere / possit Ablatiuus
uide, quod ibi fideliter / praesens sit Datiuus.
(*C.B.*, xix, 6)

Eine anzahl von varianten gibt Lehmann (*loc. cit.*). Dazu kommen konjugationsspiele:

Multum dabat oneris *do das dedit dare* . . .
(WCh., 29, 3)

Sit finis *uerbi uerbum* laudabile *do, das*.
(A, x, 42)

Die beste parallele finden wir im *Bauernkatechismus* (Lehmann, *Parodistische Texte*, s. 22):

[1] Vgl. Ogle, *art. cit.*, s. 171, § 4, b.

[2] P. Lehmann (*Parodistische Texte*, München: Drei Masken, 1923, s. 49) gibt unter dem titel 'Erotischer Grammatikbetrieb' eine komposition, die ganz auf diesem kunstgriff basiert ist.

Nominatiuo: Hic *rusticus* nequam, turpissimus . . .
Genetiuo: Huius *rustici* nequam, turpissimi . . .
Datiuo: Huic *rustico* leccatori nigro . . .
Accusatiuo: Hunc *rusticum* nigrum, turpissimum . . .
Vocatiuo: O, *rustice*, nullius amice nisi sue porce . . .
Ablatiuo: Ab hoc *rustico* nigro turpissimo.

Besonderen gefallen findet Sedulius in zahlenspielereien die bei den vaganten seltener sind. Er deutet, z. b. namen nach den zahlen, die die entsprechenden buchstaben im griechischen ziffernsystem bezeichnen (vii). Er deutet den namen des adressats (Vulfengus, xvi) und seinen eigenen nach der zahl der buchstaben und silben, wobei diese ziffern (wie es in der mittelalterlichen scholastik üblich ist) auf heilige zahlen bezogen werden (11: '*Syllaba Sedulii nomen conclude quaterna, fontis euangelici sacra fluenta notans*,' u. drgl.). Das wäre an sich keine spezifische affinität mit den vaganten, wenn Sedulius es nicht als scherz im trinkliede, als *propos de buveur*, angewandt hätte:

Sex fratres modium sumant: nam grammate *seno*
Nobile conscriptum nomen habet modius.
Ast simpli fratres potent *sextaria* dupla
Unusquisque bibax iambica metra sonet.
Senarium uersum *sex* una uoce canentes,
Mundi totius *senaque* facta sonent.
(Sed., xxxii, 35-40)

Ebenso wird im traktate '*De diligendo Lieo*' (P. Lehmann, *Parodistische Texte*, s. 58, z. 45, 46) vorgeschrieben, wieviel mal man trinken muss und alle zahlen werden gedeutet, z. b.: '*Sexties propter sex hydrias quas ipse dominus uinauit in Chana Galilee. Sepcies propter septem dona spiritus sancti*,' u. s. w.

Also auch in der stilistik zeigt sich Sedulius als ein vorläufer der Goliasdichter.

Hier müsste eigentlich noch ein kapitel über metrik folgen. Der stoff aber reicht dazu nicht aus. Zwar hat Sedulius, ganz wie die Goliasdichter, *regula metri* und *rhytmi monstra* gepflegt, wobei bei ihm, noch mehr, als bei dem Primas und Walther von Châtillon, das

metrische prävaliert. Zwar hat auch er in der metrischen poesie verschiedene kunststücke angewendet (vgl. z.b. die *recurrentes* — Sed., lxxx, 1, 2). Aber seine *metra* und rhytmen fliessen aus anderen quellen (Boethius und irische 7–silber) und keinerlei direktes band vereint seine spielereien (z.b. das *metrum* in Sed., liv) mit denen der goliarden, die im *metrum* besonders die reimkunst verfeinern, im *rhytmus* sich auf die strophik legen.

4. Goliardische gattungen zur zeit der Karolinger

a. *Verba praecantia*

Jetzt aber wirft sich von selbst die frage auf: was bedeuten diese ähnlichkeiten zwischen Sedulius und den goliarden? sind das wirklich die anfänge der vagantenpoesie? Ist der zeitabschnitt zwischen ihr und Sedulius genügend ausgefüllt, damit wir ununterbrochene evolution annehmen dürften? Wie gross ist eigentlich dieser zeitabschnitt?

Verschiedene gattungen der vagantenpoesie kommen in verschiedener zeit zum vorschein. Die liebeslyrik lässt sich vermittels '*O admirabile Veneris idolon*,' '*Inuitatio amicae*,' '*Clericus et nonna*' und dem *Liede von Ivrea* bestimmt in das X. jahrhundert hinaufrücken.

Für die tiernovelle, in der der tod eines haustieres beklagt wird, führt die tradition direkt von Sedulius' '*De quodam uerbece a cane discerpto*' (xli, mit einem '*epitaphium multonis*' versehen) über '*Alfrad*' zum '*Testamentum domini asini*' und '*Epitaphium bicornis*' (im '*Speculum stultorum*,' vgl. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, s. 229–234). Was den lateinischen schwank überhaupt betrifft, so kann man seine entwicklung ununterbrochen bis ins VIII. jahrhundert hinauf verfolgen, da er schon bei Theodulf zu finden ist (*P.L.A.C.*, I, 551: '*De equo perdito*). Als übergang dienen: Notkers '*Gesta Karoli*,' die geschichte vom '*Wunschbock*' und die vielen schwänke des X. und XI. jahrhunderts in *Cant.* (auch teilweise die '*Ecbasis cuiusdam captiui*').

Ebenso auch das streitgedicht. Dieses geht von Alkuin über Sedulius, Theodulus, und '*Conflictus ouis et lini*' zu den streitgedich-

ten der *Carmina Burana* (*'Vinum et aqua'* und *'De Phyllide et Flora'*).[1]

Spärlicher fliessen die quellen für die oben eingehend besprochenen gattungen: das bettellied, trinklied, u. a.

Einiges haben wir doch zusammengestellt, um zu zeigen, dass, obgleich mit Sedulius manches anfängt, nichts jedoch entgültig abbricht. Wenn dann aber doch für eine geraume zeit die belege fehlen, so soll das noch lange nicht bedeuten, dass die tradition unterbrochen worden ist. Nur zu oft sehen wir, wie eine dichtungsform aus dem schrifttum verschwindet, und dann, viel später, wieder auftaucht. Um ein bekanntes beispiel solcher 'unterirdischer' strömungen zu zitieren, nennen wir die deutsche reimdichtung im stil Otfrids, die im IX. jahrhundert blüht und im XI. eine scheinbare wiedergeburt erlebt. Es wird doch keinem einfallen zu sagen, dass sie im X-ten spurlos untergegangen ist, obgleich wir für diese epoche so gut wie gar nichts besitzen: das verstümmelte *Georgslied* ist von einer unsicheren hand des X./XI. jahrhundert geschrieben das, zweisprachige *'de Heinrico'*— nur in den *Cambridger Liedern* überliefert. Wo hat diese poesie bis dahin ihr dasein gefristet? Natürlich, in denselben klöstern, wo sie entstanden ist, aber ausserhalb des schrifttums: das vornehmere latein nahm den ganzen pergamentvorrat in anspruch.

Nun soll es uns nicht wundern, wenn die *nugae* der bischöflichen hofdichter wenig platz in den handschriften fanden. Wurde doch manches leichtsinnige ausradiert, als es schon aufgeschrieben war, wie uns — *proh dolor* — die blätter der Cambridger hs. zeigen.

So müssen wohl die *bettelgedichte*, meistens mündlich vorgetragen werden, wenn es keine briefe waren.

Das älteste beispiel eines derartigen bettelbriefes gibt uns Walahfrid Strabo in seiner epistel an Hraban Maurus (*P.L.A.C.*, II, 358). Dieses gelegenheitsgedicht ist von den bettelliedern des Golias viel weiter entfernt, als die entsprechenden verse des Sedulius. Der erste und wichtigste unterschied besteht darin, dass die epistel nichts scherzhaftes enthält, sondern rein sachlich gehalten ist: 'Ein bote, wie Hraban in einem früheren briefe meldete, sollte den schüler

[1] Vgl. Hans Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lat. lit. des Mittelalters*, München: Beck, 1920.

Walahfrid mit allem nötigen versorgen, ist aber ohne die versprochenen gegenstände angekommen.' Die situation ist nicht goliardisch; auch für die bitte um *schuhe* (8, 9: *quod nudipedalia cogor ecce pati*") fanden wir keine parallelen. Das ganze ist in briefform eingefasst:

Incipit (1): Hrabano patri, per uerba praecantia Strabus.
Explicit (12): . . . ualeas per saecula cuncta, praecamur.

Von wörtlichen zusammenhängen können wir nur die allgemeinsten abstrakta, wie '*paupertas*,' '*egestas*,' '*solacia*' notieren. Vergleichen wir damit die reiche fülle der goliardischen ausdrücke bei Sedulius. Der brief ist jedenfalls circa zwanzig jahre älter (826 829) als die lieder des Sedulius; daher wohl die weitere entfernung von den vaganten, obgleich Walahfrid damals auch ein '*pauper scholaris*' war. Sollen wir etwa auf eine ältere form, die 'bettel-epistel' schliessen, die dem bettelliede vorausgeht, wie die liebes-epistel den *carmina amatoria?* Wie dem auch sei, fangen die eigentlichen berührungen mit den vaganten erst mit Sedulius an. Sie fangen an, aber sie hören nicht auf. Dicht an seine lieder schmiegen sich die *Carmina Scottorum*, vii, 3 (*P.L.A.C.* III, 690) in elegischen distichen, die zwischen 854 und 860 entstanden sind (vgl. oben, § 2c, s. 240). Darunter befindet sich ein bittgedicht (6 verse) an Karlmann, den sohn Karls des Kahlen, damals mönch in Soissons. Ganz wie in Sed., iv, beklagen sich zwei iren über die kälte in ihrem hause. Auch hier vergleichen sie ihr elend mit dem wohlhaben des gönners:

Hic duo sunt fratres, ardens ast angulus unus:
Non satis expellit frigora lusca domus.
Karlomanne, tuis arridet partibus ignis:
Nos uero gelidos urit iniqua hiems.
(*Carm. Scott.* vii, 3)

Frigore siue fame tolletur spiritus a me,
Asperitas brume necat horriferumque gelu me.
(A, i, 16, 17)

Es folgt die bitte um brennholz. Das ganze ist aber doch mehr sedulisch als goliardisch. Schon ganz an der grenze dieser beiden stile steht ein rhythmus, den E. Dümmler (*Neues Archiv* X, 1885, 340) und Strecker (*P.L.A.C.*, IV, 665) aus dem *Cod. Palatinus 487*

veröffentlicht haben. Beide herausgeber datieren den codex verschieden: Dümmler — *saec.* X; Strecker — *saec.* IX. Der rhythmus fängt mit einer *parodie* des *Alphabetum de bonis sacerdotibus* (*P.L. A.C.*, I, 79) an:

> Pastor: o, qui Christi oues per amoena pascua
> (*Archiv, loc. cit.*, iii, 1)
>
> *Alph. 1*: Ad perennis uitae fontem et amoena pascua
> *Alph. 2*: Bonus pastor ad comissi ouilis custodiam

Auch die reime '*uiscera*,' '*munera*' sind möglicherweise aus dem *Alphabetum* geschöpft. Der wohltäter wird '*pater*' und '*pastor*' genannt (wei bei Sedulius und Archipoeta) und mit lob überschüttet:

> Quem diues et pauper amat . . .
> (*Archiv, loc. cit.*, iii, 3)
>
> Te pauper sequitur, te praedicat omnis egenus.
>
> omnes extollunt te laudibus undique claris.

Es handelt sich um die '*munera Bachi*' (die hier auch '*clara*' genannt werden):

> *Spes* est nulla iam uiuendi, mens *turbatur* anxia,
> *Vini* quia desunt nobis ad bibendum *pocula*.
> (*Archiv, loc. cit.*, iii, 7, 8)
>
> Ast nos tristificis *perturbat* potio sucis,
> Cum medus atque Ceres, *cum Bachi munera desint*.
> (Sed. xlix, 5, 6)

Das lied endet mit der bitte:

> tres aut quattuor et *meri* nobis mitte *fialas*
> (*Archiv, loc. cit.*, iii, 12)
>
> Ter centum *fialas* donauerat ipse poetae.
> (Sed. xxxvi, 22)

Hier sehen wir also die '*fialae*' der Sedulius, die wir bei den vaganten vermissten; dagegen findet sich aber das '*merum*' (cf. *C.B.* clxxviii u. ö.) bei Sedulius nicht. Das bettellied ist im humoristischen ton,

wie die des Sedulius, des Archipoeta, und des Primas abgefasst. Auch grenzt hier, wie bei Sedulius und dem Archipoeta, das bettellied an das *potatorium*.[1]

b. *Potatoria*

Trinklieder sind vor Sedulius in der karolingischen literatur nicht bekannt. Ein '*conuiuale*' findet sich unter den liedern des Walahfrids im *Cod. S. Galli 869, saec.* IX. exeuntis '*manu* posteriore, *sed fere aequali* (*?*) *in paginis uacuis suppleta*' (Dümmler, *P.L.A.C.*, II, 263). Das ist Wal. li: '*Inter conuiuas residens dulcesque cateruas.*' Es wird ein klostermahl beschrieben, das aus brot und fischen besteht, wobei an *Iohannes* vi, 9 (*habet quinque panes . . . et duos pisciculos*) gedacht wird:

> Assunt et nobis per suauia dona creantis
> Panes, pisciculi, blandi quoque copia *musti* . . .
> (Wal., li, 6, 7)
> Intera dulcis fertur mihi normula piscis
> Askonis calidi sequitur *uas* denique *musti*
> Optatum et calidum largo de principe missum,
> Abbas quod . . . transmisit laude colendus.
> Quem quam laudarem, si tantum tempus haberem.
> Quod mox ut coepi, subierunt organa signi
> Quod Christi solitum monuit persoluere uotum.
> (*ib.*, 10–16)

Er verspricht aber doch das versäumte einzuhohlen: '*Quem dum tempus erit, gaudens mea Musa conabit,*' u.s.w. Dass dieses in regelrechten leoninern abgefasste werk dem Strabo gehört, scheint uns ganz unwarhrscheinlich, ja unmöglich. Die ganze gruppe, die, nach Dümmler (*P.L.A.C.* II, 263), später in den codex eingetragen ist, also gedichte, l–lx, besteht fast ausschliesslich aus reinen oder un-

[1] Aehnlich ist auch ein epilog des Micon (xvi, 75–77) in der an einen 'magister' gerichteten epistel:

> Munere pro tali nec non pro uersibus istis
> Plenam ceruisae cuppam merear quoque habere.
> Ad finem rogito: ualeatis tempore longo.

Von einem bettelliede darf man aber hier nicht bestimmt sprechen: wahrscheinlich bittet er nicht den lehrer ihm eine volle tasse mit bier zu schicken, sondern er will sich selbst etwas zugute tun.

reinen (assonanz und konsonanz) leoninern, ausser dem kleinen 4-zeiligen gedicht lviii. Wenn wir von dieser winzigen ausnahme absehen und l — lx mit den echten episteln Walahfrids (in denen er genannt wird) vergleichen, so erhalten wir folgende ziffern:

	Walahfrid	Einschub l–lx (200v)
Reine leoniner	von 0% bis 40% (durchschnitt = 13%)	v. 40% bis 100% (durchsch. = 73%)
Sämmtliche leon.	von 16% bis 55% (durchsch. = 40%)	v. 60% bis 100% (durchsch. = 86%)

In keinem von den eigeschobenen gedichten wird Walahfrid genannt, was er doch sonst gerne tut. *Die gedichte gehören in das ende des IX. jahrhunderts, wenn nicht ins X.*[1] Das erste (l) trägt griechischen titel, was irischen ursprung oder einfluss wahrscheinlich macht. Auch liv (*Ad episcopum Ferendarium*) ist ausgebig mit gräzismen gespickt. Dieses, wie auch die vielen leoniner, verbindet unser '*conuiuale*' mit den *ca.* 890 entstandenen '*Carmina potatoria*' aus Brioude (*P.L.A.C.*, IV, 350 ff.). Auch hier, wie im '*conuiuale*' (Wal. li), ist der ton viel ernster, ohne parodien, wortspiele und fernere skurrilitäten des Sedulius. Der meiste teil der *potatoria* ist dem entsprechenden feste gewidmet, und nur je ein vers spricht vom trinken.

Die topoi sind: *laetum* mustum (vgl. Wal. li und Lehmann, *op. cit.*, s. 198: '*tunc rorant scyphi desuper et canna pluit* mustum), *potus salubres*, clarus *oenus*, *agathon* Falernum, Baccus, *Amineus liquor*, *uitea dona*, Lieus, Bacheia munera, *Lenei liquores;* pocula; laetitia (vgl. Sed., xxxii, 24), *hilarescere.*

Obgleich alle diese lieder später sind als die des Sedulius, darf man die hypothese äussern, dass sie eine ältere form darstellen, die möglicherweise aus den irischen klostersitten geflossen ist. Die das trinkgelage im refectorium begleitenden verse waren wohl ursprünglich in andächtigem tone vorgetragen, den die *Carmina Briuatensia* nachahmen. Von Sedulius und seinesgleichen (*Scottigenae, qui bene mandere sciunt*) wurden sie im geiste der '*gens Goliae*' umgearbeitet. Dass Sedulius in dieser art nicht allein steht, zeigen die bereits zitierten verse der iren (vii) aus *P.L.A.C.*, III, 690:

[1] In diese gruppe gehört auch '*Ad Amicum*' mit dem ausgebildeten 'mondeingang' (s. o., § 2d, s. 551) welcher auch morphologisch eine spätere entwicklungsstufe vertritt.

I: Hinc, cereuisa, abeas . . . etc. (s.o., § 2c, s. 540)
II: Sume, precor, Bachum ne spernas, munera Bachi:
Quae *tragos* reperit flumina, nosce petens.

Das erste ist eine direkte anlehnung an Sedulius, wenn nicht eine unter den fröhlichen kumpanen übliche formel. Im zweiten sehen wir kasusspiel (*polyptoton*) und rein heidnisches element.

Noch andere bakchische striche werden wir in der satire wiederfinden.

c. *Magister Golias de quodam abbate*

Mit dem 'weintrinken' im rügeliede hat es eine besondere bewandtnis. Schon in der frühkarolingischen dichtung wird gegen den trunk polemisiert. So wirft Alkuin einem seiner schüler vor: [1]

Dormit et ipse meus Corydon, scholasticus olim,
Sopitus Bacho. Vae tibi, Bache pater!
Vae, quia tu quaeris sensus subuertere sacros
Atque meum Corydon ore tacere facis.
Ebrius in tectis Corydon aulensibus errat,
Nec memor Albini, nec memor ipse sui.
(xxxii, 23)

Walahfrid in den '*Versus de laeticia*' (lxxxii) ermahnt zu nüchternen freuden (*Ebrietatis damna uetauit / Christus . . .*).

Auch Micon ergeht sich gegen einen '*Lurgo meribibulus*' der den Bachus anruft, damit er ihm gesellschaft leiste:

. . . Lurgo, ait et: 'Noster sis (*sc.* Bache) quoque nunc sotius.'
(Micon, clxi, 4)
'He! o Bache! dux sis nostro conuentui.'
(*Apocal. Goliae*, 366)
'Quo ualeam *cantare satur* te, Bache, iuuante
Inflatis buccis *carmina* Pieria.'
(Micon, clxi, 7)

Das erinnert an die '*saturata carmina*' des Sedulius und an die oben angeführten goliardischen parallelen. Weiter aber heisst es:

Quo dicto subito somno Bacchoque repressus:
Tum podex *carmen* extulit horridulum.
(*ib.*, 13)

[1] Citiert nach *P.L.A.C.*, I.

Hier wird also der trinker verspottet, und zwar ist dazu ein motiv verwendet, dass auch später in der satire vorkommt.[1] Aber die andere verdrängt hat, sondern, dass beide schon in der karolingischen zeit zusammenlebten und sich gegenüberstanden.

Der vielmals veröffentlichte rhythmus vom *Abt Adam*[2] steht ganz auf dem standpunkte der vaganten. Wir glauben förmlich den '*magister Golias de quodam abbate*' zu hören.

Andecauis abbas esse dicitur . . .
Hunc fatentur uinum uelle bibere
Super omnes Andecauis homines.[3]
Eia, eia, eia laudes, eia laudes dicamus Libero.
(*Adam*, 1)

Abbatum uideo mores et opera . . .
(*Apocal. Goliae*, 341)

Arrident *calici* semper apposito
(*ib.*, 354)

Vinumque geminis extollit manibus
(*ib.*, 363)

Fernere beispiele der satire gegen vieltrinkende prelaten siehe bei Lehmann, *op. cit.*, s. 189–184. Auch die zeche des abtes und priors in '*Quondam fuit factus festus*' (*Gött. Nachr.*, 1908, 412 ff.) gehört hierher. Ebenfalls fällt der Primas über den neuen bischof her:

Ore fait de forz vins tantum diluuium
Que l'on le porte el lit par les braz ebrium.
(*Pr.*, xvi, 30)

[1] Vgl. P. Lehmann, *Die Parodie*, s. 198:

Ex domo strepunt gressu inaequali . . .
In luto strati dicunt: 'Orate.'
Per posteriora dorsi uox auditur: 'Leuate.'

Aehnlich wird die meretrix bei Hrotsvit ausgelacht:

Ergo dedit sonitum turpi modulamine factum.
Profari nostram quale pudet ligulam.
(*Gongolfus*, 575)

[2] Hgg. von Dümmler, *Zs. f. deutsch. Altertum* XXIII, (1879), 265; P. v. Winterfeld, *Arch. f. d. stud. d. neueren Spr. u. lit.* CXIV (1905), 34; K. Strecker, *P.L.A.C.* IV, 591; wir zitieren nach der letzten ausgabe.

[3] Ueber den ausdruck vgl. B. I. Jarcho, *Юный Роланд* (Госуд. Акад. Художеств. Наук, Leningrad, 1926), s. 102 anm.

Das lied von Adam dem abte ist also durch und durch goliardisch mehr als irgend ein anderes karolingisches denkmal. Auch in den einzelnen ausdrücken:

Iste *cupa* non curat de *calicem* (sic)
Vinum bonum bibere *suauiter*,
Sed patellis atque magnis *cacabis*
Et in eis *ultra modum* grandibus
Eia, eia, eia laudes, Eia laudes dicamus *Libero*.
(*Adam*, 4)

Hier finden wir die '*cuppa*' des Micon und die '*cacabi*' des Sedulius neben den '*calices*' und dem '*uinum bonum et suaue*' der vaganten. '*Liber*' und das trinken '*ultra modum*' sind beiden eigen und bilden die nötige brücke zwischen den epochen.

Dieses kapitel ist besonders lehrreich. Es zeigt, dass es im IX. jahrhundert einen Golias und einen anti-Golias gab. Der erste ist durch Sedulius und andere *scottigenae* sowie durch den satiriker aus Anjou vertreten. Diese haben über das weintrinken in grunde *alles* gesagt, was wir beim späteren Golias lesen, nämlich: 'Ehre dem Liber und wehe den heuchlern.' Wir wiederholen und betonen, dass diese epikuräischen poeten in der karolingischen welt einen festen *gesellschaftlichen typus* darstellten, gegen den die ehrbaren klosterdichter mit dem kampfschrei '*uae tibi, Bacche pater!*' auftreten mussten. Gegen diese 'Codri' wehrten sich dann die Goliasdichter wieder mit spottlieder und diatriben ('*qui nos rodunt confundantur*'), wie die gedichte des Sedulius (xxxiv, lv, lvi, lvii — s.o. § 2 e, s. 556) zeigen.

d. *Voces animantium*

Es liegt uns fern die lange und wohlbekannte geschichte der '*Voces animantium*' (s. M. Manitius, *Gesch. d. latein. lit. d. Mittelalters* I, 137) hier rekapitulieren zu wollen. Nur auf eine form derselben machen wir aufmerksam, die in *Cant.* 23 und *Carmina Burana* xxxiii am besten überliefert ist. Das ist eine aufzählung der *singenden vögel*, die mit *natureingang* beginnt. Nun besitzen wir solch ein specimen aus dem anfange des X. jahrhunderts (*ca.* 910), nämlich die '*Species comice*' des Eugenius Vulgarius (*P.L.A.C.*, IV, 430). Die *Species* zerfallen in zwei teile (einen anakreontischen und

einen adonischen), die man als zwei verschiedene gedichte ansehen darf. Das erste erzählt von dem siege der nachtigall über sämmtliche vögel des waldes. Nun ist das 'lob der nachtigall' an sich ein motiv, das wir in karolingischer dichtung (Paulus Alvarus), sowie in *Cant.* 10 (und Anhang, s. 111) wiederfinden.[1] Was die vögelliste des Eugenius betrifft, so wird sie gänzlich (ausser dem '*gallus*') durch den tierkatalog der *Carmina Burana* xcvii, gedeckt. Aber auch die beiden vogellieder mit natureingang enthalten manchen dem Eugenius bekannten sänger. Wir geben also die liste des Eugenius:

ardea (—), aquila (*Cant.* 23, *C.B.* 33), cornix, coruus, gallus (—), lusciola (*Cant.*, *C.B.*) — philomela, miluus (*Cant.*), pauo (—), turtur (*Cant.*), ulula (—).

Ganz, wie bei Paulus Alvarus und in *Cant.* Anhang, s. 8, werden die '*sibila*' der nachtigall gelobt. Die ähnlichkeiten sind zahlreich. Aber es leuchtet auch schon jetzt ein, dass wir eine tradizionelle gattung vor uns haben.

Nun können wir ruhig zum natureingang übergehen, der uns in diesem zusammenhange am meisten interessiert. Wir haben seine geschichte bis auf Sedulius verfolgt. Sie bricht aber hier nicht ab. Dieselben *Carmina Scottorum*, vii, die uns schon material für das bettel- und trinklied geliefert haben, bringen auch ein fragment mit natureingang (*P.L.A.C.*, III, 690):[2]

Hoc *nemus* umbriferum crebris de *flatibus austri*
Componit *leni murmure dulce melos.*
Iam canit allector praedicens luminis ortum.
(iv, 1)
Flauit auster lenius . . .
(Bas. Kler., xl, 10)
Clangunt sub tenoribus
Campi cum *nemoribus,*
gaudent in arboribus
murmurum dulcoribus
festinantes aues.
(*ib.*, 20)

[1] Das motiv des '*sieges*' ist in beiden gedichten angedeutet. Paulus Alvarus, '*Carmen philomelaicum*,' I, 11: *Nulla certe tiui equetur nunc cantibus ales.*— *Cant.* 10: *Vincit omnes cantitando uolucrum cateruulas.*

[2] Das lied selbst ist wohl ein hymnus (gleich Sed. lxiii?) auf irgendeinen festtag gewesen.

Die topoi haben wir schon oben gegeben. Aber das kleine fragment liefert manches neue band zwischen dem karolingischen und stauferischen Golias. Vorerst — das '*nemus*,' das so oft in den *Carmina Burana* figuriert. Aber noch wichtiger ist es, dass hier der 'frühlingseingang' durch 'morgeinengang' kompliziert erscheint, und zwar wird der 'gesang des hahnes' dafür verwertet:

Anni parte 'florida' celo puriore,
picto terre gremio uario colore,
dum fugaret sidera *nuntius Aurore* . . .
(*C.B.*, 65)

Die verse müssen in die zweite hälfte des IX. jahrhunderts gesetzt werden und grenzen also an den natureingang des Eugenius, zu dem wir übergehen:

Sunt secla praeclarissima
Sunt *prata uernantissima*
Formosa *gaudent* omnia
Sunt grata nostri moenia.

Laetentur ergo somata,
Et *rideant* precordia,
Amor petens finitima
Sint cuncta uitulantia (gl. 'gaudentia')

Phoebus rotat per tempora
Torquens *polorum* lumina
Somnum *susurrunt* flumina
Aues canunt et dulcia.
(Eug. Vulg. xxxi, str. 2, 3, 4)

Wir also sehen, dass es auch hier nicht an den üblichen topoi fehlt. Neu im vergleich zu den älteren natureingängen sind '*prata*' (vgl. *C.B.*, cxcvii, cxcviii.) und '*susurrunt flumina*' (WCh. 17: *susurri fontium*).

Der grosse schritt vorwärts besteht aber in der einführung des '*amor*,' obgleich in einem nicht ganz klaren kontexte.[1] Der sinn ist jedenfalls nicht weit entfernt von *Carmina Burana* lx ('*Amor tenet omnia, mutat cordis intima*') und *Carmina Burana* lxxxviii ('*Tempus*

[1]Die fehlerhafte partizipverbindung, die im gedichte öfters vorkommt, veranlasste v. Winterfeld (*P.L.A.C.*, IV, 430 anm.) an der verfasserschaft des Eugenius zu zweifeln.

instat floridum, cantus crescit auium . . . Eya, qualia amoris gaudia!'). Damit kündet sich das X. jahrhundert an. Von hier aus ist es nur ein katzensprung bis zum natureingang des liebesliedes. Wir sehen, der übergang ist ganz allmählich zustande gekommen:

2te¼ d. IX jhs.	¼ d. IX jh.	Ende d. IX jhs.	Anf. d. X jhs.	X/XI jh.	XII jh.	XIII jh.
Wal. Strabo	Sedulius (u. Micon)	*Carm. Scott.* Pseudo-Walahfr.	Eugenius Vulgarius	*Carm. Cant.*	*Carm. Burana* W. v. Châtillon	Basler Kleriker
Ekloge	*Ekloge*				*Ekloge*	
Begrüssungslied	Begrüssungslied		*Voces animantium*	*Voces animantium*	*Voces animantium*	
	Freundschaftslied	Freundschaftslied	(Liebeseingang)	Liebeslied	Liebeslied	Liebeslied
	Bettel- u. trinklied				Trinklied	
	(Spottlied)	(? Hymnus)			Hymnus	Hymnus

Hier wenigstens können wir eine fast ununterbrochene filiation feststellen, bei der die *topoi* zuverlässige brücken bilden. Von der dritten generation [1] der karolingischen dichter fängt sie an und dringt tief in die goliardenpoesie ein.

5. Ergebnisse

1. Die richtung der mittelalterlichen poesie, die man als goliarden- oder vagantendichtung bezeichnet, war in allen wesentlichsten punkten (ausser der liebeslyrik) bereits im IX. jahrhundert angedeutet.

2. Die benennung '*gens Goliae*' ist als komisch wirkender spitzname der vagabunden in literarischen kreisen der ersten hälfte des IX. jahrhunderts verbreitet. Ob der goliarde schon damals als

[1] Von Alkuin gerechnet: Alkuin — Hraban — Walahfrid'.

konventioneller typus des epikuräischen 'enfant terrible' verwendet wurde, ist an unserem material nicht zu entscheiden.

3. Aber der soziale typus des Goliasdichters (wie er z.b. im Primas von Orléans und im Archipoeta personifiziert ist), den wir am liebsten als 'geistlichen ministerialen' bezeichnen möchten, was schon im IX. jahrhundert vorhanden, jedenfalls unter den irischen 'sophoi.'

4. In diesen kreisen kultivierte man auch schon die späteren goliardengattungen, namentlich das bettel- und trinklied.

5. Andere vagantische specifica, wie natureingang und spottlied wurden auch in klöstern gepflegt.

6. Die vagantischen elemente kommen frühestens in der dritten generation (von Alkuin gerechnet) der karolingischen dichter zum vorschein. Zu dieser generation gehören die hier in betracht kommenden Walahfrid von Strabo, Micon von Sankt Riquier, und Sedulius Scottus.

7. Sedulius ist der goliardus Karolinus *par excellence*. Er (nebst seinen irischen genossen) hat das bettellied und das trinklied so ausgebildet, dass sie in den wesentlichsten motiven, ja öfters im wortlaut mit den entsprechenden goliardenliedern übereinstimmen. Seinem scherzhaften trinkliede lagen vielleicht die andächtigen '*potatoria*' der irischen klöster zugrunde.

8. Der natureingang, am frühesten durch Walahfrid vertreten, wird bei Sedulius zur bewussten manier und weist *alle typischen grundformen* des vagantischen natureinganges auf.

Die topik dieser eingänge ist schon im IX. jahrhundert stark entwickelt und evolutionniert ununterbrochen bis tief ins XIII. jahrhundert.

9. Erotische dichtung fehlt ganz im IX. jahrhundert; nur Sedulius gestattet sich in dieser hinsicht etwas freiere ausdrücke als die dichtenden kuttenträger. 'Liebe' in verbindung mit natureingang erscheint zum ersten male am anfang des X. jahrhunderts (Eugenius Vulgarius).

10. Das spottlied auf die hohe geistlichkeit ist im IX. jahrhundert so entwickelt, dass man es von den vagantenliedern kaum unterscheiden kann (*Adam*). Ja sogar den anfängen der goliardischen 'Romdiatribe' begegnen wir bei den iren (Sedulius?).

11. Die tiernovelle — speziell der schwank vom erschlagenen haustier, nebst parodistischem *planctus* und *epitaphium* — ist auch durch Sedulius vertreten.

12. Im bereich der stilistik pflegt Sedulius die vagantischen kunstgriffe (parodie und wortspiel) und berührt sich auch im wortlaut nicht selten mit den vertretern der goliardendichtung.

Unter anderem, ist bekanntlich die archaische formel des sogenannten 'liebesgrusses' am frühesten bei Sedulius bezeugt.

13. Die bei den vaganten übliche modifizierung der '*Voces Animantium*' (*uoces auium* + natureingang) tritt uns an der grenze des IX. und X. jahrhunderts (Eugenius Vulgarius) entgegen. Die tradition des '*Carmen philomelaicum*' geht von Paulus Alvarus über Eugenius Vulgarius zu den *Cambridger Liedern*.

14. Im ganzen, bildet die Goliasdichtung im IX. und X. jahrhundert eine starke 'unterirdische strömung,' die nur dann und wann in der schrift auftaucht, um später, im XI. jahrhundert, als mächtiger strom entgültig zum vorschein zu kommen.

Moskau.

NOTES

'REX A RECTE REGENDO'

In seinem Artikel 'The Medieval Conception of Kingship in the Policraticus of John of Salisbury' (Speculum I, 1926, 326), erwähnt Mr John Dickinson:

> John of Salisbury quotes the traditional etymology of '*rex*' which derived it from '*recte*,' and gave a basis for the argument that he alone is entitled to the name of king who rules rightly . . . The definition seems to have come into serious political thought with St Isidore of Seville, *Etymol.* ix, 3, 4.

Diese scheinbar recht belanglose Worterklärung verdient auf ihren Ursprung hin etwas näher untersucht zu werden.

Etymologien waren für das unkomplizierte wissenschaftliche Denken des Mittelalters oft ungemein wichtig. Sie wanderten meistens von Autor zu Autor, von Generation zu Generation, von Land zu Land, von Jahrhundert zu Jahrhundert und wurden angesehen als eine Art höherer Weisheit, die im sprachbildenden Instinkt, also letzten Endes in der Natur: im G ö t t l i c h e n wurzelt.

So auch hier. Jahrhunderte lang schwebt allen gebildeten Nationen die gewaltige antithetische Formel vor: 'hie König, dort Tyrann, hie Recht, dort Schmach, hie Ordnung, dort Anarchie.' Neben dem im Sagenhaften wurzelnden Gegensatz 'Christus — Antichristus' war die Etymologie: *Rex a recte regendo* die stärkste Trägerin dieses Gemeinplatzes des mittelalterlichen politischen Denkens und Fühlens. Jede Generation, ja jeder einzelne politische Schriftsteller vom VII. bis ins XVI. Jahrhundert scheint seine besondere Freude an der 'Entdeckung' zu haben, dass im Wort *rex*, dessen Herkunft verblasst scheint, eine s t r e n g e g ö t t l i c h e W e i s u n g verborgen liegt: nur der verdient den Namen 'König,' der Recht, Billigkeit, Ordnung walten lässt.

Ich glaube, dass das Mittelalter nicht nur diese Etymologie, die wie wir sehen werden eine grosse Zukunft habe sollte, sondern auch den auf sie aufgebauten Gedanken der Antike verdankt, und der Vermittler war auch hier — wie in so vielen ähnlichen Fällen — der Grosse Mann der 'Grenze': der hl. Augustin. Ich glaube auch nicht, dass diese bedeutende Etymologie allein durch Isidor Gemeingut wurde. Wir haben Anzeichen dafür, dass die Phrase zu seiner Zeit schon längst allgemein geläufig war und es ist kaum zu bezweifeln, dass Isidor folgende Stelle des *De ciuitate dei* (v, 12) vor Augen hatte:

Hinc est quod regalem dominationem non ferentes [Romani] 'annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecerunt, qui consules appellati sunt a consulendo, non *reges* aut domini a regnando adque dominando';[1] cum et reges utique a *regendo dicti melius* uideantur, ut regnum a regibus, reges autem, ut dictum est, a regendo; sed *fastus* regius non *disciplina* putata est regentis uel *beneuolentia* consulentis, sed *superbia* dominantis.

Und nun Isidor (*Etymol.* ix, 3):

Reges a regendo uocati; sicut enim sacerdos a sanctificando, ita et rex a regendo. Non autem regit, qui non corrigit. Recte igitur faciendo regis nomen tenetur, peccando amittitur. Unde et apud ueteres[2] tale erat prouerbium: 'Rex eris si recte facies, si non facias, non eris.'

Man sieht: die Fassung Isidors ist lediglich eine Verflachung — man könnte sagen: Popularisierung — des Augustinischen Gedankens. Augustin baut auf das Cicero-Zitat, das wohl gemerkt die Etymologie bereits enthält — den folgenschweren Gedanken vom Gegensatz des 'regelnden' und des 'zügellosen' Herrschers auf; in einem halben Satz haben wir hier schon die berühmte Antithese des Mittelalters vor uns: das *regere* wird dem *dominare* gegenübergestellt, einerseits stehen *fastus* und *superbia*, andrerseits *disciplina* und *beneuolentia*.

Isidor erweitert die '*rex a regendo*'-Etymologie Augustins mit dem '*recte*' des Kindersprüchleins und vermengt hiebei die wissenschaftliche und die populäre Etymologie — ja, er holt zum Ueberfluss auch noch *corrigere* herbei.

Horaz hat bekanntlich nur die erste Hälfte des Liedchens (*Ep.* i, 1, 59, 60):

> . . . At pueri ludentes, Rex eris, aiunt,
> Si recte facies.

Nicht nur Isidor, auch der Horaz-Scholiast Porphyrio[3] bezeugt die zweite Hälfte: '. . . *si non facias, non eris.*' Höchstwahrscheinlich hat Ausonius diesen sehr verbreiteten Spruch im Sinn, wenn er im *Technopaegnion* (vi, 3) den Rätsel vers schmiedet:

> Qui recte faciet, non qui dominatur erit rex.

Wiederum ist es die Antithese: *regere* (= *recte facere*) und *dominari* (= *non recte facere*), die der gewandte Dichter hier geistvoller zu fassen vermag.

Soviel ist uns also von den antiken Ursprüngen der Etymologie bekannt. In die weiteren Leserkreise des frühen Mittelalters wurde unsre Formel

[1] Cicero, *De rep.* ii, 31.
[2] Sedulius Scottus, *De rect. christ.*, ed. S. Hellmann, cap. ii: '*Sicut quidam sapiens ait.*'
[3] *Commentarii in Q. Horatium Flaccum* (ed. W. Meyer, Leipzig, 1874), S. 269.

durch die ungemein beliebte und Jahrhunderte lang gelesene Schrift des Pseudo-Cyprian, *De duodecim abusiuis saeculi*[1] hinausgetragen:

Nonus abusionis gradus est rex iniquus. Quem cum iniquorum *correctorem* esse oportuit, licet in semetipso *nominis sui* dignitatem non custodit. *Nomen enim regis* intellectualiter hoc retinet, ut subiectis omnibus hoc *rectoris* officium procuret. Sed qualiter alios *corrigere* poterit, qui proprios mores ne iniqui sint, non *corrigit?*

Von Pseudo-Cyprian übernehmen die sogenannten Karolingischen Königsspiegel den Gemeinplatz: vom IX.–X. Jahrhundert angefangen ist '*rex a recte regendo*' ein Petrefakt — der stereotype Eingang aller politischer Schriften über Berechtigung, Wesen und Zweck der Monarchie.[2]

[1] Hgg. S. Hellmann, Leipzig, 1900, S. 51.

[2] Für das IX.–XI. Jh. vgl. Sedulius Scottus, *De rect. christ.* ii, (ed. S. Hellmann, S. 25–27); Jonas von Orleans, *De inst. reg.*, cap. iii (*Patr. Lat.* cvi, 287); Ratherius, *Praeloquia*, iv, 32 (*Patr. Lat.* CXXXVI, 283); Hincmar, *De diuortio Lotharii*, Quaest. vi, Resp. (*Patr. Lat.* CXXV, 757); Gerhardus von Csanád, *Deliberatio*, ed. Batthyány (1790), p. 265.

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ZU PETRUS' VON CLUNI PATRISTISCHEN KENNTNISSEN

Unstreitig ist Petrus einer der bedeutendsten Aebte von Cluni gewesen. Seine reiche Briefsammlung zeugt von seinem weitreichenden kirchenpolitischen Walten, seine polemischen Schriften gegen Juden, Sarazenen, und Petribusianer beweisen, dass es ihm hoher Ernst war, Andersgläubige zu bekehren und die christliche Lehre rein von Häresien zu erhalten. Die Koranübersetzung, die er anfertigen liess, besagt, dass er auch den Gegner zu ehren wusste, und seine Gedichte lassen sogar eine gewisse dichterische Veranlagung zu christlicher Lyrik erkennen. Und seine Schriften tun unausgesetzt dar, dass er sich ernsten wissenschaftlichen Studien hingab. Das beweisen nicht zum wenigsten die zahlreichen Anführungen, die er aus der christlichen wie aus der antiken Literatur macht; sie erstrecken sich sogar auf den Talmud wie auf den Koran. Reiche Gelegenheit zu solchen Zitaten bot ihm natürlich die grosse Bücherei seines Klosters, die kurz nach seinem Tode nicht weniger als 570 Bände zählte und deren Katolog durch L. Delisle[1] vortrefflich herausgegeben worden ist. Da nun die zahlreichen Stellen, die Petrus aus den Kirchenvätern anführt noch nicht mit den besten Ausgaben kollationiert sind, so seien sie in Kürze mit den Ausgaben verglichen hier vorgeführt, da auf diesem Wege ein gewisses Licht auf die textliche Beschaffenheit der betreffenden Handschriften von Cluni fällt und die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der Patres dadurch ein wenig gefördert

[1] *Le cabinet des manuscrits* (Paris, 1868–1881), II, 458–481, aus Bibliothèque Nat., *MS. 13108*, fol. 236–249.

werden kann. Leider muss ich bei dem Texte des Petrus bei der aus M. Marrier[1] durch Migne (*Patr. Lat.* CLXXXIX, 61–1054) abgedruckten Ausgabe bleiben, da mir keine Handschrift des Petrus zur Verfügung steht. Es ergibt sich aber deutlich, dass Petrus seine Väterstellen nicht aus dem Gedächtnis zitiert, sondern handschriftliche Grundlagen dazu benutzt.[2]

1. Cyprian. Petrus zitiert *Epist.*, vi, 39 (*Patr. Lat.*, l.c.. 455D), '*De habitu uirginum*'[3] 3 und 22:

189, 12 *primum* est *om.* 13 spiritualis. 15 illustrior. 16 florens. 18 hortamur affectione. 203, 12 filiae. 15 aequales estis. 16 illaesa. 17 et iugiter. 205 de *om.* 3 spiritualiter.

2. Tertullian. Von dem in Mittelalter wenig beliebten, weil schwer verständlichen Tertullian führt Petrus *Aduersus Iudaeos*[4] einen grossen Teil des 8. Kapitels *Adu. Iudaeos*[5] an. Es ist das gleiche Stück, das Hieronymus *In Daniel.* 9 aushebt und viele Lesarten bei Petrus schliessen sich auch der Ueberlieferung bei Hieronymus an. Und doch hat Petrus hier nicht aus Hieronymus genommen, da viele wichtige Lesarten dagegen sprechen, sonder er hat aus einer Handschrift geschöpft, die eine Kontamination der Hieronymusüberlieferung mit einer anderen Kopie des Werkes darstellte:

Adv. Judaeos 8: p. 1134, 21 igitur] inquit. quoniam] quia. intra LXXII hebdomadas. 22 numera. autem *om.* 23 quoniam ipso. 24 enim ei. a prophetatione. 26 uidit uisionem. igitur *om.* p. 1135, 1 XXII. 3 deuicerat. 5 successit. 6 Post hunc Euergetes regnauit. 14 Insuper uixit. 15 natus est. 16 die. in annum Augusti XLI. 17 qui *om.* 17 XX–18 V] anni CCCCXXXVII et menses V. 18 LX. 21 prophetia. 23 tribuuntur. quod — uisum] signari uisionem. p. 1136, 1 ipso. 4 prophetarum omnium. de eo] prophetae. 5 nuntiarunt. Post aduentum enim et passionem eius. 6 propheta. esse uenturum. 7 denique — 18 natum *om.* 18 quod. dimidiae. 20 impletae. Augustum enim. 22 successit. XXII. 23 nonodecimo. 24 patitur Christus. XXXIII. 25 VIII] VII. 26 Nero] Tiberius Claudius annis XIII mensibus VII diebus XX. Nero. 26 XI] octo. 27 VI] XXVIII. 27 Otho mensibus III diebus V. 28 diebus XVIII. debellauit. p. 1137, 1 anni numero. XI] X. 2 in diem suae expugnationis. 3 praedicatas a Daniele.

Die Lesarten, p. 1134, 4 *quando* und *post eum.* 12 *uidemus.* 1136, 2 *adimpleta.* 19 *dimidiae.* 25 *annis III.* 26 *Tiberius Claudius* u.s.w., die direkt gegen Hieronymus stehen, beweisen dass dessen Ueberlieferung allein nicht in Betracht kommt.

[1] *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 589–1376*, Paris, 1614.

[2] Die in den Texten bei Migne offenbaren Druckfehler bleiben in den Kollationen unerwähnt.

[3] Hgg. W. Hartel, *Opera*, I, 189, 11–19; 203, 11–17; 204, 15–205, 5.

[4] *Patr. Lat.* CLXXXIX, 564A–565B.

[5] Hgg. Fr. Oehler, edit. minor, Leipzig, 1854, SS. 1134 (*Unde igitur ostendimus*) — 1137 (*praedictas in Daniele*).

3. Ambrosius. In *Epist.* vi, 39, einem Briefe, der fast ganz aus Väterstellen zusammengesetzt ist, bringt Petrus Stücke aus Ambrosius *de Virginibus* i, 8, aus deren letztem hervorgeht, dass er zwar den Bibeltext des Ambrosius nach der *Vulgata* abzukorrigieren bestrebt ist, seine Bibelüberlieferung aber hierzu nicht ausreichte.

De Virg. i, 8, 51–53, 45, 46 (Vobis autem uirigines — nescire uitiorum, *Patr. Lat.* XVI, 202D–203B; Hortus conclusus — et non relinquam, 201A–201B).

51, col. 202D quod pudore intemerato. meretur] imitatur. 52, col. 203A angelos] angelum. religio *om.* deo] domino. fecit] facit. nubunt . . . ducunt. inquit] dei. uos est. 53, col. 203A est autem. uirgines uero. docent . . . docent. 45, col. 201A spiritualium. coeno fluenta turbentur. ut] sic. col. 201B olea] oleo. inolescant. fuerit ager patriarchae sancti. generauit] germinauit. 46, col. 201B ostium circuitus.

Die Stellen aus *Cant. cant.* ii, 3 und iii, 4 lauten bei Ambrosius:

Tamquam malus in lignis nemoris, ita fraternus meus in medio filiorum. In umbra eius concupiui et sedi: et fructus eius dulcis in faucibus meis. . . Inueni quem dilexit anima mea; tenui eum: et non relinquam.[1]

Bei Petrus lauten sie:

Sicut malum inter ligna siluarum, sic dilectus meus inter filios. Sub umbra illius, quam desiderabam, sedi: et fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo . . . Inueni quem diligit anima mea; tenui eum: nec dimittam.

In der Schrift gegen die Petribusianer zitiert Petrus Stücke aus *De obitu Theodosii*, *De obitu Valentiniani*, und *De excessu fratris Satyri* (*Patr. Lat.* CLXXXIX, 837A–838A):

837A *De obitu Theod.* 35 (*Patr. Lat.* XVI, 1397): Dilexi uirum — animam piam. 36 (Conteror corde — esse sed culpae). tu rogandus *om.* Tu domine — in te *om.* 37 (Dilexi et — domini sanctum).

837B *De obitu Valent.* 54 (*Patr. Lat.* XVI, 1375A: Ne quaeso — abrumpi). 54 eum *om.* patiaris abrumpi] abrumpe. 55 (col. 1375B: Dona patri — pietate). Et huic — praesumo. 56 (col. 1375B: Date manibus — delectet). Christus est lilium. commendo. uel merita. 78 (col. 1381B: Beati ambo — frequentabo). Beati estis ambo.

837CD *De excessu frat. Satyr.* i, 5 (*Patr. Lat.* XVI, 1292: Fleuerunt et pauperes — obducat). multo est. i, 80 (col. 1315: Tibi nunc — sacerdotis). animam commendo. ii, 5 (col. 1316C: Nos quoque — renouamus). quod obierint. ii, 13 (col. 1319: Nec tu perdidisti — pretium futurorum). quem adiuuas. sed pro — immortalium *om.* Solue] Da. aut patriae. tuo mortuo relinquis.

4. Hilarius Pictaviensis. In *Epist.* vi, 39 (*Patr. Lat.*, a.a.O., 455D) gibt Petrus eine Stelle aus des Hilarius *Epist. ad Abram filiam* 3 (*Patr. Lat.* X, 549C–550A):

549C: Ac uestem primo uidi] anno primo uestem uidi. nigrescunt. Ipsi enim multicolores eius amoena cuncta uicebant et nihil. Post quae.

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[1] So auch bei Pierre Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae uersiones antiquae, seu Vetus Italica* (Paris, 1751), II, 377, 379.

5. Paulinus Nolanus. Die Briefe des Paulinus von Nola werden von Petrus an einigen Stellen angeführt, nämlich *Epist.* iv, 17, *Epist.* xxix, 12, und *Contra Petribus Epist.* xxxv; xxxvi, 2; xiii, 111, 27, 28.

Epist. iv, 17 (*Patr. Lat.*, a.a.O., 334BC). Paulini *Epist.* xxix (ed. Hartel, *Opera*, I, 259, 3–15), S. 259, 4 in eo quidem. 10 pauperiem. 14 et *om.* sapientes et] esurientes.

Contra Petribus. (*Patr. Lat.*, a.a.O., 840A); *Epist.* xxxv, 2 (ed. Hartel, *Opera*, I, 312, 9–313, 7): p. 312, 11 ut *om.* 17 oportuerat. huic nostro dolori compatiens. 20 spiritualem. p. 313, 4 et clamantibus — 6 peccati *om.* *Epist.* xxxvi, 2 (ed. Hartel, p. 314, 7–315, 3): 314, 10 parcimoniam. 11 *alterum* uestri *om.* 12 ualemus. praecipua. 13 cura. 14 etsi. 15 in — consequendum *om.* 17 eius *om.* 20 unanimes. 23 miserator et misericors. omnia quae uult. p. 315, 1 refrigerentur. *Epist.* xiii, 11, 27,28 (ed. Hartel, p. 92, 15-20; p. 106, 22– p. 107, 12); p. 92, 15 iam *om.* 16 siccitate. p. 106, 23 coniugem scilicet. 24 a] in. 25 cassis luctibus. p. 107, 2 in uestitu — 3 lumina *om.* 6 enim *om.* 9 anima. 11 non.

Diese Stellen ergeben deutlich, dass die von Petrus benutzte Handschrift dem Codex *M* bei Hartel[1] sehr nahe gestanden hat, da die meisten wichtigen Lesarten des Petrus sich auch in *M* finden (vgl. besonders zu Paul., p. 314, 15).

5. Augustinus. Den Schriften Augustins verdankt Petrus die meisten seiner Zitate. Er gibt nämlich in *Epist.* vi, 39 (*Patr. Lat.*, l.c., 452C–454D) Augustins *de Sancta Virginitate*, xxvii–xxix, liii, liv, und in *Contra Petribus.* (a.a.O., 838A–D) *De cura pro mortius gerenda*, i, 2; iv, 6; v, 7; xviii, 22, *Enchiridion* 110, und *Confessiones* ix, 12, 32:[2]

De sancta Virginitate, 27–29, *ed. cit.*, p. 263, 12 affertis. 16 uniuersa] omnis. quale *om.* p. 264, 1 deum. 7 graminea. et insaniae. 9 sed gaudia. 10 gaudia propria uirginum. 11 gaudia — 13 talia *om.* 14 in *om.* 16 eum *om.* 18 uobis relinquens. 19 sequamur. p. 265, 3 filiis. hominum quae. 10 ipsi] illi. quam *om.* pp. 265, 11 beati — 266, 9 gradientea *om.* p. 266, 11 nullatenus. 12 et *om.* 13 quae. 14 donum *om.* 16 eum sequimini. 21 habet . . . habebit. 23 uestro *om.* p. 267,1 quae et. et hoc *om.* 4 quibus hoc deerit *om.* quippe ille. 5 deserit. 6 omnipotentem — loquimur *om.* 9 inuidia. concors.

idem, 53, 54, p. 300, 3–8: humilitas *om.* 10 ex — hominum *om.* 13 etiam et matri. 20 moris. 21 impendite. 23 filias. p. 301, 1–2 carnem *om.* 2 qui. 4 suspicionibus] opinionibus. 8 uerum *om.* 9 de *om.* 11 uoto. 12 fixus est. 14 uos amore.[3]

De cura pro mortuis gerenda, ed. cit.: pp. 623, 6 nam — 8 uitam *om.* p. 630, 20 Qui uidelicet affectus cum. p. 631, 2 uerum — 3 permittat *om.* 3 Nec. 6 sub generali commemoratione *om.* 9 exhibeatur. p. 632, 19 Et si. ubi *om.* 20 animus

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[1] Es ist *Cod. monac. lat. 26303, saec. xiii*, französischen Ursprungs.

[2] *Corpus scriptorum eccles. latin.* XLI, 263–267, 300, 1–301, 16, ed. I. Zycha; daselbst XLI, 623, 3–10; 630, 17–631, 9; 632, 19–633, 1; 658, 8–15; *Patr. Lat.*, XL, 283; *Corpus script. eccles. latin.* XXXIII, 221, 23–222, 2; 225, 16–226, 4 (ed. P. Knöll).

[3] Die Lesarten ergeben, dass die von Petrus benutzte Handschrift dem Codex γ bei Zycha sehr nahe stand. Das ist jetzt Paris, Bibl. Natl., *MS. nouv. acq. lat. 1448, saec. ix*, ehedem *fonds de Cluni 30*, also eine alte Cluniazenserhandschrift.

ubi eligit. modo tamen debet. p. 658, 8 Nec aestimemus. 12 comparantur. 15 et] uel.

Enchiridion 110, *ed. cit.*, col. 283: eleemosynae quae in. haec sibi ut postea. ut ei non. Est et talis in bono ut ista. cum ex uita transierit *om.* Nemo se — promereri *om.* prout gessit in corpore.

Confessiones ix, 12, 32 (Cum ecce — fleui) und ix, 13, 37 (inspira — meas), *ed. cit.*, p. 221, 24 tibi *om.* 25 cadauere posito. p. 225, 18 et uoce. 19 haec. monicae. 21 hanc uitam. quemadmodum nescio *om.* 23 et *om.* p. 226, 2 illa a me. 3 tam per.

6. Gregor der Grosse. Von nicht geringem Intresse für die Gregorüberlieferung ist, dass Petrus in *Epist.* i, 28 (*Patr. Lat.*, a.a.O., 139 den Brief Gregors *Registr.* v, 49[1] in einer Form wiedergibt, die von der im *Registrum* völlig abweicht, die sich aber durch ihre bestimmten Forderungen, die der Papst hier an Castorius von Rimini stellt, sofort als ein Original kundgibt. Ich erlaube mir daher den Brief im Wortlaut des Petrus hierher zu setzen:

Gregorius in epistola Castorio Ariminensi episcopo: Luminoso abbate referente plurimis in monasteriis multa a praesulibus praeiudicia atque grauamina monachos pertulisse comperimus. Oportet ergo ut tuae fraternitatis prouisio de futura quiete eorum salubri disponat ordinatione, quatenus conuersantes in illis in dei seruitio gratia illius suffragante mente libera perseuerent. Missas quoque publicas in coenobio fieri omnimodo prohibemus, ne in dei seruorum recessibus et eorum receptaculis ulla popularis praebeatur occasio conuentus, quia non expedit animabus earum. Nec audeat ibi episcopus cathedram collocare uel quamlibet potestatem exercere imperandi nec aliquam ordinationem quamuis leuissimam faciendi, nisi ab abbate fuerit rogatus, quatenus monachi semper maneant in abbatum suorum potestate, ut remotis uexationibus ac cunctis grauaminibus diuinum opus cum summa animi deuotione perficiant.

Mit Heranziehung der Gregorausgabe der Mauriner[2] ergibt sich nun folgendes. Das von Ewald und Hartmann edierte Exemplar des Gregorbriefes kennt Petrus nicht, sondern die von ihm gebrauchte Fassung entstammt einer Verbindung der von den Maurinern abgedruckten zweiten Fassung des Briefes (*op. cit.*, II, 603B) mit Teilen des daran angehängten Stückes *De priuilegio monasteriorum* (*id.*, col. 604B). Nämlich der Eingang '*Luminoso abbate referente*' ist wohl Zusammenziehung des Eingangs (col. 603B), '*Luminosus abbas — Namque eodem referente.*' Die Fortsetzung '*plurimis in — comperimus*' und '*Oportet ergo — perseuerant*' ist ebenfalls jener zweiten Fassung der Mauriner wörtlich entnommen. Und die weiteren Sätze '*Missas quoque publicas — deuotione perficiant*' stammen aus *De priuilegio monasteriorum*, '*Missas — fuerit rogatus*' aus col. 604B, 14–23, und '*remotis — perficiant*' *id.*, 34–36. Es fehlen also bei den Maurinern nur die Worte

[1] Hgg. P. Ewald und L. M. Hartmann, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Epistolae, Gregori I Papae Registrum Epistolarum* I, 348.

[2] *Sancti Gregorii Papae I., cognomento Magni, opera omnia ... studio et labore monachorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti, e congregatione Sancti Mauri* (Paris, 1705), II, 605.

bei Petrus '*quatenus monachi — suorum potestate.*' Petrus aber hat diese Ueberlieferung [1] jedenfalls in der alten Handschrift von Cluni gefunden, die der Katalog bei Delisle anzeigt.[2]

7. Beda. In seiner Schrift *Contra haereses Saracenorum* gibt Petrus i, 16 (*Patr. Lat.*, l.c., 684–685C) ein grosses Stück aus der *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, i, 25 (hgg. C. Plummer, Oxford, 1896, I, 44–46). Die Lesarten stimmen aber mit keiner von Plummer benutzten Handschrift überein; freilich dürften im Druck des Petrus besonders bei den Eigennamen willkürliche Aenderungen der Ueberlieferung gemacht worden sein. Dass sich jenes Werk zur Zeit des Petrus in Cluni befand, erweist die Angabe im Katalog bei Delisle.[3]

Plummer I, 44 Ethelbert. p. 45, 1 Humbri. maximi *om.* populi Anglorum. 3 imperium. 4 Thanetos. 6 familiarum DC^{rum}] milliarum sexcentorum. 7. Wantsumii. 10 applicuit. 11 fere. 13 et Aediberetum *om.* mandaueruntque regi. 16 futurum *om.* manere illos in illa quam. 18 audierant. 20 Nam—26 haberent *om.* 30 ueteri. 31 maleficae. 32 decipiendo superarent. p. 46, 1 ferentes] portantes. 2 litaniasque. 3 et ad quos *om.* 4 aeterno. 8 affertis. 9 assensum. 14 hospitio uos benigne. 15 uestro sunt. 16 curabimus. 19 Dorobernensi. 21 quaeque.

[1] Ueber Abweichungen von seinem Druck vgl. übrigens P. Ewald, *Neues Archiv* VII (1882), 597. Die Fassung bei Petrus hätte Ewald im Druck berücksichtigen müssen.

[2] *Le cabinet des manuscrits* II, 460, no. 40.

[3] *Op. cit.*, II, 467, no. 261.

Max Manitius,
Niederlössnitz bei Dresden.

A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT FROM LLANTHONY PRIORY

Only rarely is it possible to determine the original home of a mediaeval manuscript. Accordingly, data which serve to connect a manuscript with a definite locality are of special interest to both the historian and the linguist. This, perhaps, may warrant the printing of the following notes on one of the manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

MS. C.C.C. 59 has been known to students of English chiefly on account of three Middle English poems contained in it, which were printed many years ago by the Early English Text Society.[1] The following riming inscription on fol. 3r preserves for us the name of the donor of the book:

[1] R. Morris, ed., *Old English Homilies*, 2d Ser., E. E. T. S., No. 53, Appendix I, pp. 255–259. Unfortunately in this printing the MS. is wrongly referred to as Corpus Christi Coll. *MS. 54.*

Rex regum riche kink
Lux dux princeps ouer al þing
ffre Cuntis suete þing
Walterum protege Waldink
Qui me communi librum dedit utilitati.

The family of Walding, with which the book is thus connected, was situated from the early thirteenth century in the Forest of Dean within the limits of County Hereford, a short distance west of the city of Gloucester.[1] Sir John MacLean, in his article, 'The History of the Manor and Advowson of Staunton in theForest of Dean,'[2] remarks: 'The family of Staunton, from an early period, would appear to have been called Waldyng and de Staunton indiscriminately . . . Whether this arose from an alliance between a Waldyng and the heiress of Staunton, and thus, while retaining his original name, from his possession of the manor became known as "de Staunton," we are unable to say, but this would appear to have been not an unlikely origin for the double name.' More than one person in the Walding family bore the Christian name Walter. There was a Walter Walding to whom Abbot Henry of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, granted certain land in the town of Tudenham (Gloucestershire).[3] The abbot in question was either Henry Blont (1206–1224) or Henry Foliet (1228–1243). 'Walter, son of William Waldyng' made a grant, apparently in the later years of Henry III, to Richard the Prior and the Canons of Holy Trinity, London, of certain land in Edelmeton.[4] Another Walter Walding is mentioned in the 35th of Edward I (1306/7) as holding one fourth of a Welsh knight's fee in Tudenham.[5] This in all likelihood was the person whose name appears in the Corpus Christi College MS.

The approximate date of the inscription in the manuscript is fixed by the use of the phrase 'free countess.' Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, was killed at Bannockburn in 1314. On his death the earldoms of Gloucester and Hertford were divided among his three sisters. Margaret apparently received the title of Gloucester, for on her marriage in 1328 to Hugh de Audley her husband assumed in her right the title of Earl of Gloucester. Between 1314 and 1328, therefore, Margaret would have been described as the free countess of Gloucester. And on palaeographical grounds the inscription might be assigned to the second decade of the fourteenth

[1] See Margaret C. Bazeley, 'The Forest of Dean in its Relation with the Crown during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society* XXXIII (1910), 169, 177, 191, 199, 231. See also the testimony at the inquisition post mortem, 16th of Edward III (No. 27), Index Library, *Inquisitiones post Mortem for Gloucestershire*, VI (Pt 17, for 1913), 143.

[2] *Trans. Brist. and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* VII (1882–83), 229, 230.

[3] *Hist. et Cartular. Monast. S. Petri Gloucest.* Rolls Ser. II, 142.

[4] *Descriptive Cat. of Anc. Deeds*, Pub. Record Office, II, 71, No. A. 2374.

[5] *Cal. of Inq. post Mortem*, IV (Edw. I), p. 299.

century, though it was hardly written later than 1320. Accordingly, we are justified in assigning the book to the general neighborhood of Gloucester and in fixing the date of Walding's gift in the early years of the fourteenth century.

This conclusion as to the provenance of the Corpus Christi MS. is fully confirmed when we note the appearance in the volume of verses celebrating the virtues of Humphrey de Bohun, fifth Earl of Hereford. On fol. 69v one finds verses beginning:

Humfridus de Boun quondam comes hic sepelitur,
Sanguine nobilior comes illo non reperitur.

Again, on fol. 67r we read:

Herfordensis apex hic Hunfridus sepelitur,
Sanguine nobilior comes illo non reperitur.
Quid ualet egregius sanguis uel nobile stema
Quondam preclarus hic functus dat modo thema
Quid roburque decus uel quid cumulacio rerum
Ad nichilum tendunt extrema luce dierum
Vir pius In facie gestu pius & pius ore
Omnibus ille pius mundano plenus honore
Si quis per mores celestia regna meretur
Hunfridus per eos omnium ratione sequetur
Ergo pro meritis sumat modo gaudia grata
Et bona facta sua redeant aut sui congeminata.

Humphrey — the 'good Earl of Hereford' as he was called — died 24 Sept. 1275, and was buried in Llanthony Priory in the suburbs of Gloucester, before the high altar in the chapel of St Kyneburg. The phrase 'hic sepelitur' shows that these verses were designed as an epitaph for his tomb, so that they afford a precise local identification and also give us an approximate date for these entries in the Corpus Christi MS.

Further light is thrown on the history of the book by the devotions to St Kyneburg which appear in its pages. On fol. 67r, immediately above the epitaph to the Earl of Hereford already quoted, is a Latin hymn for St Kyneburg's anniversary:

Kineburgam laude plenam ueneramur hodie
collaudemus predicemus in hanc domum gracie
Qua ualescunt reminiscunt defuncti a funere
Eger crede in hac ede si deuotus fueris
Sanus eris & sequeris quod iuste pecieris
Ora sane sero mane peste proprio qua premeris
firma fides inpetrabit morbi conualenciam
Intus foris dum seruabit homo conscienciam
puram hic adnichilabit hostis fraudelenciam
fides uera effugabit omnes fraudes demonum
fractas uires solidabit & uirtutes hominum
languentes quosque firmabit fideique meritum.

On fol. 69v is entered a dedicatory inscription for the Chapel of St Kyneburg, in which Robert of Hereford is mentioned as its founder:

Est tibi uirgo decens Kyneburga dicata capella *uel*
Hec tibi stat uirgo Kyneburga dicata capella
Et tibi Milburga Christi speciosa puella
Hanc Herfordensis Robertus sanctificauit
Presul uirginibus sanctis simul intitulauit.

Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, and Countess Maud had taken special interest in the support of the Chapel of St. Kyneburg, as appears from repeated benefactions which are recorded in the Register of Llanthony Priory.[1] The Countess died in Gascony in 1273 but sixteen years later her body was brought back to England and buried with great solemnity on the festival of St Kyneburg near the body of her husband.[2]

The references to the sick which occur in the hymn to St Kyneburg might at first suggest a connection with some hospital, such as were established in the Middle Ages for the relief of the needy and infirm. It appears, however, that the shrine of St Kyneburg enjoyed a considerable reputation for miracles of healing, and this doubtless explains the exhortations to the sick which are found in the hymn. Elsewhere in the Corpus Christi MS. (fol. 68r) is another hymn for the feast of St Kyneburg (with musical notes), which celebrates these miracles with such specific detail that it deserves to be quoted in full:

Recitemus per hec festa
uoce clara uera gesta
uirginis eximie
Kyneburge res probatur
pro qua deus operatur
miranda magnifice.

Morbos leuit & languores
multiformesque dolores
rex eterne glorie
Vt res facte depinguntur
quedam libris inscribuntur
hominum memorie.

Mulier ferens bufonem[3]
per diuinam sanctionem

[1] Compare the article by Rev. John M. Hall, 'Harescombe; Fragments of Parcochial History,' *Trans. Brist. and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* X (1885–86), 74, 77. See also 'Notes on the Monuments in Lantony Priory,' *Trans. Brist and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* III (1878–79), 364, 365.

[2] My authority for these statements is an unprinted history of the city and suburbs of Gloucester compiled by Archdeacon Furney, now preserved in the Bodleian Library (*MS. Top. Glouc. C. 5*),

[3] This clinging toad was probably a punishment for feminine vanity as in the similar instance recorded in *MS. Harley 495*, fol. 81r, from which it has been printed by J. T. Welter

capitis in uertice
eius ad confusionem
fedam gerens passionem
tyro cenodoxie.

Ab hac uerme liberatur
amplius non aggrauatur
Kyneburge precibus
Per hanc cecis lumen datur
& conclusus reformatur
restitutis gressibus.

Huius prece tympanites
yposarca & acites
cedit leucoflancia
hanc decedit paralisis
quam curare nequit phisis
ardens elefancia.

fol. 68v

Per hanc febris effugatur
& defunctus uite datur
urens erisipula
et syringa cauernosa
antrax ardens famosa
decedit et fistula.

asma pleuresisque
dura scotesisque[1]
nocitura fugit et astrophia
Impentigo furiosa
capud sedans et squamosa
cutem crustans morphea.

Scotesisque tenebrosa
parotidaque gladulosa
cedit et squinantia
hanc sanatur et bolismus
uilis uentris catacli[s]mus
spamus epilentia.

(*Speculum Laicorum*, p. 144): 'Mulier quedam nobilis in partibus borealibus nimis curiose componere et nutrire solebat capillos. Cui per noctem accessit buffo terribilis et (adh)esit ejus capitis summitat, excitateque clamores horribiles domicille ejus non potuerunt eum avellere; sed nec medici cura enim contingeretur bufo ad amouendum. Cepit semper illam torquere grauissime. Suasa tandem intellexit hoc sibi in penam sue superbie accedisse et penitere cepit. Super ueniens, peregrinus quidam ignotus caute liberauit eam nec aliquid uoluit recipere cum tamen omnia sua prius optulisset, si posset eam liberare. Istud casu narrauit quidam frater in sermone in loco ubi contigit et homines ejusdem loci in pleno sermone perhibebant ita fuisse.' For another clinging toad see J. A. Herbert, *Cat. of Romances in Brit. Mus.* (London, 1910), III, 545.

[1] ? Scotosisque.

ab ossessis demon cedit
sensus datur salus redit
sanantur ergumini
date laudes audientes
ista mira conplaudantes
nunc diuino numini.

deprecemur[1] amatorem
castitatis ob amorem
fol. 69r Kyneburge uirginis
nostrum leuiat dolorem
et perducat ad decorem
locum ueri luminis. AMEN.

This thirteenth-century catalogue of diseases impresses the reader by its ample store of medical terms. Particularly surprising is the large proportion of Greek derivatives included in the list.[2]

The connection of the manuscript with Llanthony Priory is, then, established beyond question. It remains to inquire in regard to the use which was made of it. Before discussing this point it will be well to list the principal contents of the manuscript:

fol. 5r. *Anticlaudianus* Alani de Insulis.
57v. Sententiae morales.
60r. Versus prouerbiales.
61r. De septem uitiis.
62v. Definitiones grammaticales de figuris.
65v. Hymnus ad Patrem (Latin).
66r. Hit bilimpeð forte speke (Hymn to God, in English).
67r. Versus in honorem S. Kineburgae; epitaphium in Humfredum.
68r. Versus in honorem S. Kineburgae (with musical notes).
72r–113. Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae.*
113v. Edi beo þu heuene quene (with musical notes).
116v. Moder milde flur of alle.
117. Aue gloriosa dulcis et formosa.

From the signs of wear at fol. 72 I am inclined to suspect that the *Boethius* and the leaves which follow originally stood as a separate book, which afterward was bound up with the earlier portion of the volume. But at all events the close relationship of material found on leaves at the front and back shows that the book must have existed in its present form in the thirteenth century.

A notable feature of the MS. is the considerable amount of plummet writing on the first four leaves, on the fifteen leaves between *Anticlaudian* and *Boethius*, and on the seven leaves at the end of the book. Traces of plummet writing, for the most part illegible, appear on nearly all these

[1] *MS.* deprececemur.

[2] In this connection it is interesting to note on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the book the names of the Greek numerals — the digits, the tens to 100, and the hundreds to 1000 — spelled out in Latin characters.

leaves, though the original writing has been erased and the pages written over with ink. In a number of cases verses written with plummet are copied again on another page in ink. Thus on fol. 69v these lines are written in ink:

Adam non licite pomum carpsit ionatasque
Mel. sumens auide comedentes iraeliter (sic)
Carnes. set fatue penas sibi promeruere.

The same lines, written with plummet, can be made out at the foot of fol. 67v. More instructive is the case of the hymn to the B.V., 'Orbis honor celi stema.' The text of this hymn was written with plummet on fol. 2v and again on fol. 3r and again on fol. 3v (almost wholly erased). It was written in ink on fol. 4r and also on fol. 116v — in the latter case an attempt has been made to erase the text. Finally on fol. 113r the hymn has been written with musical notes. Comparison of these several copyings shows much variation in the text of the hymn, that with musical notes differing notably from all the others.

The general conclusion to be drawn from the examination of this plummet writing would seem to be that this manuscript was a 'working book,' in which many things were first noted down in rough draft and afterwards copied permanently in ink. It should be observed further that a fair share of the space in these pages is devoted to what may be termed grammaticalia, that is, to material related more or less directly to subjects studied in the mediaeval grammar school.[1] Of this the most unmistakable evidence appears on the last fly-leaf (fol. 120v). Here one finds, besides some nearly illegible scrawls, the following verses which seem to represent school exercises:

Versus Alexandri nequam:

Veruex & pueri (?) puer alter sponsus maritus
Cultello limpha fune dolore periunt.

Versus W. Walding:[2]

ffur cruce furta luit ueruecis sponsaque fune
Ense duo puori (*sic*) tercius amne puer
Item id: ffur perit furca furto ueruecis & uxor
Cultello periunt puori duo tercius amne

---

[1] Thus at the bottom of fol. 2v in coarse plummet writing: 'abdicat expellit remouetque refutat & additus denegat absentat ac inhibere notat.' On fol. 116r the following verse has been written lengthwise of the page in plummet: 'Nona cibat leuius quem pascit mane coquina.'

[2] It does not seem at all likely that the 'W. Walding' whose name is attached to some of these verses was the Walter Walding who is named on fol. 3r as the donor of the book. The writing on fol. 120v can safely be assigned to the thirteenth century, whereas the inscription on fol. 3r, for the reasons stated at the beginning of this paper, was probably written about 1314. Nevertheless, the occurrence of the Walding name in both places is a matter of some interest in considering the history of the manuscript.

Item id: ffur cum prole parens furce periere bidentes.

. . . . . .

Panis uerus amor Lapis est duricia cordis
Piscis uera fides fedei serpens inimicus
Omne (?) spem dicas quam scorpio cusspide pungit

. . . . . .

Caladrius uitam spondet si respicit egrum
Quamquam mortem si negat huic faciem.[1]

I have not been able to identify the lines on the *ueruex* in the published works of Neckham, but he tells the story of the '*caulandrius*' (though in other words) on page 378 of the Rolls Series edition of the *De Naturis Rerum*. It is unnecessary to consider in detail the examples of mediaeval prosody afforded by these lines of verse. Their importance for our purpose consists chiefly in confirming the suspicion created by the other contents of the manuscript, that this book was at one time the property of a schoolmaster.

Further support is given to this conclusion by historical records showing that from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries a grammar-school under the control of Llanthony Priory was actually in existence.[2] This school was quite distinct from the school connected with St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, of which Giraldus Cambrensis gives an account in his *Speculum Ecclesie*.[3] Mention of the grammar-school belonging to Llanthony Priory occurs in King John's confirmation (1199) of the grant by Henry II to the Priory of Llanthony with 'a chapel within the castle of Gloucester and one school within the same town.'[4] That the Llanthony school was still being maintained in the fifteenth century appears from an action for trespass brought in 1409/10 by two masters of the school against another schoolmaster who had infringed upon their rights. The complainants recite that the collation to the grammar-school of Gloucester had belonged from time immemorial to the 'Prior of Lentone near Gloucester.'[5]

Returning, then, to the Corpus Christi College MS., we may sum up our conclusions in a word. On the one hand, the book discloses a special connec-

[1] Mr J. A. Herbert notes the occurrence of a similar account of this remarkable bird (*Cat. of Romances in Brit. Mus.* III, London, 1910, 162) and gives a reference to Bartholomeus Anglicus.

[2] Archdeacon Furney, in his account of Llanthony Priory already cited, states: 'And there was a Grammar School for the young Canons and other persons resorting to it' (*MS. Top. Glouc. C. 5*, p. 628). Fosbrooke gives further details: 'In old Smith St. there was an ancient school given by Henry II to the Priory of Lanthony, the master of which received 40d. (*sic!*) per quarter for each child' (T. D. Fosbrooke, *Hist. of Gloucester*, London, 1819, p. 300). In regard to 'Old Smith-Street,' Gloucester, see *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.* II (1877–78), 235.

[3] *Opera*, Rolls Ser. IV, 107.

[4] *Rotuli Chartarum*, Pub. Record. Com., 1837, p. 7.

[5] H. A. Merewether and A. J. Stephens, *History of Boroughs and Municipal Corporations* (London, 1835), II, 807.

tion with the Chapel of St Kyneburg attached to Llanthony Priory; on the other hand, the texts and exercises in Latin verse which it contains strongly suggest that it was a schoolmaster's book. Both characteristics would at once be explained by supposing that the master of the Llanthony grammar-school served also as chaplain in St Kyneburg's Chapel. Such a combination of the schoolmaster's and the chaplain's office was not at all uncommon in the Middle Ages, when pious foundations often were employed to maintain, or at least assist, the work of education. Rarely, however, has good fortune preserved for us one of the books actually used in his work by a thirteenth-century *magister scolarum*.

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A NOTE ON THE GOLIARDS

Speculum hopes that it has demonstrated its friendliness towards the Goliards, ever since Professor Hanford's article on 'The Progenitor of Golias' appeared in its first number.

In a review of Karl Breul, *The Cambridge Songs*, published in *The Nation* CIII (1910), 305 f., I ventured to state that 'it would not be surprising if Goliardic poetry came into being in the ninth century, in the very period, the Carolingian Renaissance, which Professor Breul and others regard as dominated by lifeless convention and subservience to classical models.' Such a statement can be made with a tremendously increased confidence after Dr Jarcho's article in the present number of Speculum. In the same review I pointed out some of the weaknesses of Breul's method of editing the text. It is a pleasure to call attention anew (even after Professor Allen's review in the April number of our magazine) to Strecker's recent edition of the *Songs*, in which the weaknesses conspicuous in Breul's edition do not appear. On the contrary, Strecker's work is a model of the way in which one should publish a mediaeval text. In comparison, the work of his predecessor seems like that of an enthusiastic but unscholared amateur. His analysis of the contents of the *Songs*, moreover, advances by many degrees our understanding of this collection. He demonstrates what I had suggested, that they contain a nucleus of French as well as of German matter. His discussion warns us against too liberal a use of the blessed word Goliardic, and yet it adds further evidence, in keeping with the results of Dr Jarcho's article, for a continuous stream of lightsome and cheering verse from the ninth century down into the twelfth. Finally, we greet the appearance of Strecker's edition of the *Apocalypsis Goliae*, reviewed on pp. 418–420 of our July number.

E. K. Rand,
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REVIEWS

E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville, edd., *Avicennae de Congelatione et Conglutinatione Lapidum, being sections of the Kitâb al-Shifâ'*. The Latin and Arabic texts edited with an English translation of the latter and with critical notes. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927. Pp. ix + 86.

The contribution of the Arabs to mediaeval science is a large field in which relatively little work has been done, and every addition to it is most welcome. The present volume contains (pp. 71–86) a short Arabic text of part of an encyclopaedic work of Avicenna (Ibn Sina), the famous Arabic philosopher and physician. It is accompanied by a carefully annotated English translation and includes a mediaeval Latin translation by Alfred of Sereshel as well as a preface, introduction, select bibliography, and indices.

In some editions and a Paris MS. of the Latin the book is entitled *Liber de mineralibus Aristotelis*, and F. de Mely has published it as *Lapidaire d'Aristote*, considering it a genuine work but for a number of later interpolations. The editors have discovered the Arabic original of the Latin in certain parts of Avicenna's unpublished philosophic encyclopaedia, *Kitâb al-Shifâ'*, proving that the ascription to the Arabic scientist occurring in some of the editions is correct. Whether this argument finally disposes of the possibility that some Aristotelean treatise underlies this text is perhaps not quite as certain as the editors assume. After all, Avicenna has modelled this encyclopaedia after the works of Aristotle, accepting even their titles. This has been pointed out by Steinschneider, *Die Hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1893), p. 280, where the fullest account of the work is given.

Ingeborg Hammer-Jensen in *Hermes* L (1915), 132–135, has put together a number of passages from Aristotle's genuine works as parallels to statements in our text, but this part of her article has been passed over in the quotation, p. 2. On the other hand, Mely's strongest proof for a Greek original, the occurrence of a Greek word in the Latin, is disposed of by the discovery of the Arabic original, as the editors point out, p. 4, note 2.

Among the authors ascribing the text to Avicenna, Qazwini is to be added; see J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1912), p. 81, note 2.

It is interesting that Avicenna, as he refuted the belief in astrology, so in this treatise (pp. 40 f.) also denied the truth of alchemy. His discussion of the formation of minerals and mountains which in the present publication for the first time is made accessible to a larger circle of readers is dis-

tinctly interesting and gives evidence of the keenness of mind of the great Arabic scholar.

The introduction is not quite satisfactory. The lengthy quotations from predecessors are disturbing. Some of the points belonging to the introduction are relegated to the preface, and it is somewhat confusing to read there in one quotation that 'Aurelius' was the translator, while, p. 3, in another quotation the colophon of a Nuremberg MS. which correctly reads the name 'Aluredus' (Alfred) is reprinted without any remark or cross-reference. This colophon is taken from a secondary source, and V. Rose's article in *Hermes* I (1866), 385, where it was first published is not even mentioned. It is curious, by the way, that Steinschneider failed to take note of this passage in all his later publications, though he had received a reprint of the article from his friend Rose and had underlined the name of the translator. He continues to speak of the otherwise unknown Aurelius on various occasions from 1861 (*Zur Pseudepigraphischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, p. 82, where a short account of our treatise is found) to 1904 (*Die Europaeischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen*, p. 7).

The edition of the Arabic text is based on three MSS, the variants of which are added. The Latin text follows a fifteenth-century MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge, with which another codex in the same library and two editions of the early sixteenth century are collated. We are informed that some later editions seem to be derived from a different family of MSS, but the variants of this group are not given. Purposely no attempt is made to establish Alfred's Latin text, since the discovery of the Arabic proved that he occasionally misunderstood his original and perhaps also had a defective text before him. In Mely's edition the text begins with page 49, line 5, from the bottom of the present edition; after page 51, line 2, follow pages 45–49, while the end (pp. 51–55) is missing there altogether. His text, which is constructed, it seems, arbitrarily on the basis of the Paris MS. and three editions, only one of which has been consulted for the present text, differs considerably from the latter. In one respect the editors follow their main MS. too consistently; they fail to indicate the division into three chapters to which they repeatedly refer.

While the introduction thus does not exhaust the treatment of all the problems and cannot compare with the masterly discussion in the above-mentioned book of Ruska which deals with a cognate subject, edition, translation, and commentary are very carefully done. The little volume is an important contribution which helps to clarify an intricate problem and adds to our information in a much neglected field of mediaeval lore.

Alexander Marx,
Jewish Theological Seminary.

F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, being the Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1927. Oxford: The University Press, 1928. Pp. 227.

This is a fresh book on an old theme, fresh in much of its material, fresh also in many of its points of view. Everyone has heard of Stephen Langton's part in the struggle for the Great Charter, some have known that he was responsible for the current division of the Bible into chapters, but Professor Powicke is the first to treat Langton's life as a whole in which the man of thought helps to explain the man of action. Langton's writings are passed in review, including the *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* for which there are other claimants, but most attention is given to the discussion of theological and moral problems in his unpublished *Questiones*. At the same time the archbishop's career is seen in its European setting, his teaching put against the intellectual background of the nascent University of Paris, the struggle between England and Rome viewed in relation to the general policy of Innocent III. In his treatment of the Great Charter Professor Powicke harks back to an earlier school, with less emphasis upon ideas of feudal contract and more upon the contemporary doctrines of monarchy. To him the Charter was decidedly not 'a piece of selfish and reactionary class legislation.' Here, as in all the author's historical work, there is an evident effort to avoid conventional interpretations and to see each age as it saw itself.

We are glad to note the promise of further studies by Professor Powicke's students in this field, to which the *Bibliothèque Thomiste* also announces important contributions. The proof-reader should remember that in French *catalogue* is not a feminine noun, as it is made six times in the appendices (pages 169, 178–180). We miss a list of the archbishop's official acts.

Charles H. Haskins,
Harvard University.

Gray Cowan Boyce, *The English-German Nation in the University of Paris during the Middle Ages*. Bruges: The Saint Catherine Press, 1927. Pp. 232.

This volume, on a subject suggested by Professor Paetow, is a distinctly creditable type of doctoral dissertation, dealing intelligently and adequately with a definite and significant topic for which the sources are easily available and not too voluminous. Begun at the University of California and finished in Europe, it had the advantage of access to the archives of the University of Paris, but it is based fundamentally upon the published *Chartularium* and particularly upon the two supplementary volumes of *Auctarium* which contain the surviving records of the English-German Nation from 1333 to 1452. While, however, the body of this admirably edited collection has been widely used, little attention has hitherto been

paid to the *Auctarium*, save as a prime source for the taverns visited by the nation in the course of its habit of 'drinking up the surplus,' so that Dr. Boyce had a reasonably clear field for his study of the fullest body of record which any Paris nation has left us. He sheds no new light on the origin of the institution but describes carefully its organization and functions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both in itself and as a part of the university. The author's English style could be improved, and the typographical errors are too numerous, even when allowance is made for printers accustomed to a different language.

Charles H. Haskins,
Harvard University.

Charles Sears Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400) interpreted from representative works*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. Pp. xx + 321.

An excellent and much needed work—in nothing more admirable than in its lucid arrangement, bibliography chapter by chapter, analytical table of contents, 'synoptic' and general indexes. Slight improvements would be to distinguish the more important references in the index and to add numbers to the chapter headings. To deal with the theory and practice of a millennium in Rhetoric and Poetic in 300 pages is a feat made possible only by stern avoidance of tempting by-paths and unnecessary verbiage. Some may think this conciseness and the habit of subdivision (e.g., we find chapter I, B, 2a [1]) make the book hard to read consecutively, but most of the chapters taken singly are most readable—even fascinating. Perhaps more serious is the danger of losing the sense of continuity (the synoptic index is very useful here) — for instance, the *progymnasmata* of Hermogenes (it was a singularly happy idea to spend 16 pages even of so short a book on a translation of these) lead not only to Aphthonius and the Byzantines, who would not have influenced the West, but the Priscian (himself a Byzantine) and the other Latin grammarians, who often offer literal translations of Hermogenes: compare Priscian in Faral (*op. cit.*, p. 82) with Hermogenes (in Baldwin, p. 32).

Similarly the development of the Hymn (particularly of rhyme) seems somewhat confused (the un-metrical sequence is not mentioned). The crucial passage on page 110 about saturnians and marching-songs (trochaics) is singularly vague, not to say misleading. It is misleading again to begin chapter IV, C, by printing *O Lux beata Trinitas* with its flagrant rhymes and complete union of verse-ictus and word-stress as Ambrose's. Who now accepts it as his?

Apart from this there is little to find fault with in this very accurate and lucid book. Chapters VII and VIII are particularly good, above all the

illuminating section on the difference between the lyrical symbolism of the hymns and the rhetorical ornaments of the *poetriae*. It is a pity that more space was not available for these chapters on the very culmination of mediaeval art.

The author does well to note the influence of Sidonius on the *poetriae*, but why not mention Maximian also? Ingenious, too, are the illustrations of sophistic devices from De Quincey. It is good to see the importance of Book IV of Augustine's *Doctrina Christiana* recognized by a twenty-page discussion and analysis. Should not *Waltharius*, *Ruodlieb* (and *Ecbasis Captivi?*) have a word in chapter V?

The bibliographies are rather short, perhaps an advantage, but one would expect explicit references to W. Meyer's works and Norden's *Antike Kunstprosa* (which covers the whole ground on the prose side); personally, I would add for chapter I Walden's *Universities of Ancient Greece*, and for chapter IV Manitius' *Geschichte der Christlich-lateinischen Poesie*. The translations are good and useful, but in some cases need revision.

Altogether this is a book which touches every side of mediaeval literature, and *nihil quod tetigit non illustravit*.

W. B. Sedgwick.

Robert Belle Burke, transl., *The Opus Maius of Roger Bacon, a Translation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928. 2 vols. Pp. xiii + 840.

At last the means is provided for the English reader to acquaint himself in translation with the full text of the *Opus Maius* of Roger Bacon, that celebrated landmark in the history of science and of the thirteenth century. Heretofore the reader unacquainted with Latin has had to depend upon the analysis of the content of the work prefixed to Bridges' edition of the Latin text. Now he may get a much fuller and more accurate impression from a perusal of what are practically Bacon's own words. Anyone familiar with mediaeval writings is aware that the task of rendering them into English is a difficult and rather thankless one. It is not easy to reproduce the effect made upon the mind by the original Latin text and at the same time turn out anything like presentable English. There are interesting passages which are a delight to translate, while, on the other hand, there are tiresome stretches which one is inclined to spare the reader: but this would not be giving a faithful reflection of the original. On the whole Professor Burke is to be congratulated on having faithfully, patiently, and accurately performed an arduous task, without either taking too great liberties with the Latin original, or allowing it to overmaster his own rendition. It is now possible for the reader to stroll at large through the broad expanses of Bacon's thought, to note his limitations as well as his merits, and to gain

a first-hand impression of the general principles and many minute details of mediaeval science.

Unfortunately, however, it is not much more than a bare translation of the *Opus Maius* which the work before us for review provides. The brief introduction covers only three pages and there are none of the explanatory notes in regard to proper names, citations from unfamiliar works of long ago, technical terminology, and interpretations of the details of the learning of the past with which Bridges' edition was enriched. Roger Bacon often needs interpretation for the modern reader, who also should be made acquainted with the scientific and learned background against which Roger wrote. For example, at page 312 it should be explained that 'Carthage' means New Carthage in Spain; at page 386 that 'Caracarum' means Karakorum, and that the men called 'Thebeth' are the Tibetans. Bacon's incorrect citations should be explained instead of merely transcribed. For example on page 403 we read 'Albumazar in his book on Flowers': to the uninitiated this would indicate that Albumazar was a botanist, whereas his *Flores* is a volume of astrological selections. 'The hundred words of Ptolemy' (p. 404), it should be indicated, are the same as the *Centilogium* or *Centiloquium* cited elsewhere; 'the fourfold divisions of Ptolemy' are his *Quadripartitum* or *Tetrabiblos*. It is hard to see why Mr Burke translates '*in quinto uerbo Centilogii*' (Bridges, i, 391) as 'in the fifth book of the *Centilogium*' (p. 406), especially since on the same page occurs '*in expositione quintae propositionis Centilogii*,' which he more correctly translates, 'in expounding the fifth proposition of the *Centilogium*.' But he is evidently unaware that the *Centiloquium* is a collection of one hundred brief sentences or *dicta*. At page 285 some explanation is required of the awkward translation in connection with the title of the pseudo-Ovid, *De Vetula*, especially since three pages later it is given untranslated as '*Ovidius de Vetula*,' apparently simply because Bridges (I, 267), had for some reason italicized it.

The fact seems to be that while the translator, as a professor of Latin, is well equipped to deal with ordinary matters of translation, he does not have the detailed knowledge either of recent research concerning Roger Bacon or of mediaeval learning in general, to enable him adequately to interpret the *Opus Maius* for the English reader. This is shown by his regarding (p. xiii) Bridges' Introduction and Charles's *Life of Roger Bacon*, works produced back in 1897 and 1861, as 'the most important contributions in modern times on Bacon and his work.' But no mention is made of such important work as that of Robert Steele. Ignorance of things mediaeval sometimes vitiates the translation itself, as one or two examples will show. Thus at 410, '*theologi et decretistae*' is rendered 'theologians and judges' instead of 'theologians and canon lawyers.' On page 391 '*rei publicae*' is translated as 'the state,' whereas the reference is really to the

Christian world under the rule of the Pope. Had Mr Burke ever read the chapter on Roger Bacon in my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, he would perhaps not have translated '. . . *mathematici isti daemones aduocant in adiutorium coelestium dispositionum per coniurationes et sacrificia*' (Bridges, I, 241) as 'summoned to their aid demons of celestial natures,' instead of, 'invoked demons to supplement the influence of the constellations,' as I rendered it (*op. cit.*, II, 669). It is regrettable that the translator did not consult with specialists in the mediaeval field and acquaint himself with the latest literature on Roger Bacon before undertaking or publishing his work.

Another defect of the book before us from the reader's standpoint is the difficulty of finding any particular thing in it. In the first place, it is difficult to find the corresponding passage in Bridges' Latin text, to the pagination of which reference should have been made. In the second place, the marginal headings at the top of the pages are less diversified than in Bridges' edition, and are of little value as an indication of the contents. For instance, for some 300 pages we have the single heading 'Mathematics,' whereas during those pages there is really an important discussion of geography, as well as of other subjects which might well be separately indicated. Third, the index is very inadequate. There is no reference in it to such important topics in Bacon's thought as the Multiplication of Species, Generation, Putrefaction, or Incantations. The citations of works by various authors are only partially indexed. For example, under Aristotle, there is no reference to his Celestial Impressions (page 405), Secrets (page 408, etc.), while under his *De Generatione* page 307 is omitted; under *De Plantis*, page 308; under *De Somno et Vigilia*, page 414; under the Ethics, pages 584 and 585; under the Metaphysics, page 583; under the Meteorology, pages 584 and 585; and so on *ad infinitum*. There is no reference to the Children's Crusade and the Shepherd mentioned on page 416; Ptolemy's *Centilogium*, *Arrangement of the Sphere*, and *Quadripartitum* are not indexed at all, although repeatedly cited. Neither Thebeth nor Tibet is included.

Such limitations lessen the usefulness of the work, but it will, nevertheless, be of considerable value, especially in the hands of teachers who can supply the interpretation and correction which is lacking in the volumes themselves. On pages 314 and 316, the word 'plain' is used where 'plane' is certainly required. At page 626 a mistranslation of the word *aeris* gives us a peculiar sort of alchemy. 'They then made a mixture of silver and air with gold' should rather read 'They then made a mixture of silver and copper with gold.'

Lynn Thorndike,
Columbia University.

WILHELM LEVISON, *Das Werden der Ursula-Legende. Sonderausgabe aus Heft 132 der Bonner Jahrbücher.* Cologne: Ahn, 1928. Pp. 164. RM. 5.

EQUALLY admirable in design and execution, Professor Levison's monograph on the development of the Ursula legend is one of the best studies of the sort that have ever been written. It presents the evidence in the case with completeness, yet in so well-ordered a fashion that the reader stands in no danger of losing himself in complexities of detail. The author's mastery of his material is accompanied, moreover, by sound critical judgment — a quality very essential in dealing with the mazes of mediaeval legend. The excellence of the book is no less worthy of praise because it could have been predicated from Professor Levison's previous work. The Ursula legend is not likely to need scholarly overhauling, except in detail, for some time to come.

The story begins with the inscription now set into the wall of St Ursula's at Cologne, which records that a man named Clematius, admonished by visions, came from the East and restored a church that marked the place where certain virgins had suffered martyrdom. The date of this inscription has been the subject of much controversy. Professor Levison shows beyond the shadow of a doubt, I think, that it is a genuine record of the Roman occupation of the Rhine: a monument that must be placed between 350 and 450. It is thus, as he says, the kernel of the Ursula legend, although we have no means of knowing who Clematius was, or who were the virgin martyrs whom he honored. We do not even know certainly that the cult survived the Barbarian invasions, for we have no further evidence about it till the ninth century, when references become frequent. These records show that it was then in a flourishing state, but whether as the result of a continuous tradition or of a revival we cannot be sure. A fluctuating list of names appears, and a tendency to state the number of the martyrs as either eleven or eleven thousand. Not till the later tenth century did Ursula attain the position as leader which she was thenceforward to hold; and by that time everyone apparently believed that she had with her eleven thousand followers instead of eleven. Professor Levison's suggestion that the larger figure was due to a misunderstanding of the numeral XI, written with a stroke above it, is at least plausible.

Equally interesting is his treatment of the *Sermo in natali*, which he dates conservatively in the first half of the tenth century. The legend was clearly not yet formed when this discourse was preached at Cologne, nor was Ursula established as leader. The homilist regarded Pinnosa as chief among the virgins, and reported the belief that she was the daughter of a British king. Just how this connection with England came to be imagined may never be satisfactorily determined. Professor Levison's suggestions

on this point are highly ingenious, though too complicated for analysis here. At all events, the legend, with the English Ursula in the chief rôle, had been developed by the time the first *Passio* was written, which took place between 969 and 976. It is interesting to note that St Dunstan of Canterbury is named as authority for certain of the statements in this very important document, and interesting to inquire, as Professor Levison does most profitably, about the relations between England and the Rhine Valley at this time. His speculations, as well as his array of facts, are not to be disregarded. For example, it appears to be more than a coincidence that October 21 was not only the calendar date of the 11,000 Virgins, but also the day when Dunstan was made a bishop. Possibly, as Levison conjectures, the mysterious Saxon *B*, about whom Stubbs wrote so interestingly, brought to Cologne stories that Dunstan found credible. I myself suggested, long since, that[1] '*B*' may have been the man who brought the Old-Saxon *Genesis* to England, whether or not he translated it. Evidence accumulates that traffic between the island and the lower reaches of the Rhine was active in the tenth century. It is a fascinating possibility, furthermore, that the author of the *Passio* may be identified as a monk of St Bertin named Herricus.

A second *Passio*, however, ousted the first from popular favor. This was written, at latest, before 1100, and became the common source of later versions of the legend. Geoffrey of Monmouth used it to advantage in his *Historia*, fusing the story of Ursula with other matters borrowed from Gildas and Nennius, and characteristically creating a Dionotus as her father from the worlds *deo notus*. It goes without saying that Geoffrey's version had a considerable influence on the later course of the legend. He was not responsible, however, for certain very interesting phenomena of the twelfth century, which indeed began before he became an author. During the struggle between Henry IV and his son, military operations at Cologne brought to light a large number of graves from the Roman period. Popular fancy saw in the bones thus unearthed the remains of Ursula and her followers, who now had to include men and children. The effect of these discoveries was enormous, for the relics were much desired. More and more names were added to the list of the martyrs, and more and more of their bones were distributed over western Europe. In the latter part of the century Elizabeth of Schönau furnished revelations that served as a welcome commentary on the inscriptions which purported to come from the tombs. Before her death there was made a *noua editio* of the *Passio*, which includes the revelations and adds other material. Professor Levison raises the interesting question whether the unknown author was not, under his pretences of reverence, really poking fun at the cult he served. Certainly some of his

[1] Cf. *Modern Language Notes* XXVI (1911), 129–133.

remarks give color to the suspicion that in piling up details he was gratifying a secret taste for parody. He was indeed a bold spirit, this man at the end of the twelfth century, as the following quotation will indicate: '*ita enim evangelistae uidentur impares inter se, discordantes in pluribus locis.*'

Professor Levison adds to our indebtedness by appending to his monograph a careful edition of the first *Passio Ursulae.*

Gordon Hall Gerould,
Princeton University.

L. J. Paetow, ed., *Morale Scolarium of John of Garland (Johannes de Garlandia), a Professor in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse in the Thirteenth Century,* with an Introduction on the Life and Works of the Author, together with Facsimiles of Four Folios of the Bruges Manuscript, Memoirs of the University of California, Vol. IV, No. 2, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927.

Professor Paetow, who has already written elsewhere of 'The Crusading Ardor of John of Garland,' [1] here presents in admirably complete form the first edition of the same author's interesting work on 'The Morality of Students.'

The text is edited from five manuscripts with their glosses (Part ii, pp. 183–258), and is elucidated by a complete paraphrase in English. The introductory monograph on 'The Life and Works of John of Garland' (Part i, pp. 75–181) is a clear and convincing essay — such as one might expect from this distinguished scholar. Professor Paetow's arguments for the authorship and date of the *Morale Scolarium* (pp. 152–153) are cogent and conclusive. He presents (p. 167, n. 367) an interesting and plausible theory with reference to the English poet Walter, and makes numerous contributions to our knowledge of John of Garland and his writings (*e.g.*, p. 119, ll. 9–11; p. 155, n. 33; p. 161, n. 215; p. 164, n. 275; p. 167, n. 371, last paragraph). In his footnotes he often points out new material found in the *Morale Scolarium* and its glosses (see p. 165, note on ll. 311–318; p. 167, note on l. 365; p. 169, note on l. 425). The glosses themselves are ingeniously presented in a second set of footnotes, clearly distinguished from the variant readings, and the editor has reduced to a minimum the annoyance of cross-references by his parallel numbering of lines of the Latin text, the paraphrase, and the notes.

Other features of the book worthy of special note are the unusually complete table of contents (pp. 71–74), the beautiful facsimiles of four folios of *Bruges Manuscript 546* (Part iii, pp. 259–262), and the excellent index (pp. 263–273).

[1] In *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro by his Former Students,* New York: Crofts, 1927, pp. 207–222.

In his zeal to attract attention to a most promising field of research, the editor has incorporated in his introductory essay occasional references to several other works of John of Garland as yet unpublished and doubtless deserving of study and of publication (so, *e.g.*, on p. 118, n. 70; p. 120, first paragraph; p. 122; p. 125; p. 134; p. 137; pp. 140–141; p. 142; p. 151). The reviewer feels, however, that such suggestions — valuable as they are to students — belong rather in the footnotes than in the body of the text itself.

John of Garland, who became a member of the original faculty of the University of Toulouse almost seven hundred years ago, presents in this book a precious store of source material for the history of intellectual life in that interesting period and place. His aim in writing was two-fold: to reform the morals of his students, and to reform their Latin. Hence we find him adjuring his readers to prize the work because of the difficult and unusual words and constructions which it contains! It is perhaps to be regretted, therefore, that Paetow (despite his appreciative estimate of John of Garland's *Dictionarius* on pp. 128–131) has not appended to this otherwise complete presentation of the *Morale Scolarium* a list of these rare words and phrases. Of his author's significance as an educator Paetow writes (p. 102): 'John of Garland was trying to stem the tide of new learning which was overwhelming the study of Latin language and literature.'

As regards his moral aim, John of Garland states (Prologus, l. 1): *Scribo nouam satiram*, and there are many reminiscences of the *Sermones* of Horace — both in style and in content.

Professor Paetow is to be congratulated on having prepared so admirable an edition of this important and interesting book. Readers will feel that the committee on the award of the Edward Kennard Rand Prize in Mediaeval Studies for 1927 has made a wise decision in selecting this work as worthy of the first award.

Charles Christopher Mierow,
Colorado College.

L. J. Paetow, ed., *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro*, New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1928. Pp. x + 419.

It is a pleasant and appropriate custom to honor a beloved master by the presentation of a volume of essays. But such collections almost always suffer from the heterogenious character of their contents and are something of a vexation to both bibliographers and students, and the present volume is no exception to the rule. It is true that it derives a certain unity from the fact that a majority of the contributors have followed Professor Munro in the study of some aspect of his chosen field, the Crusades. But who

would ordinarily look between the covers of this volume for an account of Lord Haldane's mission to Berlin in 1912 or a study of anti-bellum society in Rockbridge County, Virginia? Under the circumstances the best plan seems to be to give a list of the essays which fall within the province of the mediaevalist, together with some brief notes upon them.

1. 'The Great Pilgrimage of 1064–1065,' by Einar Joranson. A detailed account, after a critical examination of the sources, of the greatest pilgrimage of the eleventh century before the Crusades. It shows that the members of this expedition were unarmed, and challenges the current view that, due to the persecutions of the Seljuk Turks, eleventh-century pilgrimages to Jerusalem were gradually transformed from the pacific small enterprises of an earlier epoch into great armed expeditions which anticipate the Crusades.

2. 'The Pope's plan for the First Crusade,' by Frederic Duncalf. A fresh study of Urban II's plan, and an attempt to show that the plan was much longer respected and much more nearly carried out by the lay leaders than has been commonly supposed. To the reviewer it seems that the argument is pressed rather further than the evidence warrants.

3. 'A Neglected Passage in the *Gesta* and its Bearing on the Literature of the First Crusade,' by August C. Krey. Shows that the statement of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, that the Emperor Alexius, by a special treaty in 1097, promised Antioch and the surrounding country to Bohemond is inconsistent with other portions of the work as well as with other sources, and attempts to explain it as a spurious interpolation added in 1105 or 1106 as propaganda in the interest of Bohemond's recruiting campaign in France for a fresh expedition against the Emperor. The argument is impressive.

4. 'Robert of Flanders in the First Crusade,' by M. M. Knappen. A detailed account of the part played by Robert in the Crusade. Acquits him of the low aims and ambitions of most of the other leaders, and represents him as nearly the ideal crusader of popular imagination, whose disinterested work did something to preserve the true religious spirit of the movement.

5. 'Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa,' by André Alden Beaumont, Jr. An attempt to throw new light upon the problem of the value of the chronicle of Albert of Aix. All the passages of Albert's work which bear upon the county of Edessa are carefully examined and compared with all other known sources, and the probabilities are weighed as to their value. One "new source" is used, viz., an anonymous chronicle said to be based

on the lost work of Basil of Choumna, bishop of Edessa, 1143–69. The author's conclusions are very favorable to Albert of Aix.

6. 'Genoese Colonies in Syria,' by Eugene H. Byrne. A masterly essay covering the whole history (primarily administrative) of the Syrian colonies of Genoa during the period of the Crusades. Based very largely upon unprinted materials in the archives of Genoa.

7. 'A Twelfth-Century Preacher — Fulk of Neuilly,' by Milton R. Gutsch. A detailed study of the causes, methods, and influence of this popular preacher and reformer whose last years were spent in promoting the Fourth Crusade.

8. 'The Crusading Ardor of John of Garland,' by Louis J. Paetow. A study of the mental attitude of an intelligent observer of contemporary events from the Third Crusade to the first crusade of St Louis. Based mainly upon the *De Triumphis Ecclesiae* of John of Garland.

9. 'An Exchequer Reform under Edward I,' by James F. Willard. A study of the growing centralization of the exchequer of receipt at the expense of the wardrobe, which began with the appointment of William de Marchia as treasurer in the year 1290. Based primarily upon unpublished materials in the Public Record Office. A notable contribution to the history of English financial administration.

The volume contains a complete list of Professor Munro's writings, compiled by Marion Peabody West, and is equipped with a full index, prepared by Herbert A. Kellar.

Some slips have been noted in proof-reading. On page 96, line 4 from bottom, *west* should read *east;* on page 124, line 12 from bottom, *Baldwig* should read *Baldwin;* on page 188, line 5 from bottom, *Robert* should read *Roger;* on page 208, line 15, *John Garland* should read *John of Garland.*

C. W. David,
Bryn Mawr College.

William P. Shepard, ed., *The Oxford Provençal Chansonnier: Diplomatic Edition of the Manuscript of the Bodleian Library Douce 269 with Introduction and Appendices.* Princeton, New Jersey: University Press; Paris: Les Presses Universitaires, 1927. Pp. xx + 251.

In a catalogue of 1437 is an entry: *Libro uno chiamado re Ricardo in franxese, cum aleve grande coverte de chore roso, in membrana.* M. Antoine Thomas has conjectured [1] that this codex, owned by the Este family in the fifteenth century, is identical with the manuscript which once belonged to the savant

[1] *Romania* XVIII (1889), 297.

Peiresc, subsequently to the Président Mazaugues, then to the Rev. Thomas Crofts, and finally to Francis Douce, who bequeathed it to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. This manuscript, *Douce 269*, which Provençal scholars designate by the letter *S*, contains 159 poems by forty-nine known Occitanian authors and 5 poems by anonymous authors. Among the poems which *S* considers anonymous are No. 159, attributed to Elias Cairel, No. 160, attributed to Albert de Sisteron, No. 141, attributed to Bernart de Ventadorn, No. 132, attributed to the Monk of Montaudon, No. 158, attributed to Pons de Capdoill. In some instances, as for 91 (?), 127, 90, 138, 150, 12 (?), 48, 50, 156 (?), 126, 122, 114, 13, 130, 149, 131 the ascription of *S* is erroneous.

It seems impossible to determine the date of *Douce 269*, but the evidence of paleography, and the fact that Aimeric de Peguilhan († 1260) is the latest troubadour whose songs are represented, seems to indicate that the collection was made some time in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

The principal scribe, 'who executed the manuscript about the year 1300,' as well as he who later supplied a few deficiencies, seems to have been an Italian, as was also a still later glossator. The script shows traits which are distinctly Italian, but the manuscript also has some 'forms and spellings which belong to the north of France.' This evidence leads Mr Shepard to believe 'that the manuscript was executed in North Italy (probably Venetia) by a scribe who was familiar with French or Franco-Italian texts and who sometimes introduced such forms into the Provençal songs that he copied.' Mr Shepard is properly cautious; but the existence of a literary activity in North Italy in the thirteenth century which contributed to romance such documents as are contained in MSS *San Marco xiii*, *fr. xxi*, *fr. v*, and others (of later date) in the Franco-Venetian dialect lends color to the hypothesis that such an anthology as *Douce 269* may well have been put together under the influence of a similar activity in the lyric.

The manuscript offers various marginalia, some of no great importance; others, however, are worthy of attention. Among such scribal notations are the signs *N* and *No*, meaning *Nota*, which indicate, as Mr Shepard has observed, 'the sayings which he [the scribe] regarded as significant or wise.' The editor has very commendably indicated in his footnotes the lines or passages thus marked. Such examples as

> Qar eu ai senpre audi dir
> Qe mensonza no pot cobrir
> Qe no mora qalqe saison [1]

and

> Qar toz bons faiz uei laudar al fenir [2]

[1] Folquet de Marseille, No. 23, vv. 50–52.
[2] Bernart de Ventadorn, No. 27, v. 8.

and

Granz enoiz es et granz naosa
De totz temps merce cridar [1]

and

Qar plus es greu malenanza sofrir
Acelui qa manz bens usaz iauzir [2]

and

Qe qi despen tot son gauz en un esser
Puois de cent iors non pot tant recobrar [3]

illustrate the temper of the copyist; and what interested him doubtless also appealed to his contemporaries. One is mildly surprised that he did not mark for observation the poetical lines

Aissi com cel qes nafraz per morir
Sab qe morz es et per o sis conbat

of Arnaut de Maroill (No. 71, vv. 8–9) whose verses appealed to the genius of Petrarca.

The *Chansonnier* is composed of six *tensos*, three *sirventes*, two *planhs*, five *descorts*, one *devinalh*, one *sestina*, one *chanson pieuse* and one hundred and forty-five *cansos*. The predominance of love poetry may serve as a commentary on the literary taste of thirteenth and fourteenth century Italy. It is possible that *S* represents the kind of anthology known to Jacopo da Lentini, Chiaro Davanzati, Guido Guinizelli, Francesco da Barberino, Ferrari da Ferrara, Dante and Petrarca, to mention only the most famous of early Italian enthusiasts for Occitanian verse. We note that all of Dante's troubadours are represented except Peire d'Alvernhe, Bertran de Born and the author of the (prose) *Las Penas dels Yferns*. Among the troubadours known to Petrarca we miss primarily Bertran de Born, Bertran Carbonel, Guilhem Figueira, Guilhem de Saint-Gregori, Peire d'Alvernhe, Peire Cardenal and Raimbaut d'Aurenga.[4] It is interesting to find Italian troubadours represented by Rambertino Buvalelli as well as by Sordello di Goito. As Riquier was the last of the Occitanian troubadours, so Sordello was the last of the Italian. The elements of the Provençal lyric which were sympathetic to and valuable for native Italian poetry were too quickly absorbed and transformed — into the *dolce stil nuovo* and elsewhere — to allow for protracted imitation of the former by the latter. But those writers who excelled in 'versi d'amore e prose di romanze' were not forgotten even in the newer enthusiasms of the Humanistic period. Benedetto Gareth, Catalan by birth, and his nephew, Bartolomeo Casassagia, together with Mario Equicola kept the interest alive in the fifteenth century. In the next

[1] Bernart de Ventadorn, No. 35, vv. 25–26.
[2] Gaucelm Faidit, No. 62, vv. 9–10.
[3] Uc Brunet, No. 109, vv. 31–32.
[4] Unless No. 131 be by him.

century the attention to Provençal poetry and language became a part of the general linguistic discussions which exercised the later Italian Humanists and critics. We recall among others the names of Pietro Bembo and his contemporary Angelo Colocci; Benedetto Varchi, Alessandro Velutello, Lodovico Castelvetro, and finally Domenico Venier. We have already seen that the Estensi, who did so much for culture in general, were likewise admirers of Provençal literature.

Mr Shepard's text of *Douce 269* is edited with great care and commendable restraint. It may occur to some, however, that the value of the *Chansonnier* as a tool for both students and scholars would have been enhanced had he chosen to give us, not a diplomatic text, but a text in which the abbreviations had been expanded and the lines punctuated. Not only does the book add to our corpus of printed Provençal texts, including versions of some poems formerly not easily accessible, but, as we have tried to intimate, it has an indubitable importance for the history of culture in North Italy.

John R. Reinhard,
University of Michigan.

Edouard De Moreau, *Saint Amand, Apôtre de la Belgique et du Nord de la France.* Louvain: Museum Lessianum, 1927. Pp. x + 367.

St Amand was an important pioneer in the spread of Christianity through northern Gaul, particularly in the Scheldt valley. Father De Moreau has accorded him a definitive study which may rank as a model of its kind.

The most notable and interesting section of the volume is the critical introduction. Krusch had made a low estimate of the main source, the anonymous *Vita Amandi*, declaring it a Carolingian production of small authority. Instead it seems probable that it was composed not much later than A.D. 725, or about half a century after the saint's death, and that Krusch's opinion of the author's reliability is to be revised. The biography is scant and the chronology is uncertain, but much of the data can be reconciled with other sources; borrowings appear to have been unimportant. Above all, the essential spirit of the *Vita* is an artless simplicity, which admits the hero's faults, avoids banalities fairly well, and has the ring of good faith. Father De Moreau's clear and comprehensive study of the sources offers the uninitiated a more pleasant introduction to the fascinating problems of hagiographical texts than is afforded by the Latin prefaces of the *Monumenta*.

Some 250 pages treat the life and cult of St Amand. Every scrap of evidence is tested and every attempt is made to relate the narrative to the general history of the seventh century. The general reader will find much

of interest in the background thus provided, and should be grateful for the last chapter ('Le souvenir de saint Amand'), which follows that often-neglected part of a saint's story — his terrestrial career after death.

Miracles are always a problem for the historian of mediaeval churchmen. If one accepts miracles in general, it is still possible to discriminate when dealing with a St Bernard and a large body of evidence. Such a method is almost never possible with Merovingian figures, and Father De Moreau's system seems perfectly sound. He records the miracles as they occur in the sources, without comment.

On the whole, the volume forms a very useful compendium of the data relating to the career of an important man. The scanty materials will not permit an interesting biography. Little can be added to the few facts of the main source. Here and there interpretation raises fruitful probabilities, such as the close relations of St Amand with Irish monasticism, but one comes very quickly to the edge of sure ground. Did St Amand know St Colomban? Did he use the Irish rule? These and too many other questions, when raised, can result only in a rather barren discussion of possibilities, and the possibilities accumulate too heavily to sustain interest. The character of St Amand remains shadowy and indistinct; what stands out in the end is his activity and achievement.

C. H. Taylor,
Harvard University.

William Witherle Lawrence, *Beowulf and Epic Tradition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. xvi + 349. $3.50.

In his preface Professor Lawrence tells us that his volume 'makes its appeal to those who wish to gain a sound knowledge of *Beowulf* so far as it may be done without an understanding of Anglo-Saxon, and to those who are just beginning a reading of the poem in that language' (p. x). In other words, the book is a work of popularization. So it is. But the author has more than achieved his modest aim. His book can be read with interest and profit by every Beowulfian scholar. Not that such a reader will find anything new and startling in the volume. But, as the author well says, 'those engaged in research may gain something from a statement of ultimate results, if only by way of comparison with their own conclusions' (p. xiii). And certainly all readers, specialists or laymen, will get a good clear-cut view of the wood, with the trees duly subordinated. As a sample of the author's quality, let me quote the following (p. viii): 'it [i. e., *Beowulf*] is a thoroughly English poem, written in the English language, in a verse and style characteristically English, and infused with the spirit and ideals of English folk.' In view of the persistent attempts to exclude *Beowulf*, and indeed all pre-Conquest writings, from English literature (witness Saintsbury, Legouis, and others),

Beowulfians will welcome this uncompromising dictum of Mr Lawrence's, even though he usually, by virtue of his terminology, rather plays into the hands of the enemy. And the book is full of judgments as sound and as clear-cut as the one I have quoted.

The author justly remarks that in the Beowulfian field 'many important questions are still unsettled, and the steering of a safe course between rival theories is always hazardous' (p. xi). He adds, 'my general aim has been conservative: to utilize the results of the best and latest research without admitting doubtful or hypothetical conclusions' (p. xi). In many cases he has accomplished this aim, I think. In other cases I am not so sure. I will list a few examples of radicalism, or at least non-conservatism. I cannot subscribe to the dictum (p. 9) that the Christianity of *Beowulf* 'is all on the surface; the real vitality of the epic lies in its paganism.' A dictum to the precise contrary could with greater plausibility be defended, in my opinion. But in fact there is vitality enough on both sides. *Beowulf* 2444–2462a is a so-called Homeric simile, the relation of which to Randver (pp. 36, 88) is highly doubtful and hypothetical, to say the least. The theory that the Danes conquered and absorbed the Heruli (p. 37) is little more than speculation. The Continental or 'Old' Saxons belonged to a stock, and spoke a language, different from the 'Anglo-Saxons' or Saxons of England (p. 42). The name of the wife of Offa is better spelt *Thrytho*, in accordance with the text which has come down to us (p. 43). The etymology given for *Viking* (p. 59) is dubious. I doubt the connection postulated between the sources of *Beowulf* and the gods Odin, Thor, and Frey (p. 62). Certainly evidence on the point is wanting, and the word 'probably' is unjustified. It seems unwarranted to say, without qualification, that *Heorot* was so named 'after the lordly beast symbolical of royalty' (p. 72); to me this explanation seems unlikely. The evil counsellor does appear in Scandinavian analogues of the story of Hrothulf, though he does not go by the name *Unferth* (p. 77); see *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n* XLII, 300 ff. Heoroweard's army was chiefly made up of Gauts (p. 79), if we may judge from Saxo's version of the *Bjarkamál*. The House of the Scyldings probably came to an end with Harold, son of Hrethric, not with Heoroweard (p. 79). See Axel Olrik, in *Nordiska Ortnamn*, pp. 297 ff. The identification (p. 83) of Heremod with Lotherus is highly conjectural and hardly belongs in a book which aspires to be conservative. Ongentheow was succeeded by Ohthere, not by Onela, if we may be guided by the *Ynglinga* (p. 91). There is no evidence to warrant the statement (p. 97) that Ohthere was Onela's younger brother. Such evidence as we have (as *Beowulf* 2928, and Onela's wars with his nephews) points in the opposite direction. It is hazardous to assert that the Wægmundings were a Geatish clan at all (p. 97). Beowulf was related to the Wægmundings, it is true (*Beowulf* 2814), but only on the distaff side, if one may judge by the

alliterative situation; the name of Beowulf's father alliterates with that of a kinsman of Wiglaf's (*Beowulf* 2604), and this gives us an indication of the connection between the two families. Weohstan himself seems to have been a Swede: his son is definitely described as a Scylfing (*Beowulf* 2603) and he himself was a retainer of the Swedish king Onela. He fled from Sweden when things got too hot for him there, and took refuge with his kinsman Beowulf, who granted him an estate and thus made him what we should nowadays call a naturalized citizen of the country.

The statement that Beowulf 'never really sat on the throne of the Geatas' (p. 101) may be correct, but evidence of its truth is wanting, and such a contention can hardly be looked upon as an instance of conservatism. Fabulous kings usually appear at the head of the genealogy, not in a setting otherwise demonstrably historical. The name *Beowulf* is suspicious, it is true, since it does not alliterate with *Ecgtheow*, and it may well be a nickname. Again, Beowulf's career is obviously full of fable. But these fabulous elements do not justify us in rejecting the testimony of our monument and denying to the hero his kingdom. At least one of Beowulf's deeds is elsewhere attested. According to the English poem, he helped Eadgils to overthrow Onela. Now Snorri represents this help as having come to Eadgils from Bjarki and his fellow-champions, and Bjarki is the Scandinavian counterpart of Beowulf. Mr Lawrence himself notes (pp. 201 f.) the testimony of the *Bjarkarímur* to the same effect; earlier (p. 102) he unduly emphasizes the connection of Hrothulf with the affair; in fact, Hrothulf is nowhere represented as active in this matter; he stays at home, and sends Bjarki and the other champions to the help of Eadgils. In his discussion on p. 102, Mr Lawrence makes needless difficulties. We know that Weohstan killed Eanmund, the brother of Eadgils. When Eadgils came to the Swedish throne, Weohstan of course had to leave Sweden. He took refuge with his kinsman Beowulf. Obviously Eadgils could not maintain his friendship with a king who gave shelter to his brother's slayer, and the Geats had every right to expect trouble from the Swedes when the son of Weohstan ascended the Geatish throne.

It is hazardous to assume (p. 109) that not a great deal of the *Finnsburg Fragment* is missing; we do not know how much is missing. I do not believe that the *Beowulf* poet confused *Eotan* with *eotenas* (p. 111); any confusion is better attributed to copyists. The Danish king Heremod was not sent into exile amongst the Eotens (p. 111), but was betrayed to them; they seem to have put him to death, as one would expect. There is no evidence that Hengest participated (p. 112) in the vengeance which the Danes took on the Frisians. Sigeferth (p. 118) was not a prince, so far as we know; OE. *léod* means 'man.' The *Fragment* does not say that no one of the defenders fell (p. 119), but that no one had fallen at the end of five days of fighting. *Hunlafing* does not mean 'the son of Hunlaf' (p. 120), but is a sword-name (see *Mod. Lang.*

Notes XLIII, 300 ff.). Mr Lawrence's otherwise valuable discussion of the Finnsburg story is largely vitiated by his unsound interpretation of this crucial word. I should like to believe that the car of Nerthus was a sea-going vehicle (p. 143), but the hypothesis is too daring for me! Mr Lawrence is mistaken, I think, in accepting Panzer's theory that the Grendel adventure goes back to the bear's son *märchen* (pp. 171 ff.); he ignores von Sydow's weighty arguments in the important monograph *Beowulf och Bjarki* (which I do not find in Mr Lawrence's bibliography either). But of course the matter is distinctly debatable. I do not believe that OE. *fyrgenstream* is properly translated 'waterfall' (p. 184); certainly the fact that the stream descends proves nothing. Nor can I see any justification for translating OE. *ágend* by 'Lord' (p. 214). The Jutish question can hardly be considered closed (p. 306), in view of the arguments advanced by E. Wadstein in his *Norden och Västeuropa i Gammal Tid* (Stockholm, 1925), although I agree with Mr Lawrence in rejecting the identification of Jutes with *Geatas*.

Mr Lawrence's volume, we may conclude, is by no means so conservative as he thinks it is. But few can write on *Beowulf* without departing from conservative ideals, and Mr Lawrence's *Beowulf* holds to conservatism as much as any book I know on the subject. The work may safely, and indeed warmly be recommended to Beowulfians, would-be Beowulfians, and lovers of the early Middle Ages.

Kemp Malone,
The Johns Hopkins University

A CORRECTION

Speculum III (1928), 349, line 10 from bottom: delete 'Germanic'; pp. 360, 361, for — ∪ ∪ — ∪, ∪ — read —, ∪ ∪ — ∪, ∪ —.

W. B. Sedgwick.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs dealing primarily with mediaeval subjects as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

P. S. Allen, H. W. Garrod, edd., *Merton Muniments*, printed for the Oxford Historical Society, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928. Boards. Pp. 47.

Hans Baron, ed., *Leonardo Bruni Aretino Humanistisch-Philosophische Schriften* mit einer Chronologie Seiner Werke und Briefe, Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsinstitute an der Universität Leipzig, Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1928. Paper. Pp. xlii + 243. RM. 8.

Milivoje M. Bašić, ed., *Из Старе Српске Књижевности*, 3d rev. ed., Belgrade: Gece Kona, 1926. Paper. Pp. xvi + 352. 50 Dinars.

P. Boissonnade, Eileen Power, transl., *Life and Work in Medieval Europe from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. Cloth. Pp. xix + 39. $5.00.

Dom Louis Gougard, O. S. B., *Ermites et Reclus, Etudes sur d'Anciennes Formes de Vie Religieuse*, 'Moines et Monastères,' No. 5, Vienne: Abbaye Saint-Martin de Ligugé, 1928. Paper. Pp. iv + 144. 12 fr.

Frieda Hoddick, *Das Münstermaifelder Legendar*, Bonn diss., Bonn: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1928. Paper. Pp. 63.

Richard T. Holbrook, *Guillaume Alecis et Pathelin*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928. Paper. Pp. xii + 128.

William Witherle Lawrence, *Beowulf and Epic Tradition*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xiv + 349. $3.50.

Wilfred P. Mustard, ed., *Aeneae Siluii De Curialium Miseriis Epistola*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. 102. $1.50.

Roscoe E. Parker, ed., *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne*, Early English Text Society, Orig. S., No. 174, London: Humphrey Milford, 1928. Cloth. Pp. liv + 139. 10*s*.

A. Kingsley Porter, *Beyond Architecture*, Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1928. Cloth Pp. 84. $1.50.

C. W. Previté-Orton, ed., *The* Defensor Pacis *of Marsilius of Padua*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xlvii + 517.

F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1927. Cloth. Pp. xii + 491. 21*s*.

E. K. RAND, *Founders of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. Cloth. Pp. ix + 365. $4.00.

Fritz Saxl, ed., *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1925–1926*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1928. Paper. Pp. viii + 217. RM. 12.

Rudolf Schneider, *Der Mönch in der Englischen Dichtung bis auf Lewis's* 'Monk' *1795* (*Palaestra* 155), Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1928. Paper. Pp. x + 204. RM. 15.

David Eugene Smith, *Le Comput Manuel de Magister Anianus*, Documents Scientifiques du XV^e^ Siècle, Tome IV, Paris: E. Droz, 1928. Boards. Pp. 107.

Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen, Frank Keller Walter, *Bibliography, Enumerative and Historical*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928. Cloth. Pp. xvi + 519. $7.50.

D. André Wilmart, O. S. B., *L'Ancien Cantorium de l'Eglise de Strasbourg, Manuscrit Additionel 23,922 du Musée Britannique*, avec un Mémoire de M. l'Abbé J. Walter, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque de Seléstat, Colmar: Editions 'Alsatia,' 1928. Paper. Pp. xxii + 115.

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